



# space is luxury

Peter Ache, Mervi Ilmonen (Editors)

## **SELECTED PROCEEDINGS**

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Peter Ache and Mervi Ilmonen (eds.)

# **Space is Luxury.**

## **Selected Proceedings of the 24th AESOP Annual Conference**

Aalto University  
School of Science and Technology  
Centre for Urban and Regional Studies



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# Space is Luxury – Foreword

Peter Ache and Mervi Ilmonen (eds.)

On the occasion of the 24<sup>th</sup> AESOP Annual Conference, the Centre for Urban and Regional Studies at Aalto University welcomed more than six hundred planning scholars and professionals from all over the world to Finland. The purpose was to discuss the manifold issues related to ‘space is luxury’ and to explore the multitude of related planning issues in more than four hundred paper presentations.

The rationale for choosing such a title has many dimensions. In 2010, the world is clearly one that can be called ‘urban’. In relative terms, more than half of the world’s population dwells in urban settings – about one billion under ‘slum conditions’ (UN Habitat, 2006). Not only in such a deprived situation, having quality space available equals commanding a ‘luxury’! Planning and urban design are key factors in shaping and managing space and generate the wished for quality spaces (UN Habitat, 2009). The concept of space and concomitantly that of spatial quality includes different meanings and dimensions. Space is physical, including architecture and urban form (Borden, Kerr, Rendell, & Pivaro, 2001). Space is also socially constructed through various forms of human interventions (Massey, 2005). Space is contested and a reason for serious conflicts (Harvey, 2000). Space is presented and space represents (Lefebvre, 1991). For planning, the management of the competing uses for space requires complex interventions (Ache, 2010). The making of better places that are valued and have identity is an enduring ambition of planning (Hall, 1996). And, returning to the start of this brief reflection, the major challenge of spatial planning is to find solutions for a more sustainable urban millennium (Ministers for Urban Development, 2007).

The conference and in particular the sixteen different tracks provided a very good framework to further explore the resulting issues, be it problem dimensions or opportunity structures.

AESOP has almost a set standard of tracks and thematic orientations under which papers are presented and arguments exchanged. The full listing of tracks includes:

*Track 1 Planning Theory and Methods - Track 2 Planning History - Track 3 Planning Education - Track 4 Planning and Complexity - Track 5 European Territorial Cooperation and Policies - Track 6 Global Challenges and Local Responses - Track 7 Planning for Rural Areas - Track 8 Urban Planning and Physical Form - Track 9 Culture, Heritage and Planning - Track 10 Sustainability:*

*Climate Change, Risks and Planning - Track 11 Housing and Regeneration Policies - Track 12 Mobility: Transport Planning and Policy - Track 13 Resource Management, Energy and Planning - Track 14 Participation and Governance - Track 15 Planning, Law and Property Rights - Track 16 Planning 'in' or 'for' Multicultural Societies*

Additional sessions were organized covering for instance new instruments on the basis of ICT or elaborate theoretical perspectives.

Over all, close to six hundred presentations were given by individual researchers or group of researchers, constituting a very dense and very interactive exchange of ideas and perspectives. The current proceedings try to represent the spirit of the 'space is luxury' conference – and they no doubt will fail in the sense that we cannot possibly represent all the interesting twists and turns, that the intellectual minds have explored.

Nevertheless, in attempting to give a proper picture, the LOC and Editors of these proceedings applied several strategies to identify a matching range of papers and perspectives: All Track Co-Chairs were asked to submit proposals regarding papers that reflect the range of topics addressed during the conference and most followed our call. The paper selection applied academic standards but also picked out some striking contributions, be it in terms of theoretical or practical, be it in terms of surprising new perspectives against sound reflections of the history of ideas. They are coming from established academics and scholars, but they also come from young academics in the early stages of their career. The Editors had the massive task to go through those submitted papers and also to be in touch with authors to identify publication restrictions or to clarify minor elements in the structure or format of the papers. But basically, the Editors followed the proposals made by Track Co-Chairs. For the theme 'space is luxury' the Editors also identified additional papers that specifically deal with the title dimensions.

Excluded from these proceedings are the very stimulating key note speeches:

Sharon Zukin provided in her opening key note a sociological view on recent developments in New York City, presumably one of the epitomes of modern urban societies. Zukin's approach towards 'luxury' started with a reflection of advertisements posted by real estate companies in NYC. Those adverts and other printed material target the middle classes and their lust for luxury. Actually, in the interpretation of Zukin, the modern American middle classes see themselves as being 'entitled to luxury'. Where exactly this attitude is rooted, remains to be further explored. But the market finds that luxury increasingly everywhere in the city, creating small scale conversions and micro

gentrification on a block or house basis without respect to existing situations. This is a perforation of the city, driven by luxury and creating secluded places and a kind of ‘micro’ gentrification pattern. This form of intensive or extensive ‘pursuit of happiness’ in a liberal society is not such an issue in the Finnish context, at least it is not visible to a similar extent.

Stephen Graham, at the close of the conference, was dissecting the, often hidden, urban warfare design in global cities. He created a claustrophobic scenario of a city being under siege, largely unnoticed by the unsuspecting eye of citizens. However, looking at it from a different angle, it is the citizens being under siege and constant observation. The enemy is inside, so to say, and needs to be observed using patterns of behaviour and image recognition to automatically detect unruly behaviour or security breaches. The issue of CCTV and control of public spaces is present in the Finnish academic research.

Kimmo Lapintie explored in his opening talk the Finnish history of urban planning thought and the evolution of a professional orientation in place making. He started with Lars Sonck, the important figure of the National Romanticism in Finland, and his critique of the engineering approach to planning. Interpreting Lapintie’s comments on Sonck and subsequent master architects, the quest for identity and an ‘atmosphere’ that resembles the typical or the variation is still a core theme when attempting to shape and create new spaces. Again interpreting Lapintie, the ‘space is luxury’ theme can be seen as diversified and maybe ‘organic’.

Juri Soolep, who acted as a commentator for the entire conference on the closing day, unearthed the deep cultural layers of ‘community’ [kunta] and its places and identified a hidden luxury: that of still being grounded or rooted in a deeper, possibly unconscious layer of the community. Those layers are re-enacted with communal practices like, very appropriate in a Finnish context, the sauna. And, we might like to add, those communities are also re-enacted on such an occasion like a conference. ‘Kunta’ also implies being fully present and sharing f.i. the ‘bread’ of thoughts and ideas.

The structure of the proceedings follows the track structure of the conference and presents all main tracks. The individual sections will be introduced with the invitation texts that were used in the call for papers of the conference. The sequence of papers inside those sections does not imply a quality hierarchy but follows simply the paper IDs used in the organization of the conference. The papers have different qualities, as the reader will see. The advantage of the proceedings format is to have that degree of freedom and to publish papers that do not match the tight framework usually applied

by journals. The reader will find everything, from a fully developed paper of journal quality to explorative short essays.

How the 'space is luxury' theme is covered in papers and texts will now be presented in a cursory reading. These passing remarks emphasise certain elements of the papers, focusing on the two motives of the main theme, space and luxury.

[Track 1] Planning theory and methods is one of the continual tracks where fresh theoretical approaches and established paradigms are debated, disputed and reassessed. The for long dominating communicative planning theory (CPT) has lately been challenged. It has been reproached for e.g. facilitating neo-liberal market practices to the disadvantage of broader social interests. Tore Sager comments in his paper on this critique and clarifies what neo-liberalism demands from urban planning. He concludes that whether the critique of CPT turns out to be valid or misconceived, planners should be warned not to approve solutions without first taking a critical look at the role played by different powerful actors in the communicative process. Yosef Jabareen discusses climate change and how it creates a need to rethink and revise current planning methods and theories. He proposes a new multifaceted conceptual framework for theorizing planning for climate change and tries to apply this framework for critically analyzing the recent master plan for New York City. In his view, in order to meet the challenges posed by climate change, planning is in need of a more coordinated, holistic, and multidisciplinary approach.

[Track 2] Space can be approached differently, obviously. The usual approach looks at the 'over ground' representation of space. Overground quality spaces are the theme of Gerhard Hatz' paper, who discusses spatial development strategies for the city of Vienna. He embarks with utopian views on the city and city structure, in particular drawing on Situationist (Constant) thinking which a.o. he juxtaposes to the 'foam city' (Sloterdijk). His final clause says, 'the future city has to be understood as a relation among sites, loosely interconnected, a 'Meta-collector' of constructed ambient urban environments'.

[Track 3] Quality is a form of minimal luxury, one might say. In spatial planning education the quality has become a very important issue, not least due to the Bologna Process and the building of a European wide Higher Education Area. Anders Törnqvist continues with a report about the training students in negotiation and argumentation. His view is 'learning by doing', supported with simplified conceptual models and computer programs. The specific learning outcome might be called 'conceptual apprenticeship'. The last paper in this section by Frassoldati/Wang/Deng starts with urban design and planning in the education of planners in China. The massively evolving

housing markets constitute a situation of high and speculative pressure, for which students need to be prepared as they find themselves in a situation of on one hand calls for compaction and densification, on the other market driven luxury developments. In a separate special session on computer applications in planning, Deborah Peel raised a surprising perspective, luxury is space to write, discussing the use of tablet PC's to enhance learning and learning environments.

[Track 4] Complexity and planning have a strong connection. "Space however is a luxury, as it is the basis upon which various interacting autonomous and induced processes, socially and physically, emerge, to which planners respond in an adaptive way. Spatial planning is dealing with non-linear, emerging processes." (TC) In such a situation, planners have the typical problem of selecting and processing information, frequently in short periods of time. The paper by Hemberger/Schönwandt develops and defines some key cognitive skills which can be helpful with complex planning problems. Under that perspective, the paper obviously also has implications for planning education.

[Track 5] The European spatial planning system meanwhile has evolved as a multi-layered complex of politics, strategies, institutions, and – not least – spaces or regions. Andreas Faludi proposes a 'motion for resolution' acknowledging the importance of territorial cohesion and appropriate policies. He is guided by ideas of 'soft spaces' and soft spatial planning – probably the next 'hot' issue in planning discussion promoted in the writings of Haughton et al. (2010). The contribution by Eskelinen/Fritsch fits into this thinking. Reporting on the northernmost regions in a European context, they look into the development of policy concepts and how they are recognized, adapted or rejected over the various periods – always trying to keep the particular situation of those concrete spaces vivid in a European context. In contrast to that, Knieling/Othengrafen elaborate on conceptual aspects of new regions and provide a full set of different spatial entities, from metropolitan region, to supra-regional partnership, to meta-region, to – finally – macro region. In the end and as comment, a full system of embedded territories is presented – and territories here understood as spaces of varying governance.

[Track 6] Global challenges produce local responses and in particular spatial transformation. The creation of new urban spaces for the 'new economy' in Sao Paulo, especially for advanced producer services is the interest of Roberto Rocco. Such processes do, but not only, produce the 'glistening global hubs' and create at city level a polycentric structure. It is the unplanned context that worries most of course. Yi-ling Chen discusses in her paper identity politics at city level in Taiwan. The

struggle for but also the utilization of identity is her theme, either challenged or supported by culture led urban regeneration.

[Track 7] The particularities of rural areas in the planning context have certainly changed over past years. “The need to move away from a narrow ‘resource’ perspective and engage in integrated spatial planning and development for a differentiated and multifunctional countryside has become increasingly evident and has made some parts of the countryside a scant resource.” (TC) The contributions of this section reflect such a perspective very well. Verbeek / Leinfelder / Pisman / Hanegreefs / Allaert discuss the changing meaning and perception of ‘open space’ in Belgium and detect, how this has become a semi urbanized consumption space, mainly for recreational purposes, in a part private, part public manner. A form of ‘luxury space’ one might wonder. The contribution by Awuor-Hayangah/Ofosu-Kwakye on rural planning in Africa compares with this quite dramatically. The task here is to fight a battle against rural deprivation and to develop the full capacity of the ‘rural’, not least as 60 % of the population can benefit from appropriate integrated planning approaches. The ‘un-occupied’ or sparsely populated country side is also the theme of Maarit Sireni who analysed the views of rural politicians towards building rights, city compaction, and low density areas in Finland. Sprawl or no sprawl is the conflicting issue, which seems not to be resolved lightly.

[Track 8] In the following section, a set of shorter papers reflect on urban design and physical form and the search for space and luxury. Design is a ‘qualitative and desirable commodity’ and works through exposure. Tom Jeffries discusses ‘banal luxury and quality places’. Whereas the interest of the public actor is the aspect of difference or distinction, in the end many similar places are produced by the private developer – at least when looking at ‘Beetham, Beetham, Beetham ...’, three examples of high-rise luxury apartment buildings in the UK. Claudia Cassatella searches for ‘landscapes’ as luxury and in particular for the visionary quality of landscapes, as opposite to urban scapes. The last contribution in this section irritates in the first instance. Zvarka/Tellios look into cemeteries. The ‘gravescapes’ as urban territories are discussed as ‘paradoxical’ and ‘transcending functional aspects’. The key notion is aposiopesis, becoming silent, maintaining silence, left unfinished, ‘only to be completed in imagination’.

[Track 9] Culture, heritage, planning, and tourism are the interlocking elements of the papers presented in the next following section. Trevor Budge analyses the representation of European Colonial Heritage outside Europe. The packaged tourism from Europe in very specific ways reproduces culture and heritage abroad – which becomes a curiosity or an ‘airbrushed place’. Such

places become contested spaces with varying interpretations of history. Uptal Sharma looks at similar aspects by looking into regeneration strategies in Jaipur. His contested space is the ‘public realm’ and the role of planning in the synthesis of history and modernism.

[Track 10] A conference that addresses the luxury of space necessary has to assess also the flip side of luxury, in particular how this affects our natural environment or is detrimental to issues of environmental sustainability. Many contributions to the conference provided comments on sustainability issues, but two tracks had this topic specifically as their remit. In the first one (Track 10) climate change, risk and planning were the binding theme. The papers selected for the proceedings approach the issue from different angles. The first one (Aphanich) is a conceptual think piece that tries to integrate an institutional analysis framework, with cultural theory, and ideas of socio-ecological systems. The practical issue at hand is flood risk in Bangkok Metropolitan Region. The second paper looks into the issue of resilience and vulnerability and develops as well a conceptual approach and in particular, how the different dimensions under investigation in either resilience or vulnerability can be integrated.

[Track 11] Housing and regeneration policies are a concurrent theme for planning. The track emphasised very much the actual global financial crisis and how this affected the housing sector. The first paper in this section has neighbourhood governance as a thematic core and elaborates on strategies towards regeneration that give a larger voice to citizens. After reviewing several real life models from the UK, the conclusion is that neighbourhood governance is an important approach to create community involvement and to pursue a holistic approach. But there is also, as the author emphasise, no ‘best fit’ of a uniform model. Very different from this approach is the second paper, which looks into options for a harmonious coexistence of housing and manufacturing in industrial areas in Japan, in a situation where the compact city is the guiding principle.

[Track 12] Is mobility a luxury, was the question of Track 12 on transport planning and policy. Two papers represent the range of contributions, two of those exploring ways to model the dimensions of mobility. Modelling has a long tradition in transport planning, as is known. The paper by Curtis et al. starts from the supply side of mobility and in particular chooses a metropolitan wide approach and a long-term vision which level and form of mobility we would like to see. With the technique of back-casting recommendation for public transport planning are achieved. The second paper takes a very critical stance and analyses the political function of transport modelling in decision making processes, providing a picture how transport modelling was abused in the course of things.

[Track 13] Planning relates very much to the managing of various resources. Track 13 approached the theme with a wide variety of perspectives. The selected papers are a perfect match for this. In the context of energy infrastructure development and planning, procedural and participatory dimensions are of course a frequent and often conflictual occurrence. How for instance can a particular focus on understanding and opinion making help mitigate the often entrenched sides? Istanbul, with more than fifteen million inhabitants is one of the larger metropolitan spaces in Europe. Can ‘resilience thinking’ help foster a more appropriate urban analysis and planning practice, asks Eraydin in her paper. The third contribution looks further abroad towards China and its urban growth regime, asking to which extent new qualities will start altering the expansive towards a quality growth model.

[Track 14] Participation and governance can be considered almost meta-aspects in planning discussions. The one paper representing the overall very rich debates in the track looks into a laboratory setting of a remote, sparsely populated area in Finland and explores the opportunities for e-democracy in the ‘archipelabo’, a practical demonstration project in distributed governance.

[Track 15] Planning is an activity largely practiced by public authorities and strongly regulated by national and international laws, decrees and norms. On the other hand, planning is also about citizens’ rights and involvement. In the first paper, Magdalena Knappik and Peter Renetzki scrutinize PPP; Public-Private-Partnership in land use management at the regional level in Germany. Their example concerns high land use and they claim that increased high land use leads to loss of space for agriculture, loss of function of ground by sealing, social and geographical disparity or rising cost of settlement structure and demand a better synchronisation of public and private stakeholders in land use management. In the second paper representing this track, Willem K. Korthals Altes and Hendrik Ploeger discuss planning and public contracts in the context of European planning law. They point out that rules for public contracts and public works concessions constrain the role of public property in planning policies, and that this has theoretical and practical implications, especially in between European law and planning law. The differences between local practices and European rules may add to uncertainty in the property development processes.

[Track 16] The multi-cultural society requires new approaches that cover diversity, democracy, and social justice. Three papers represent the theme in the proceedings. The first by Vanessa Watson reports about a new instrument applied to include marginalized urban populations living under conditions of informality in South Africa. The community self-survey mobilises the expertise of the



citizens and helps develop, jointly with the acting planners, appropriate solutions to improve their living conditions. The second paper by Briata looks into regeneration policies in multi-ethnic contexts in northern Italy and the very strategic role, which integration policy has at a local level. The last paper by Kalanje discusses similar aspects, using the issue of conflict, or resistance in the multi-ethnic city to discuss spatial justice as a norm set for planning.

All in all, as was shown the 24<sup>th</sup> AESOP Annual Conference 2010 provided a very rich setting for academic exchange and discussion. We hope the potential reader of the proceedings comes to a similar impression. It is also safe to assume, that the networking that happened during the conference will lead to further publications and research activities, bringing new insights and perspective to ‘space is luxury’.

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Track 16 – Planning 'in' or 'for' Multicultural Societies

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Huw **Thomas**, Reader, School of City and Regional Planning, Cardiff University

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## **Track 1: Planning Theory and Methods**

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Since planning is very much concerned with the organization of space, theorizing of space is either explicitly or implicitly at the core of planning theory. In urban, regional, national and global contexts, space is not an empty container but a complicated mixture of social and political relations and meanings. The contemporary urban situation is full of spatial dilemmas: from gated communities with their luxury golf courses, to illegal immigrants trying to cross national borders in the hope of a better future. The future of the city and its relationship to other spatial scales is central to European thinking. We are facing the impacts of ever increasing inequalities in income and wealth, as well as the evolution of the multi-ethnic and multi-cultural city on which our aging nation states have become dependent. These developments are leading to challenges, tensions and confrontations. At the same time planning policies have seen a return to a focus on the traditional, compact European city, while increasing suburbanization and urban sprawl driven by the housing market and local politics, produce opposite results. Space is (small) luxury even for the middle classes.

Planning theory has in recent decades concentrated on analyzing the interplay of power and politics, with more normative approaches concerned with the democratization of planning process, more particularly the ideals of transparency and open communication as well as substantive issues concerned with justice. The objective of the track is to explore the interplay between analytical and normative theorizing with a focus on the implications for place-based outcomes and spatial relationships: what are the relationships between space and time in planning and development; what are the limits and degrees of freedom for the various stakeholders; who benefits and who should benefit from planning policies; what are the nature of the relationships between substance and process in planning theory? It is clear that tackling these questions also requires a rethinking of planning methods. What kind of knowledge is needed, and how should it inform our action? How can we conceptualize and visualize the emerging urban and regional context? Are our traditional methods in managing the planning process and enabling communication between different stakeholders sufficient in the face of ever growing inequalities and cultural differences?

## **How to Prevent Communicative Planners from Unwittingly Serving Neo-liberalism?**

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Keywords: Communicative planning theory, Neo-liberalism, Values

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**Abstract.** Communicative planning theory has recently been reproached for facilitating neo-liberal market practices to the disadvantage of broader social interests. The paper comments on this critique and clarifies what neo-liberalism demands from urban planning. Moreover, the paper surveys planning theorists' attempts to describe the connection between communicative planning theory and neo-liberalism. The critique of being at the service of neo-liberalism should be addressed in communicative planning theory by bringing procedural and substantive recommendations closer together. It must be made evident that what is required from the plan (the outcome) is grounded in substantive values that are closely associated with the values behind the process design. This is what the value approach sketched in the present paper is meant to do, and by insisting on consistency between the values of process and outcome it offers a way to address the charge that CPT facilitates the progress of neo-liberalist urban development.

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### **Introduction: Recent critique of communicative planning theory (CPT)**

The purpose of this paper is to discuss the relationship between neo-liberalism and CPT. The important task is to find a way for planning theorists to deal with criticism that applications of their theories end up benefitting ideologies and urban policies at odds with the core values inherent in the theory itself.

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The critique of CPT which prompted the writing of this paper claims that CPT belongs to the set of rules, norms, and bureaucratic procedures (that is, institutions) supporting the neo-liberal state. This critique sees communicative planning as advancing developers' interests and the free flow of investment. The core argument is that a planning regime with a minimum of predefined restrictions and guidelines, and with ample possibilities of striking deals at the local level, is in conformity with neo-liberal ideals (Bengs 2005:6). Such a regime is, allegedly, introduced by communicative planning, with detrimental effects for urban development in the interest of the great majority. Mainstream planning theory supports a liberalized land regime by stressing communication with stakeholders in contrast to politically mandated public control. Stakeholders thus increase their influence in planning systems relative to democratically elected representatives. This development is encouraged by CPT, and may be seen as an adaptation to the less controlled and more efficient real estate market that follows from neo-liberalism and globalization.

If one opens for the possibility that neo-liberalism may have influenced the theory of public planning, the next question is how this effect came about, given that neo-liberal tenets and new public management are probably not taught in most planning programmes. There are aspects of neo-liberalism that weaken the position of public planning and shift its focus from regulation to facilitation of urban development. Interurban competition curtails the set of regulative policies that can be used by planners in each single city. Rolling back the state and leaving more of urban renewal to private initiatives give less room for comprehensive and coordinated plans (Gleeson 2000, Mäntysalo 1999). Neo-liberalization means more market and less bureaucracy, outsourcing segments of the residual sphere of regulation, and contracts rather than control via hierarchies. All this gives more narrow scope for public planning and lowers its status (Gleeson and Low 2000, Imrie 1999, Prior 2005).

Neo-liberalism gave rise to a new economic doctrine on how to organize the public sector, which is called new public management (NPM). In a number of countries around the world, NPM has led to dramatic restructuring of agencies and departments where many planners are working. Any reorganization is followed by a new agenda, in this case directing attention to problems considered important from the neo-liberal outlook, and to policies thought to work without threatening neo-liberal values. This line of reasoning is strengthened by Hammond and Thomas's (1989) theoretical result stating that a neutral hierarchy is impossible. Any particular organizational structure will affect what organizational decision-makers are able to learn and will bias policy-making toward some outcomes and away from others. Since the structure

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influences which options are to be compared, in what sequence, and by whom, a particular organizational structure is, in effect, the organization's agenda (Hammond 1986:382).

### **What does neo-liberalism demand from public planning?**

Neo-liberalists have worked to curtail public planning because it intervenes in markets and, in their opinion, is a threat to efficient allocation of resources (McDermott 1998:643). They find that local citizen participation can have the same effect, especially when concerned with local action to solve global problems. The ideological position is that the public planning function gives local and national government too much of a say in urban and regional development. The strong government involvement was seen as a source of inefficiency, as approvals took too long because multiple consents had to be obtained from various government departments. Planning authorities were criticized for taking a negative stand towards market-led development (Prior 2005:475-76). Consequences of the complicated planning procedures were delays, extra costs, wasted capital, and reduced employment. Neo-liberalists also criticize public planning for being inflexible. This is a problematic point though, as flexibility reduces predictability which is a priority of both developers and the community (Allmendinger and Thomas 1998:250). 'Regulatory flexibility...may actually increase both the size of the administrative apparatus of planning and transaction costs' (Gleeson and Grundy 1997:310), as case-by-case assessment of land-use consents requires much administrative effort.

Tensions between new public management and communicative planning can be read from Imrie's (1999) critique of the regime shift from bureau-professionalism to steering principles dominated by managerialism, a shift paving the way for business or corporate values and technical-economic procedures and discourses. For planning, the efficiency goal of NPM entails speeding up the turnaround of planning applications, faster completion of local plan preparation, facilitation of development objectives, and the streamlining of procedures. Important procedures in the present context are those arranging for public consultation. Chances are that the pressure on local planning authorities to simplify procedures and reduce delays in plan preparation and development control diminishes the time devoted to public participation and dialogue in planning processes. This is contrary to the stated aim of communicative planning theorists and would make it a risky business for them to run the errand of neo-liberals.

The above critique also suggests what neo-liberalists are apt to find appealing about planning. In line with the devolution of governance to local scales, they could accept a contracted and more focused planning system that is more proactive and positive to development initiatives (Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones 2000:1396). The system should assist and not hinder the work of market mechanisms, and planners should to a greater extent become deal-makers instead of regulators. Neo-liberalism can be well served by a planning system that is more flexible with regard to the outcome of planning, and thus relatively more concerned with how to plan. Collaborative planning is found useful to neo-liberalism because of its dismantling of old divisions between state and market in order to accommodate new synergistic partnerships (Brand and Gaffikin 2007:283).

The neo-liberal attitude to citizen involvement in planning is a compromise between this felt need for discipline and predictability on the one hand, and the need for client and consumer information about public goods and services on the other. The compromise can be pursued by disciplining citizens through manageable forms of citizen participation, and by both mobilizing and co-opting community organizations (Elwood 2002:123).

Neo-liberalism demands public planning with an ambit restricted to land use and efficient spatial allocation, leaving equity concerns to the politicians. Planning authorities should not interfere in markets unless transaction costs are demonstrably higher there than in public bureaucracies. Moreover, planning procedures of neo-liberal casting should be simple and flexible yet efficient, and planning initiatives should promote local competitiveness. The next section surveys theorists' interpretations of how mainstream planning theory (CPT) responded to these challenges.

### **CPT as an offspring of neo-liberal ideology?**

This section provides an overview and a systematization of attempts to understand how CPT relates to the ideas and practice of neo-liberalism. Much of the critique of CPT's ostensible association with neo-liberalism is based on the idea that both bodies of theory have taken an interest in certain aspects of urban planning efforts and therefore must be related somehow and be working for the same cause. The common features mentioned in the planning literature are:

- Masking conflicts
  - Weaker role for public planners as professionals and experts
  - Focus on process
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- Solutions generated by local and civil society, thus reducing the influence of central government
  - Flexibility as opposed to state regulations

The three features first on the list are process characteristics and are dealt with in the next sub-section. The last two features relate to the limitation of national state influence and are discussed in the sub-section following thereafter.

*Critique based on alleged process similarities of CPT and neo-liberalism*

Recently, Mark Purcell advanced a critique of CPT, arguing that Habermasian communicative and collaborative planning modes ‘provide an extremely attractive way for neoliberals to maintain hegemony while ensuring political stability’ (Purcell 2009:140). He assumes that the consensus-oriented deals made by the parties to communicative planning will always mask conflict and thus always serve those who benefit from the prevailing system of power relations:

(E)ven if deliberative processes include more marginalized participants than had been included previously, they tend to reinscribe existing social hierarchies, since all groups must gain from each decision. Moreover, they tend to legitimate those existing hierarchies with a stamp of democratic process. Therefore, deliberative democracy, managed thoughtfully, can be a particularly powerful tool for advancing the neoliberal agenda. (Purcell 2007:201)

What makes communicative planning such a convenient vehicle for neo-liberals in Purcell’s opinion, is that it offers decision-making practices that are widely accepted as democratic and are therefore legitimizing, while they cannot fundamentally challenge existing relations of power. The question of whether the parties to the presumably dialogical process are happy with the solution does not affect his critique; what matters is whether or not the market system for urban land and floor space (which urban planners might hope to affect)

is left intact. Purcell (2008) is sceptical to communicative planning because he thinks that local and civil society participants can be carefully selected and effectively disciplined by the competitiveness imperative.

Recent managerial restructuring of government (NPM) has aimed at depoliticizing decisions by making them a matter of operational management. The dispersal of state functions to a range of extra-governmental organizations makes this evident. Moreover, according to Imrie (1999:110), the pursuit of process qualities over substance attractiveness implies the reduction of social and political issues to technical and procedural matters; they are translated into problems to be managed. Imrie makes use of this to build a case against communicative planning, contending that it 'is a powerful conception in legitimising a managerialist approach to the problems confronting the planner' (ibid.119). Although Imrie has a point, he ignores the contrasting reasons for the interest in process. The proponents of NPM want to make issues less political and opt for a streamlined managerial process. Communicative planning theorists regard the process as important because issues are acknowledged as political, and the groups and interests affected should therefore have a say.

Referring to communicative planning, Mees (2003) is worried about the alleged lack of a planner role that links planners' expertise with the substance of the plan. Based on his negative experience with long term planning in Melbourne, Mees holds that the participatory and communicative part of the planning process can often be easily manipulated or contracted to a minimum level even if the planners' engagement with the public was originally advertised as a central characteristic of the process. The problem according to Mees is that when this happens, there is nothing left in the ruins of the communicative planning effort that can defend broader social interests. In alternative modes of planning – even in the despised rationalistic or synoptic mode – one would at least have professional recommendations about the substance of the plan to fall back on if there was no outcome from a dialogical process to provide legitimacy to action. In a manipulated and curtailed communicative process, Mees fears that there will be nothing to counteract opportunistic political proposals and market-determined solutions.

Anti-professionalism is an element also in Allmendinger's (2001:134) reasoning about the link between communicative planning and neo-liberalism. He holds the denial of a central coordinating role for the planner to be a main theme of collaborative planning. Planners need to engage with local stakeholders in an unbarred search for local consensus. Allmendinger interprets collaborative planning theorists as wanting a levelling down of the planner's role to that of any other stakeholder.

*Critique based on alleged common interest in limiting state influence*

Bengs's (2005:6) main concern is that '(a) new planning regime with a minimum of predefined restrictions and guidelines and ample possibilities for striking deals on the local level is in conformity with the neo-liberal ideals'. This description fits CPT, which Bengs consequently sees as a tool for building social institutions consistent with the neo-liberal society; that is, advancing commercialized development and the free flow of investment. As Bengs believes that developers and other strong stakeholders will gain the upper hand in local deal-making, relegating other actors to the role of pure 'extras', he regards CPT as establishing institutions for serving the few rather than the many.

One of the clearest cases of linking CPT to a policy for diminishing central government influence comes from Elwood's (2002) analysis of neighbourhood revitalization through collaborative planning in Minneapolis, Minnesota. She indicates that the conclusions on the relations between neo-liberal interests and the collaborative efforts might be generalized to other revitalization programmes throughout the US. Elwood's view is that the collaborative programmes fit the neo-liberal agenda because:

- (1) Devolution and collaborative public-private partnerships are means for downsizing the state, giving citizens and civic organizations growing responsibility for local urban planning and service delivery.
- (2) Grassroots organizations may be co-opted into reproducing neo-liberal priorities and policies at a highly localized level, such as entrepreneurialism, market-driven competition, and diminished state involvement within neighbourhood level revitalization.

This critique of communicative planning assumes that state intervention can serve the weak groups in urban development processes, and that it is therefore unfortunate that the state withdraws and transfers responsibility to municipal planning initiatives and local civil society.

It is a main point in much critique of communicative planning, that it opens for local negotiations which tend to give powerful developers the upper hand, and weakens the legitimacy of general regulations protecting what he (without further explanation) calls the 'public interest'. Already in the 1980s some planning theorists



worried that planners had become deal-makers rather than regulators (Fainstein 1988), which would be very much in the spirit of disjointed incrementalism. One aspect of the new flexibility is seen in policies to abolish zoning in favour of looser regulations which seek only to ensure that urban development meets certain environmental standards. Business interests might get the opportunity to co-locate previously isolated activities such as light industry and residential uses.

### **A value approach to examining the charges against CPT for serving neo-liberalism**

Only a few of the theorists giving attention both to planning and neo-liberalism (or the New Right) have explicitly dealt with CPT. Among those who have, even fewer have provided a critical and thorough analysis of the connection between communicative planning theory and neo-liberal economic and political currents. Nevertheless, as reviewed in the previous section, some planning theorists comment on that relationship, and the potential advantage to neo-liberalism from communicative planning is sufficiently clear to suggest that the conception of CPT as the unsuspecting handmaiden of neo-liberalism warrants further analysis.

It should be clear from preceding sections that neo-liberals have demanded changes to urban planning that have been deeply regretted by communicative planning theorists. They are therefore likely to find allegations of any positive relation between CPT and neo-liberalism paradoxical and hard to believe. The present section discusses a commended development of CPT that will hamper applications breaking with the values of discourse ethics, and impede exploitation of this planning theory for neo-liberal purposes.

CPT is often criticized for single-minded preoccupation with the qualities of the planning process at the expense of the planning outcome. As long as the process is open, striving for dialogue in the Habermasian sense, and aiming for local consensus – so the critique goes – there is little in CPT to prevent the plan itself from serving neo-liberal purposes.

One can endorse democratic procedures (or the ideal process of CPT) either because they are believed to be intrinsically valuable, or because they are instrumentally valuable and thus tend to produce good outcomes. The prevailing view in CPT is that communicative planning has the potential to deliver on process and outcome qualities alike. It is nevertheless conceded by many communicative planning theorists that there is a

need to bring process qualities and outcome qualities closer together. This means it must be made evident that what is required from the plan (the outcome) is grounded in substantive values that are closely associated with the values behind the process design. This is what the value approach sketched in the present section is meant to do, and by insisting on consistency between the values of process and outcome it offers a way to address the charge that CPT facilitates the progress of neo-liberalist urban development.

The idea of the value approach is to identify a set of criteria for what constitutes a good plan in the spirit of CPT. This set of substantive criteria or values should explicitly point back to – and be closely associated with – the procedural values that are the basis of planning process design and desirable planner conduct according to CPT, such as:

- *Empathy*, broadmindedness, being a good listener, aiming to understand others' point of view.
- *Equality of moral worth*, equal opportunities for communicative action across race, sex, and religion.
- *Fairness*, serving people according to criteria of need and communicative difficulties rather than power, money, and social status.
- *Honesty*, sincerity and trustworthiness, abstaining from deception and manipulation.
- *Inclusiveness*, hospitality in the sense of welcoming people with differing sets of values and attitudes into planning processes and other arenas of social and political life.
- *Responsiveness* to other parties in the planning process and to the general public, willingness to engage in dialogue, and to give reasons why one holds a view.
- *Self-government*, defending every citizen's right to influence collective decisions in matters that concern them.

The neo-liberal model for organizing the public sector – new public management (NPM) – offers an economic model of governance claiming that market and business rationality can be made to operate as effectively in the public interest as it does in securing private interests. Similarities between the public and private sectors are accentuated, and NPM encourages organizational forms that increase the autonomy and freedom of choice of managers in order to enhance agency efficiency, for example, through performance contracts. Administrative bodies at all levels should be competitive, should have management orientation and customer-focused quality improvement systems, and should pay attention to results (benchmarking). The public sector is expected to give lower priority to rules, processes, and various internal considerations, such

as expert jurisdictions and job security (Hood 2002, Lane 2000). The following values are identified for NPM:

- *Accountability* as support for the rule of law and accepted standards of conduct, for example, budget discipline.
- *Freedom of choice* resulting from competitiveness, authority, and social recognition.
- *Prosperity* through minimization of waste, that is, efficient use of labour, capital, and natural resources.
- *Reward for individual effort* through impersonal market mechanisms rather than bureaucratic regulations.

The differences between the values of communicative planning theory and new public management (neo-liberalism) are also demonstrated by Sager (2009). Moreover, Braithwaite (2009) shows that the values of CPT and NPM by and large belong to different value dimensions, the harmony and the security dimensions, respectively. The two dimensions are described as follows:

(T)he harmony value system brings together societal and personal values that aim to further peaceful coexistence through a social order that shares resources, communicates mutual respect, and cooperates to allow individuals to develop their potential to the full. Harmony values orient us toward establishing connections to others...

The security value system brings together guiding principles that ensure that one is well positioned to protect one's interests and further them within the existing social order. Security values guide us in deciding how we divide up limited resources, what kinds of competition between groups and individuals are legitimate, and how we define winners and losers. (Braithwaite 2009:89)

Given the contrast between harmony values and security values – and thus the contrast between the values of CPT and NPM – it is unlikely that a plan complying with a set of substantive criteria that mirror the process values of CPT, will also serve the purposes of neo-liberalism.

The discussion between adherents of procedural and substantive theories is an old one in planning, as is clear from the overview chapter in Faludi (1987:68-87). For most theorists dealing with the issue, it was a question of relative emphasis rather than either/or. The dichotomy has later been discussed from a radical perspective by Feldman (1995) and from a post-positivist standpoint by Allmendinger (2002), who suggests to do away with the distinction. Alexander (2002a) nevertheless separates substantive and procedural concepts of the public interest; the first mentioned being concerned with the content of actions and their consequences, and the second focusing on the quality of the planning and decision-making process. Planning rights are also divided into substantive and procedural concepts, which is of interest here because rights are closely related to values. Alexander (2002b:198) sees human dignity, equal treatment, and free enjoyment of property as underlying substantive planning rights. The relationship between participatory process and planning outcome was recently analyzed by MacCallum (2008). She notes that the values and norms guiding the process ‘are not the values that shape the structure and content of the conventional “good” plan...A participatory process and a conventional product, then, are underwritten by different ideal-type logics’ (ibid.326).

A number of empirical studies analyze the effects of participatory processes on the quality of planning outcome. Positive effects on quality are found by Brody (2003), Burby (2003), Dengler (2007), Innes and Booher (2010:41-88), Loring (2007), and Susskind et al. (1999), while Tang and Brody (2009) did not obtain statistically significant results. Warnings about potentially negative effects of participatory and communicative planning processes are put forward by Abram (2000), Pelletier et al. (1999), and Voogd and Woltjer (1999). The range of differing results is evidence that the debate about procedures’ relation to substance is still ongoing.

The main idea in this section is to underline the difference between neo-liberalist planning and CPT by requiring that the planning outcomes of the latter mirror its procedural values. CPT must change its balance of process- and product-orientation towards the outcome. A classification scheme for planning theories that contains both product-oriented procedural theory and process-oriented substantive theory was presented in Sager (1990:119-130). I recommended then – as I do now – that the plan should be designed to promote the realization of the intrinsic values of the planning process. This would imply that participants feel they have been listened to, and that their involvement has been meaningful. It was explained how redundancy techniques (an aspect of flexible planning) can be used in order to design plans that underpin these procedural values (Sager 1994:232). Giving general recommendations about plan design is problematic in CPT, as free dialogue is at the heart of the communicative mode of planning. Pre-given values or criteria pertaining to planning outcomes must therefore be on a form restricting the open discussion as little as possible.

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The idea of linking outcome evaluation to process values is developed further here by drawing on Sen's (2009) concept 'comprehensive outcome' and Brettschneider's (2005, 2006, 2007) value theory of democracy. Sen argues against a narrow consequentialism where a state of affairs is evaluated by considering 'culmination outcome' only. The culmination outcome includes the ultimate results of an action that are detached from process, agencies and relations. In contrast, comprehensive outcome evaluation takes the dynamic context of the choice of action into account; for example, the properties of the planning process leading up to the recommendation of a certain planning alternative (Sen 2009:215). Sandbu (2007) extends and deepens the analysis of comprehensive outcomes. It is of significance to CPT that he studies the evaluation of voice and participation. Communicative planning processes draw their value partly from their instrumental effect on culmination outcomes; '(y)et in their symbolic and evidential role, they represent something much broader: they represent our autonomy as subjects who can shape our reality, rather than objects whose lives merely happen to them' (ibid.226). Participants in democratic processes value their *causal* role in producing culmination outcomes. The local public can value the substantive outcome of a planning effort differently depending on whether it was imposed on them by fiat or emanated from a consensus building process with extensive public participation.

Consider an example. The local evaluation of a windfarm on nearby mountain ridges is likely to differ in the following two alternative situations. Situation 1: A business-oriented economic analysis is the basis of the decision. The process is expert-driven, and windmills are the only technology for electricity production taken into account by the planners. Situation 2: In a co-operative process with local politicians, the planners have compared all feasible technologies for producing the electricity required. The impact assessment of the alternative solutions has a local community perspective in addition to displaying financial effects for the energy company.

The windmill plan is likely to be less negatively or more positively received by the affected municipality if local people agree that the alternatives to a windfarm have been properly assessed. A participatory process creating a feeling among local people that their concerns have been clearly conveyed to the decision-makers, is also likely to influence locals' view of the plan, although not necessarily in positive direction. Disappointment over an undesirable decision despite having thoroughly explained the disadvantages accruing to the local community, can make the local constituency judge the plan very unfavourably. The different evaluations imply that people's judgement is founded on comprehensive outcome and thus affected by the quality of the planning process.

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Brettschneider's (2006) value theory of democracy offers an alternative to the traditional divide between procedural theories of democracy and substantive theories of justice. She argues that the democratic ideal is fundamentally about a core set of values with both procedural and substantive implications. I adopt the idea of linking both process and outcome to the same set of core values, and propose a value approach to the problem of bringing process and outcome closer together in CPT. In the present value approach as in the value theory of democracy, '(i)t is the ambition...to reconcile the ideal of self-government with the protection of substantive individual rights by appealing to a set of core values' (ibid.261). The CPT values that have been identified are empathy, equality, fairness, honesty, inclusion, responsiveness, and self-government. Brettschneider's core set of democratic values – equality of interest, political autonomy, and reciprocity – is included among the values of CPT.

The purpose of the present value approach is to combine the ideal of dialogically agreed plans with the effective safeguarding of quality outcomes by appealing to the set of values characterizing ideal processes of communicative planning. The set of core values of CPT has, for instance, fairness implications for planning outcomes as well as for the dialogical planning process. Affected individuals should be given a fair hearing, but also a fair compensation if some of their property is expropriated for the production of public goods. The value approach here applied to communicative planning rests on respect for all citizens as lay planners. Citizens authorize legitimate plans through their participation in communicative and democratic planning processes. Respecting a citizen's status as a lay planner requires that planning outcomes resulting from CPT procedures do not undermine this status. Communicative planning must be by and for the people. The criteria that safeguard the virtues of outcomes ensure that plans will not undermine citizens' fundamental interest in being treated as competent lay planners who know what is for their own best and in the best interest of the community (Brettschneider 2006:268-70). For example, professional communicative planners cannot first invite local citizens into the planning process in the name of empowerment, self-government, honesty and empathy, and then come up with planning outcomes that disregard their arguments and recommendations.

In the planning literature, substantive values are usually not dealt with directly, but instead transformed into goals and displayed as such (Keeney et al. 1996). Gormley (1987:156), however, mentions the values social equity, equality, liberty, privacy, community integration, self-actualization, ecological balance, and family stability. Some of these values are process-dependent; community integration, for example, is more readily achieved with the support of participatory and communicative planning processes. The substantive planning

goal may be a neighbourhood plan which most residents feel a strong commitment to implement. Such commitment must, however, be built through the planning process, thus making certain demands on the design of this process.

Before a set of substantive values or criteria is listed below, a couple of issues concerning CPT values for planning outcomes have to be clarified. One to one correspondence between the values characterizing the planning outcome and the procedural CPT values is not necessary in the value approach. Every procedural value might not have an equivalent in the virtues of a particular planning outcome, but this outcome can still be deemed satisfactory from a CPT perspective. There may also be substantive values (characterizing a particular planning outcome) that are not process-dependent and thus do not refer back to the set of CPT values listed above. When the primary goal (as here) is to acquire the ability to distinguish the effects of communicative planning from neo-liberalism, the occurrence of process-independent values inherent in the outcome is not a problem as long as they do not serve the purposes of neo-liberal policies. However, for the value approach to lead to the conclusion that the plan under scrutiny does not primarily serve neo-liberal sectional interests, the overlap between the procedural and substantive CPT value sets for this particular planning effort must be broad enough to preclude all reasonable doubt that the plan is in the spirit of deliberative democracy and CPT, and does not bolster contrasting ideologies. When the overlap between substantive values and CPT process values is quite limited, and several outcome values underline the worth of efficiency, market, and management, the chances are much higher that the planning effort in question serves neo-liberal urban development.

How concretely should the substantive values be articulated in CPT? If evaluation criteria and values for the planning outcome are made overly concrete and without explicit reference to the general set of process values, they will have to be reformulated for each new planning task. The chief purpose of the substantive criteria is to advance consistency between process and planning outcome, and the level of concreteness should be adapted to this need. Some quite general substantive principles or values are listed below. Taken together, the principles on the list are associated with all the procedural CPT values identified in this section.

- Consensus solutions negotiated in the communication process should be incorporated in the final plan, possibly with modifications expressing the interests of people who are not part of the local consensus; for example, tax payers in general, asylum seekers and refugees, and future generations. (Self-government)

- The plan should respect what is culturally essential to affected groups, such as their heritage and their conception of the sacred. (Fairness)
- The plan should accommodate diverse lifestyles and not hinder any group from living in accordance with its self-chosen identity. For example, cultural minorities should find places in the city which are fit for their rituals and ways of socializing. (Empathy)
- The plan should hold something for each affected group, if not in its main physical manifestation of purpose, then as compensation. Especially, the situation of underprivileged groups should not be aggravated. (Equality)
- The plan, even when designed contrary to the wishes of a particular group, should include elements signalling to this group that it has been listened to. At least, details of the plan should be fashioned to meet the group halfway. (Responsiveness)
- The content of the recommended plan should correspond to the information and the planner intentions conveyed to the participating parties throughout the planning process. The plan should not give reason to suspect previously hidden agendas. (Honesty)
- The plan should not make it difficult for certain groups to take part in public life, to work, or to access basic public and private services. (Inclusion)

The city, as well as city planning, should be inclusive. In many planning cases this would lead to substantive criteria such as keeping urban space public and open to a wide range of activities, or promoting urban housing in all price classes. Furthermore, if it is not okay that systematic power differentials bias city planning, why should it be acceptable that exertion of power bias use of the city itself? A substantive criterion could call for safe urban environment for all groups, day and night.

The substantive principles listed above are quite abstract, and they need to be supplemented by more concrete planning outcome values in order to assess whether a particular plan serves neo-liberal interests or deliberative democracy.

### **Final remarks**

It is easier to assess the effects of communicative planning on the neo-liberalization of cities when some other aspects of the relationship between planning and neo-liberalism have been clarified. The neo-liberal view on public planning was therefore outlined, and planning scholars' critique of CPT's alleged links to



neo-liberalism was surveyed, before a strategy was proposed for enquiring into the charges against CPT for running the errands of neo-liberalists. It is the main purpose of this paper to develop such a strategy for dealing with accusations that CPT is unwittingly supporting ideologies and policies which have a value-content that is quite different from CPT's own.

The proposed strategy does not aim to show that communicative planning is unlikely to bolster ideologies deviating from its own theoretical core. Instead it employs a value approach to investigate whether this might be the case for particular planning efforts. Whether the critique of CPT turns out to be valid or misconceived, planners should be warned not to approve of solutions without first taking a critical look at the role played by developers and other powerful actors in the communicative process. In his early books, Forester (1989, 1993) tried to make it clear that a capitalist economy always provides a structurally unequal context for planning. The critique of CPT for serving neo-liberalism is a reminder that appeals to dialogue which ignore structural inequality are disingenuous and cannot be expected to be part of a democratic bulwark against the hegemony of particular interests.

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**Title:**

**Theorizing Planning for Climate Change: Critical Reading for New York City's Recent  
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**Abstract**

Climate change and its resulting uncertainties challenge the concepts, procedures, and scope of conventional approaches to planning, thus creating a need to rethink and revise current planning methods and theories. The aim of this paper is twofold: to propose a new multifaceted conceptual framework for theorizing planning for climate change; and to apply this framework for critically analyzing the recent master plan for New York City: *PlaNYC 2030*. The proposed conceptual framework consists of eight concepts that were identified through a conceptual analysis of planning and interdisciplinary literature on sustainability and

climate change. These concepts, which together constitute the theoretical framework of planning for climate change, are: *Utopian Vision*, *Equity*, *Uncertainty*, *Natural Capital*, *Eco-Form*, *Integrative Approach*, *Ecological Energy*, and *Ecological Economics*. Each concept is composed of several criteria of evaluation. Using the proposed conceptual framework to evaluate *PlaNYC 2030* reveals important merits and shortcomings of the Plan. On the bright side, the Plan promotes greater compactness and density, enhanced mixed land use, sustainable transportation, greening, and renewal, and utilization of underused land. It also addresses future uncertainties related to climate change with institutional measures and recommends efficient ways of using the city's natural capital assets. Finally, the Plan creates mechanisms to promote its climate change goals and to create a cleaner environment for economic investment, offers an ambitious vision of reducing emissions by 30% and of a "greener, greater New York," and links this vision to the international agenda on climate change. On the down side, the assessment reveals that *PlaNYC* did not make a radical shift toward planning for climate change and adaptation and inadequately addresses social planning issues that are crucial to New York City. Like other cities, New York is "socially differentiated" in terms of communities' capacity to address the uncertainties of climate change, and the Plan fails to address issues facing vulnerable communities. Moreover, the Plan calls for an integrative approach to meeting the challenges of climate change on the institutional level but fails to effectively integrate civil society, communities, and grassroots organizations into the process. Another critical shortcoming, particularly during the current age of climate change uncertainty, is the lack of a systematic procedure for public participation in the planning process throughout the city's neighborhoods and among different social groupings and stakeholders.

**Keywords:** Climate Change, Planning Theory, New York City

## Introduction

Climate change poses new risks and uncertainties that often lie outside our range of experience (IPCC, 2007: 719) and that have the potential to affect the social, economic, ecological, and physical systems of any given city. In this way, climate change and its resulting uncertainties challenge the concepts, procedures, and scope of conventional approaches to planning, creating a need to rethink and revise current planning methods. This paper examines how planning today addresses the challenges of global climate change in urban contexts using the city of New York, and its recent *PlaNYC 2030: A Greener, Greater New York*, as a case study. A fundamental assumption of PlaNYC, which was launched on Earth Day 2007, is that “climate change poses real and significant risks to New York City.” (*PlaNYC: Progress Report 2009*: 39). My aim here is to explore the manner in which city planners propose to deal with the issue. To this end, I offer a new conceptual framework that theorizes *planning for climate change* and which by itself constitutes a multifaceted framework for evaluation. Moreover, a review of the planning literature reflects that, although current scholarship offers a number of criteria for assessing issues related to sustainability and climate change, it lacks a unified conceptual framework that theorize planning for climate change and which also helps in assessing plans’ specific contributions to climate change mitigation.

In developing this framework, I was motivated by the need for an easy to grasp assessment method that allows planners, practitioners, policymakers, and the interested members of the public to critically evaluate plans as they relate to the pressing issue of climate change. As climate change is a subject of multidisciplinary interest, the proposed framework draws on various bodies of knowledge.



## Methods

The conceptual framework of planning for climate change, consists of eight concepts of that were identified through conceptual analyses of the planning and interdisciplinary literature on sustainability and climate change. Together, these concepts – each of which represents a distinctive theme in the literature on climate change mitigation and adaptation - form the conceptual framework of the method (Jabareen, 2009). The proposed conceptual framework was developed through qualitative process analysis based on *grounded theory* method. The *conceptual framework* is not a mere collection of concepts. Rather, all concepts are interrelated and interwoven with one another; each plays an important role in the evaluation and is integral to the framework as a whole.

Each concept has several measures of evaluation (criteria and questions). It should be noted that this evaluation framework is qualitative and employs no complicated models, and is therefore easy to grasp by practitioners, policy makers and members of the public. The evaluation procedure involves applying each concept of assessment, with its measures of evaluation, to the plan under consideration. For example, when applying the concept of *equity*, we ask whether the plan addresses issues of environmental justice; whether it facilitates systematic public participation; and whether it addresses the needs of different communities in the face of climate change.

As noted above, the primary document analyzed in this study is *PlaNYC: A Greener, Greater New York*. For the purpose of this study, we reviewed several other related documents published by the city of New York as well. These include *PlaNYC: Progress Report 2009*; *Climate Change Report* (2009); *Energy Conservation Plan* (2008); *Greenhouse Gas Inventory* (2008); *Municipal Energy Conservation* (2008); *Think Locally, Act Globally: How Curbing Global Warming can Improve Local Public Health* (2008); *PlaNYC: Inventory of New York*

*City Greenhouse Gas Emission*. (2009); and *NPCC - New York City Panel on Climate Change: Climate Risk Information* (2009).

### **The Concepts of the Conceptual Framework**

The proposed *conceptual framework* is composed of eight concepts that together theorize planning for climate change, all of which are directed in one way or another toward climate change adaptation and GHG reduction, as represented in Fig1. The concepts are:

***Utopian Vision:*** This concept is concerned with a plan's future vision. Usually, urban planning seeks to bring about a different and more desirable future. Theoretically, the power of visionary or utopian thinking lies in its inherent ability to envision the future in terms of radically new forms and values (de Geus, 1999). An urban vision incorporating climate change as a central theme is of the utmost importance to practitioners, decision makers, and the public. Visionary frames are important in climate change, as they serve to identify problematic conditions and the need for change, to propose future alternatives, and to urge all stakeholders to act in concert to affect change. Climate change planning visions must provide people with an interpretive framework that enables them to understand how the issue is related to their own lives in the present and future, and to the world at large (Taylor, 2000; Benford and Snow, 2000: 614). This concept evaluates a plan's visionary and utopian aspects regarding future urban life and the city's potential role in climate change mitigation.

***Equity:*** Equity is a key concept in evaluating climate change policies (IPCC, 2001). The impacts of climate change and climate change mitigation policies are "socially differentiated," and are therefore matters of local and international distributional equity and justice (Adger, 2001: 929; O'Brien et. al., 2004; Paavola et al., 2006). Some argue that inequality leads to

greater environmental degradation and that a more equitable distribution of power and resources would result in improved environmental quality (Boyce et al. 1999; Agyeman et al., 2002; Solow 1991, Stymne and Jackson, 2000). Moreover, there are individuals and groups within all societies who are more vulnerable than others and lack the capacity to adapt to climate change (Schneider et. Al., 2007: 719). A society's vulnerability is influenced by its development path, physical exposure, resource distribution, social networks, government institutions, and technological development (IPCC, 2007: 719-720). The concept of equity is used to evaluate a plan's social aspects, including: environmental justice; public participation; and methods of addressing each community's vulnerability to climate change (urban vulnerability matrix).

***Uncertainty Management:*** Uncertainty “is a perceived lack of knowledge, by an individual or group, which is relevant to the purpose or action being undertaken and its outcomes” (Abbot, 2009: 503). The new urban uncertainties posed by climate change challenge the concepts, procedures, and scope of planning. In order to cope with the new challenges, planners must develop a greater awareness and place mitigation and policies for “adaptation,” or actual adjustments that might eventually enhance resilience and reduce vulnerability to expected climate changes, at the center of the planning process (Adger et. Al., 2007: 720). Planners must also develop a better understanding of the risks climate change poses for infrastructure, households, and communities. To address these risks, planners have two types of uncertainty or adaptation management at their disposal: 1) Ex-ante management, or actions taken to reduce and/or prevent risky events; and 2) Ex-post management, or actions taken to recover losses after a risky event (Heltberg et al., 2009). This concept evaluates a plan's adaptation strategies (*ex-post* and *ex-ante*) and policies and the planning strategies for addressing future

uncertainties stemming from climate change. Does the plan include development projects for infrastructure design in order to reduce vulnerabilities and to make the city more resilient?

Does the plan enhance the city's adaptive planning capacity, or the ability of the planning system to respond successfully to climate variability and change?

**Natural Capital:** Natural capital refers to “the stock of all environmental and natural resource assets, from oil in the ground to the quality of soil and groundwater, from the stock of fish in the ocean to the capacity of the globe to recycle and absorb carbon” (Pearce et. al., 1990: 1). Maintaining constant natural capital is an important criterion for sustainability (Pearce and Turner, 1990: 44; Neumayer, 2001; Geldrop and Withagen, 2000). The stock of natural capital should not decrease, as this could endanger the ecological system and threaten the ability of future generations to generate wealth and maintain their well-being. This concept evaluates the consumption and - equally as important - the renewal of natural assets that are used for development, such as land, water, air, and open spaces.

**Eco-Form:** The physical form of a city affects its habitats and ecosystems, the everyday activities and spatial practices of its inhabitants, and, eventually, climate change. This concept evaluates spatial planning, architecture, design, and the ecologically-desired form of the city and its components (such as buildings and neighborhoods). Jabareen (2006) suggests the following set of nine planning typologies, or criteria of evaluation, which are helpful in evaluating plans from the perspective of eco-form:

**1. Compactness** refers to urban contiguity and connectivity and suggests that future urban development should take place adjacent to existing urban structures (Wheeler, 2002).

Compact urban space can minimize the need to transport energy, materials, products, and

people (Elkin et. al., 1991). Intensification, a major strategy for achieving compactness, uses urban land more efficiently by increasing the density of development and activity, and involves: developing previously undeveloped urban land; redeveloping existing buildings or previously developed sites; subdivisions and conversions; and additions and extensions (Jenks, 2000: 243).

**2. Sustainable Transport** suggests that planning should promote sustainable modes of transportation through traffic reduction; trip reduction; the encouragement of non-motorized travel (such as walking and cycling); transit-oriented development; safety; equitable access for all; and renewable energy sources, (Cervero, 1998; Clercq and Bertolini, 2003).

**3. Density** is the ratio of people or dwelling units to land area. Density affects climate change through differences in the consumption of energy, materials, and land for housing, transportation, and urban infrastructure. High density planning can save significant amounts of energy (Carl, 2000; Walker and Rees, 1997; Newman and Kenworthy, 1989).

**4. Mixed Land Uses** indicates the diversity of functional land uses, such as residential, commercial, industrial, institutional, and transportation. It allows planners to locate compatible land uses in close proximity to one another in order to decrease the travel distance to between activities. This encourages walking and cycling and reduces the need for car travel, as jobs, shops, and leisure facilities are located in close proximity of one another (Parker, 1994; Alberti, 2000; Van and Senior, 2000; Thorne and Filmer-Sankey, 2003).

**5. Diversity** is “a multidimensional phenomenon” that promotes other desirable urban features, including a larger variety of housing types, building densities, household sizes, ages, cultures, and incomes (Turner and Murray, 2001: 320). Diversity is vital for cities. Without it, the urban system declines as a living place (Jacobs 1961) and the resulting homogeneity of

built forms, which often produces unattractive monotonous urban landscapes, leads to increased segregation, car travel, congestion, and air pollution (Wheeler, 2002).

**6. Passive Solar Design** aims to reduce energy demands and to provide the best use of passive energy through specific planning and design measures, such as orientation, layout, landscaping, building design, urban materials, surface finish, vegetation, and bodies of water. This facilitates optimum use of solar gain and microclimatic conditions and reduces the need for the heating and cooling of buildings by means of conventional energy sources (Owens, 1992; Thomas, 2003; Yannis, 1998: 43).

**7. Greening**, or bringing “nature into the city,” makes positive contributions to many aspects of the urban environment, including: biodiversity; the lived-in urban environment; urban climate; economic attractiveness; community pride; and health and education (Beatley 2000; Swanwick et al., 2003; Forman, 2002; Dumreicher et al., 2000; Beer et. al., 2003; Ulrich, 1999).

**8. Renewal and Utilization** refers to the process of reclaiming the many sites that are no longer appropriate for their original intended use and can be reclaimed for a new purpose, such as brownfields. Cleaning, rezoning, and developing contaminated sites are key aspects of revitalizing cities and neighbourhoods and contribute to their sustainability and to a healthier urban environment.

**9. Planning Scale** influences and is influenced by climate change. For this reason, desirable planning scale should be considered and integrated in plans for regional, municipal, district, neighbourhood, street, site, and building levels. Planning that moves from macro to micro levels has a more holistic and positive impact on climate change.

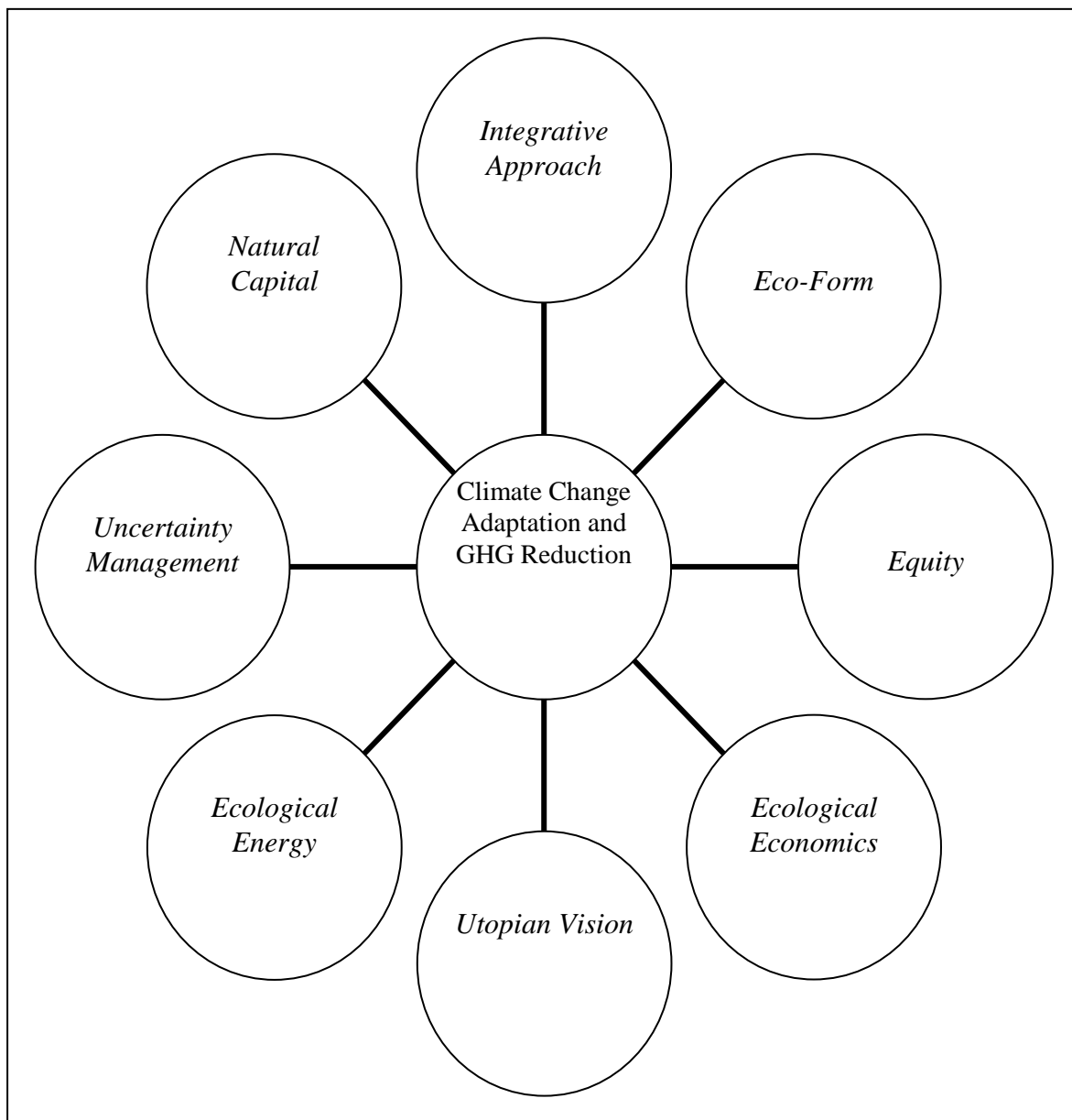
***Integrative Approach:*** Planning for climate change is more complex than the conventional approach to planning as it is undertaken in a context of great uncertainty. This context poses new challenges for collaboration among public, private, and civil institutions and organizations on all levels. Integrating the many different stakeholders and agents into planning is essential for achieving climate change objectives. The “ability of a governance system to adapt to uncertain and unpredicted conditions is a new notion” (Mirfenderesk and Corkill, 2009: 152). Therefore, adaptive management requires new planning strategies and procedures that transcend conventional planning approaches by integrating uncertainties into the planning process and prioritizing stakeholders’ expectations in an uncertain environment. Plans should also be “flexible enough to quickly adapt to our rapidly changing environment” (Mirfenderesk and Corkill, 2009). This concept evaluates the integrative framework for city planning and adaptive management under conditions of uncertainty, and the spectrum of collaboration that a plan proposes.

***Ecological Energy:*** The clean, renewable, and efficient use of energy is a central theme in planning for the achievement of climate change objectives. This concept evaluates how a plan addresses the energy sector and whether it proposes strategies to reduce energy consumption and to use new, alternative, and clean energy sources.

***Ecological Economics:*** This concept is based on the assumption that environmentally sound economics can play a decisive role in achieving climate change objectives in a capitalist world. Cities that are committed to climate change mitigation and sustainability should stimulate markets for ‘green’ products and services, promote environmentally friendly consumption, and contribute to urban economic development by creating a cleaner

environment (Hsu, 2006: 11; Mercer Human Resources Consulting, 2005). In this spirit, the American Recovery and Reinvestment Plan, proposed by President Barack Obama, calls for spurring “job creation while making long-term investments in energy, and infrastructure,” and increasing “production of alternative energy” (White House, 2009). This concept evaluates a plan’s ecological economic aspects, including the economic engines it puts in place to meet climate change objectives

**Figure 1. Planning for Climate Change: The Concepts of the Framework**





### **The Plan: PlaNYC 2030**

The authors of PlaNYC identify three main challenges for the plan: growth, an aging infrastructure, and an increasingly precarious environment (PlaNYC: 4). The present population of New York City is approximately 8,363,700 people (US Census Bureau 2009), and according to the plan, the target population for 2030 will surge past nine million (PlaNYC: 6). The work force will grow by 750,000 jobs and the need for 60 million square feet of additional commercial space, which the Plan suggests should be filled by the “re-emergence of Lower Manhattan and new central business districts in Hudson Yards, Long Island City and Downtown Brooklyn” (PlaNYC: 6). “The plan predicts 65 million visitors to the city by 2030. The additional jobs, tourists, and residents could generate an additional \$13 billion annually— money that can be used to help fund some of the initiatives described in the following pages and to provide the services that our residents, businesses, workers, and visitors deserve” (PlaNYC: 6). The plan is composed of 127 new initiatives that aim to strengthen the economy, public health, and the quality of life in the city. Collectively, they will form the broadest attack on climate change ever undertaken by an American city. In addition, “most of *PlaNYC*’s 127 separate initiatives contribute directly to achieving the city’s GHG reduction goals: to reduce citywide GHG emissions by 30 percent by 2030 and to reduce City government GHG emissions by 30 percent by 2017” (*PlaNYC: Inventory of New York City Greenhouse Gas Emission, 2009*).

### **Assessing *PlaNYC* 2030**

We now turn to an assessment of PlaNYC based on the eight-concept evaluation method outlined above.

#### **1. Uncertainty Management and Adaptation in PlaNYC**

New York city is portrayed as a city at risk by both PlaNYC and the New York City Panel on Climate Change (NPCC, 2009), a public body proposed by PlaNYC (PlaNYC: 139) and convened by the mayor of New York in 2008 in order to achieve the climate change related goals outlined in the Plan. The NPCC holds that “climate change poses a range of hazards to New York City and its infrastructure” and that “these changes suggest a need for the City to rethink the way it operates and adapts to its evolving environment” (NPCC, 2009: 3). According to the NPCC (2009), climate change is likely to bring warmer temperatures to New York City and the surrounding region, as mean annual temperatures, as projected by global climate models, increase by 1.5- 3 F by the 2020s, 3-5 F by the 2050s, and 4-7.5 F by the 2080s (NPCC, 2009). In addition, the city will also see more intense rainstorms, while annual precipitation is likely to increase and droughts become more severe toward the end of 21<sup>st</sup> century. Heat waves are also likely to become more frequent, intense, and longer in duration. Furthermore, sea levels are also likely to rise in the decades to come, with rises of 2-5 inches by the 2020s, 7-12 inches by the 2050s, and 12-23 inches by the 2080s. In comparison to the period preceding the industrial revolution, when sea levels rose at rates of 0.34 to 0.43 inches per decade, current rates around New York City range between 0.86 and 1.5 inches per decade (NPCC, 2009: 5-9; Gehrels, et al., 2005; Holgate and Woodworth 2004). As a result, flooding and storm-related coastal flooding are likely to increase as well (NPCC, 2009: 4). New York City has almost 578 miles of coastline and over half a million residents living within the current flood plain, which is especially dangerous to New York. In fact, at the current sea level, NPCC suggests that New York City already faces the probability of a “hundred year flood” once every 80 years. This could increase to once every 43 years by the 2020s and to once every 19 years by the 2050s. According to one estimate, a Category 2

hurricane would inflict more damage on New York than on any other American city except Miami (NPCC, 2009: 8).

Climate change poses particular threats to the city's infrastructure, in the form of: Increased summertime strain on materials; increased peak electricity loads in summer and reduced heating in winter; voltage fluctuations, equipment damage and service interruptions; increased demands on HVAC systems; transportation service disruption; increased street, basement and sewer flooding; reduction of water quality; inundation of low-lying areas and wetlands; increased structural damage and impaired operations; and increased need for emergency management procedures (NPCC, 2009: 4-30).

In addition to these threats, the already deteriorating physical condition of city infrastructure adds dramatically to the uncertainties surrounding climate change. According to PlaNYC (2007: 7), New York City's infrastructure "is the oldest in America." Not only are the subway system and highway networks heavily-used, but about 3,000 miles of roads, bridges, and tunnels are in need of repair, as are many subway stations. To make matters worse, the water infrastructure has not been inspected in more than 70 years, and 52% of the city's tributaries that run adjacent to the shoreline and pass through neighborhoods are unsafe even for boating. Finally, about 7,600 acres throughout the boroughs remain contaminated, and the city suffers from one of the worst asthma rates in the country (PlaNYC: 7).

With regard to these risks and uncertainties, PlaNYC explains that "there is no silver bullet to deal with climate change," and "as a result, our strategy to help stem climate change is the sum of all the initiatives in this plan" (PlaNYC: 135). The Plan's main thrust for climate change adaptation appears to lie in the creation of "an intergovernmental Task Force to protect our city's vital infrastructure" and "to work with vulnerable neighborhoods to develop site-specific strategies" (PlaNYC: 136). In addition, PlaNYC proposes the establishment of a New

York City Climate Change Advisory Board, a citywide strategic planning process “to determine the impacts of climate change to public health and other elements of the City and begin identifying viable adaptation strategies” (*PlaNYC: Progress Report 2009*: 39). Proposed adaptation policies also include measures to fortify the city’s critical infrastructure, to be implemented through close cooperation between city, state, and federal agencies and authorities; updating the flood plain maps to better protect areas that are most vulnerable to flooding; and working with at-risk neighborhoods across the city to develop site specific plans. “In addition to these targeted initiatives,” the Plan reads, “we must also embrace a broader perspective, tracking the emerging data on climate change and its potential impacts on our city” (PlaNYC: 136).

PlaNYC addresses future uncertainties of climate change on a general level and suggests primarily institutional procedures – establishment of the NPCC and the Climate Change Advisory Board - to meet the challenge. Without a doubt, these bodies, which are charged with monitoring climate change parameters vis-à-vis the City and proposing adjustment policies, enhance the city’s urban adaptive planning capacity. At the same time, however, the plan’s adaptation strategy is based principally on emission reduction, an *ex-ante* strategy. In this way, PlaNYC fails to prepare the city and its infrastructure for the disasters that could stem from climate change. For example, the Plan proposes no infrastructure design or development projects along the city’s vulnerable 570-miles of coastal zones. On the contrary, PlaNYC proposes to intensify development wherever possible, in waterfront and other areas, without considering the risks posed by climate change. Finally, PlaNYC proposes no *ex-poste* strategy, or an emergency response to such disasters.

## 2. The Utopian Vision of PlaNYC

From the outset, PlaNYC *diagnoses* the local and global climate change crisis as problematic and critical for New York City and the world as a whole. The Plan states that New York has “already started to experience warmer, more unpredictable weather and rising sea levels” and notes scientists’ projections that, as temperatures rise across the globe toward the end of the century, New York City could find itself with between 40 and 89 days that are 90 degrees or hotter each year. “As a coastal city,” it concludes, “we are vulnerable to the most dramatic effects of global warming: rising sea levels and intensifying storms” (PlaNYC: 133). From 2000 to 2005, New York’s greenhouse gas emissions increased almost 5% (PlaNYC: 135). This is significant, as New York City emits nearly 0.25% of the world’s total greenhouse gases.

Later, PlaNYC portrays New York City as the most sustainable and “one of the most environmentally efficient cities” in the USA (PlaNYC: 135), producing “less than a third of the CO<sub>2</sub>e generated by the average American.” In this way, it holds, “Growing New York is, itself, a climate change strategy.” According to the Plan, New York City is a globally responsible, pioneering, modern and innovative city – a city with an “unending sense of possibility” (PlaNYC: 130). Still, PlaNYC acknowledges, “in spite of our inherent efficiency, we can do better. And we must. Instead we are doing worse” (PlaNYC: 135). As one of the world’s most spectacular cities, planners hold, New York should seize the opportunity and “define the role of cities in the 21st century and lead the fight against global warming” (PlaNYC: 130). The City “cannot afford to wait until others take the lead” on slowing climate change. “New York has always pioneered answers to some of the most pressing problems of the modern age,” the planners argue, and “it is incumbent on us to do so again, and rise to the definitive challenge of the 21st century” (PlaNYC: 9).

PlaNYC's vision generates a sense of local and global *urgency*: “unless the public...appreciate[s] the urgency...we will not meet our goal” (PlaNYC: 110). “Meanwhile, we will face an increasingly precarious environment and the growing danger of climate change that imperils not just our city, but the planet. We have offered a different vision... It is a vision of New York as the first sustainable 21st century city— but it is more than that. It is a plan to get there” (PlaNYC: 141).

The planning vision promises a *better future*: “The result, we believe, is the most sweeping plan to strengthen New York's urban environment in the city's modern history... we have developed a plan that can become a model for cities in the 21st century” (PlaNYC: 10).

“It is a vision of providing New Yorkers with the cleanest air of any big city in the nation; of maintaining the purity of our drinking water;...; of producing more energy more cleanly and more reliably, and offering more choices on how to travel quickly and efficiently across our city. It is a vision where contaminated land is reclaimed and restored to communities; where every family lives near a park or playground; where housing is sustainable and available to New Yorkers from every background, reflecting the diversity that has defined our city for centuries” (PlaNYC: 141).

PlaNYC casts “climate change,” or “sustainability,” as a major concern and central theme of the plan. New York City Mayor Michael Bloomberg describes PlaNYC as “a long-term vision for a sustainable New York City” which “has been acknowledged around the world as one of the most ambitious – and most pragmatic – sustainability plans anywhere” (*PlaNYC: Progress Report 2009*: 4). He also maintains that each of the plan's 127 initiatives “will not only strengthen our economic foundation and improve our quality of life; collectively, they will also form a frontal assault on the biggest challenge of all: global climate change” (*PlaNYC: Progress Report 2009*: 2).

The vision advanced in PlaNYC includes solutions and planning strategies, calls for collective action, and promises that “We can do better. Together, we can create a greener, greater New York” (PlaNYC: 3). In the words of the mayor, “Truly, PlaNYC has become a citywide effort...we are creating a better and more sustainable city – one that will rise above the current economic turmoil and show the world how it is possible to come back stronger than ever... The City is committed to these goals, and together, I know we can build a greener, greater New York” (*PlaNYC: Progress Report 2009: 4*).

The vision of PlaNYC is ambitious: its practical aim is to reduce emissions by 30%, and its physical agenda is to develop New York City as a “greener, greater New York.” The vision adequately addresses local and global climate change as a central concern of planning and future development. It aims to inspire and mobilize New Yorkers to collectively adhere to the planning initiatives and to build consensus and legitimacy for its implementation. For this reason, the word ‘we’ appears 1,708 times in the 156 pages of PlaNYC, or about 11 times per page. Yet, the vision overlooks the social and cultural agenda of such a diverse city.

Strikingly, even though New York is “more diverse than ever; today nearly 60% of New Yorkers are either foreign-born or the children of immigrants” (PlaNYC: 4), with 174 languages spoken by the city residents, the vision neglects the social and cultural issues related to this majority of the city’s population.

### **3. PlaNYC and the Concept of Equity**

New York is a diverse city with 5 boroughs, 59 community districts and hundreds of neighbourhoods. PlaNYC acknowledges that shifting climate patterns will have a wide range of affects on these communities, taking lives and posing “major public health dangers,” and impacting the property and livelihood of many (PlaNYC, 138). Moreover, all five New York

City boroughs “have vulnerable coastline.” Moreover, the massive growth proposed by PlaNYC will certainly affect these communities, and may even “erase the character of communities across the city” (PlaNYC: 18). In considering the spatial impact of implementing the plan, the authors raise a crucial dilemma for the future of New York City and its communities:

“We cannot simply create as much capacity as possible; we must carefully consider the kind of city we want to become. We must ask which neighborhoods would suffer from the additional density and which ones would mature with an infusion of people, jobs, stores and transit. We must weigh the consequences of carbon emissions, air quality, and energy efficiency when we decide the patterns that will shape our city over the coming decades” (PlaNYC: 18).

Despite the significant planning it embodies and the crucial dilemmas it raises, PlaNYC suggests no mechanism or procedure for facilitating citizen participation in the planning process, and makes no mention of public participation in the City’s communities and neighborhoods. In short, careful reading of PlaNYC reveals markedly inadequate public participation in the planning process. PlaNYC asks: “What kind of city should we become?” and asserts: “We posed that question to New York” (PlaNYC: 9). However, instead of a systematic procedure for public participation in central planning, the planners employed participation methods that were disorganized at best:

“Over the past three months, we have received thousands of ideas sent by email through our website; we’ve heard from over a thousand citizens, community leaders and advocates who came to our meetings to express their opinions; we have met with over 100 advocates and community organizations, held 11 Town Hall meetings, and delivered presentations around the city. The input we received suggested new ideas for consideration, shaped our thinking, reordered our priorities” (PlaNYC: 9).



Notwithstanding this process, it is clear that public participation in the process was inadequate and insufficient for meeting the planning challenges stemming from climate change for one of the world's most socially and culturally diverse cities. PlaNYC poses important urban dilemmas but does little to elicit real community participation. Instead, the planners appear to provide the answers themselves, in the name of New Yorkers: "By moving ahead, we will continue to ensure that the essential character of the city's communities remains intact as we seek out ...opportunities for public rezonings" (PlaNYC: 21).

Affordable housing appears to be one of the only themes that PlaNYC seeks to address. "The most pressing issue we face today is affordability," planners write. "Between 2002 and 2005 the number of apartments affordable to low-and moderate-income New Yorkers shrank by 205,000 units" (PlaNYC: 18). The Plan assumes that "if supply is not created as fast as people arrive, affordability could suffer further" (PlaNYC: 18). On this basis, it calls for expanding the housing "supply potential by 300,000 to 500,000 units to drive down the price of land" and for pairing "these actions with targeted affordability strategies like creative financing, expanding the use of inclusionary zoning, and developing homeownership programs for low-income New Yorkers." This, planners hold, will "ensure that new housing production matches our vision of New York as a city of opportunity for all" (PlaNYC: 12). However, what PlaNYC does in practice is to propose the provision of 500,000 housing units without proposing effective policies for ensuring affordable housing and regaining the more than 200,000 units that have already been lost.

Although PlaNYC notes the existence of environmental injustice in the city, it fails to address the issue in a serious manner and takes no practical measures to mitigate the phenomenon. For example, planners acknowledge, most brownfields are concentrated in low-income communities, resulting in a case of severe environmental injustice (PlaNYC: 41). The

owners of such land “often find that their financial interests dictate development plans that minimize cleanup requirements” and “may choose new uses for the land” that “do not reflect community needs or desires” (PlaNYC: 42-42). Moreover, “in some communities, the impacts of exposure to local air emissions have likely contributed to higher asthma rates and other diseases” (PlaNYC: 119). These clear cases of environmental injustices also go unaddressed by the plan.

PlaNYC encourages community involvement in significant planning issues *in the future* and reflects little interest in community involvement during the preparation of the plan itself. In this spirit, it suggests *future engagement* in developing adaptation strategies, mainly to “work with vulnerable neighborhoods to develop site-specific strategies,” and to “create a community planning process to engage all stakeholders in community-specific climate adaptation strategies” (PlaNYC: 138). PlaNYC also suggests working with communities when exploring potential sites for development in their communities (PlaNYC: 25), and in the rezoning of brownfields (PlaNYC: 44).

Overall, PlaNYC focuses primarily on physical planning dimensions such as land, air, water, energy, and transportation in order to “unleash opportunity” (PlaNYC: 3) and less on socio-cultural issues. Virtually none of the major thrusts of the plan deal directly with issues of equity and justice, such as diversity, the future of communities and neighborhoods, poverty (which appears only once in the entire plan), and the cultural diversity of the city and its immigrants. Moreover, PlaNYC does not address the climate change vulnerability matrix, i.e., how climate change could affect each neighborhood, with an emphasis on the specific environmental risks that exist in each neighborhood and that each neighborhood is likely to face in the future.

#### 4. PlaNYC and Natural Capital

As we have seen, PlaNYC focuses on the dimensions of natural capital (air, water, and land) and proposes their efficient use in the future development of New York City. Its major strategies are to restore air quality, ensure clean water and waterfronts, collect runoff water, maximize land use and clean contaminated sites and brownfields, plant trees, and green the city. To this end, the Plan takes the following measures:

- (1) *Air*: Without action, the carbon emissions of New York City will grow to almost 74 million metric tons by 2030 (PlaNYC: 9). PlaNYC promotes initiatives to improve air quality and reduce emission by 30% (PlaNYC: 116).
- (2) *Water*: The Plan calls for “developing critical backup systems for our aging water network to ensure long-term reliability” (PlaNYC: 12). It also proposes ways to maximize urban water absorption when planting trees (PlaNYC: 59). Finally, it suggests creating vegetated ditches (swales) along parkways to store direct rainfall and facilitate the natural cleansing of runoff (PlaNYC: 60).
- (3) *Waterfronts and Waterways*: New York City has 578 miles of waterfront, which the Plan regards as “one of the city’s greatest opportunities for residential development,” and an important site of other types of projects as well (PlaNYC: 22). PlaNYC also confronts the “legacy of the City’s industrial past...” “...which treated New York’s waterways as a delivery system” (PlaNYC: 51), and proposes to open 90% of the City’s waterways to recreation by preserving natural areas and reducing pollution (PlaNYC: 53).
- (4) *Trees*: “The City will expand efforts to reforest approximately 2,000 acres of parkland by 2017,” and reforestation will be implemented in many locations around the city (PlaNYC: 128).

(5) *Land*: Since the City's land supply remains fixed, PlaNYC calls for using "our existing stock of land more efficiently" and recapturing almost all vacant, unutilized and under-used land for development.

## **5. Eco-Form in PlaNYC**

a. **Compactness**: Today, less than 4% of the City's buildings account for roughly 50% of the city's built area (PlaNYC: 102). PlaNYC proposes various planning strategies in order to increase compactness within the City. It suggests infill "everywhere it is possible" and development of spaces that "are now lightly used," such as parking lots in public housing areas that were developed in the 1930s (PlaNYC: 23). It also calls for developing underutilized areas throughout the city that are well-served by public transportation and other infrastructure; capturing the potential of transportation infrastructure investments; and decking over railyards, rail lines, and highways (PlaNYC: 19-25). By *rezoning*, planners aim at "continuing to direct growth toward areas with strong transit access; reclaiming underused or inaccessible areas of our waterfront; and exploring opportunities to spur growth through the addition of transit, as our subways did more than a century ago" (PlaNYC: 21). PlaNYC fosters rezoning and redevelopment of brownfields, which according to the Plan represent one of the City's greatest opportunities, and which cover some 7,600 acres throughout the five boroughs (PlaNYC: 41).

b. **Density**: New York is a dense city. Overall population density today stands at is 25,383 (persons per square mile), and the highest density in the city is 128,600 (New York City, 2009). The planning strategies suggest further density intensification.

c. **Sustainable Transport**: The city's current transportation systems are in poor condition. More than half of the city's subway stations are awaiting repairs, and the city is more than \$15 billion short of what it would cost to get the transit and road networks back into good shape.

To make matters worse, trains are crowded, half of the subway routes experience congestion, and a large number of New Yorkers have no access to mass transit; (PlaNYC: 76). PlaNYC proposes a “sweeping transportation plan” to enable the city to meet its needs through 2030 and beyond. The plan includes strategies to improve the transit network through major infrastructure expansion; improved bus service; an expanded ferry system and the completion of a master bike plan; and reduction of the increasing gridlock on the roads through better road management and congestion pricing (PlaNYC: 13). In addition, PlaNYC pursues transit-oriented development and uses rezoning to direct growth toward areas with strong transit access (PlaNYC: 21). As a result of these policies, New Yorkers will experience more comfortable travel, reduced travel times, and greater reliability, thus achieving a new standard of mobility (PlaNYC: 97).

**d. Mixed Land Uses:** PlaNYC encourages mixed land uses in future development, mainly by mixing transportation uses with residential areas and open spaces. Moreover, the plan encourages co-location of the 43,000 acres of city-owned land with other uses. Most of this land is developed for government operations, “but significant opportunities exist for housing to co-exist with the current use—from libraries to schools to parking lots” (PlaNYC, 22).

**e. Diversity:** PlaNYC recognizes that “the mixture of residents will determine, more than anything else, the kind of city we become,” and that “by expanding supply possibilities to create healthier market conditions, we can continue ensuring that new housing production matches our vision of New York as a city of opportunity for all.” “If New York loses its socioeconomic diversity,” planners warn, “its greatest asset will be lost. We can—and must—do better.” (PlaNYC: 27) On a practical level, however, PlaNYC neglects issues of socioeconomic and cultural diversity, including crucial socio-spatial issues such as segregation. It also fails to promote a wider variety of housing types.

**f. Passive Solar Design:** Although PlaNYC does not pay significant attention to passive solar design, it does suggest “greening” the Building Code of New York, with an emphasis on implementing the city’s energy efficiency strategies, streamlining the process for incorporating new sustainable technologies into construction, and adapting to climate change. It also proposes focusing on reducing the amount of cement used in concrete, as cement production is an energy-intensive process that releases one ton of CO<sub>2</sub> for every ton of cement produced (PlaNYC: 106-7).

**j. Greening:** In New York City today, the standard park area per thousand residents is 1.5 acres, and there is an average of one playground for every 1,250 children. Furthermore, in 97 out of the City’s 188 neighbourhoods, the number of children per playground is higher (PlaNYC: 30). In this context, PlaNYC adopts greening as a major strategy and proposes three primary ways to ensure that by 2030, nearly every New Yorker will live no more than a 10-minute walk from a park: 1) by upgrading land already designated as play space or parkland and making it available to new populations; 2) by expanding usable hours at current, high-quality sites; and 3) by re-conceptualizing streets and sidewalks as public spaces. The combined impact of these policies will be the creation of over 800 acres of upgraded parkland and open space across the city (PlaNYC: 31). PlaNYC also calls for beautifying the public realm and undertaking “an aggressive campaign to plant trees wherever possible, in order to fully capitalize on tree opportunities across the city” (PlaNYC: 38). In addition, planners call for the expansion of “Greenstreets,” a program that since its inception in 1996 has successfully transformed thousands of acres of unused road space into green space (PlaNYC: 38). They also suggest offering incentives for green roofs, which can reduce the volume of runoff by either absorbing or storing water and aiding other natural processes (PlaNYC: 60).

Since the launch of PlaNYC, 200,000 trees have been planted across the five boroughs (*PlaNYC: Progress Report 2009*: 3).

**h. Renewal and Utilization:** Across the City, there are dozens of sites that are no longer suitable for their original intended use. PlaNYC proposes adapting unused schools, hospitals, and other outdated municipal sites for productive use as new housing (PlaNYC: 23). It also calls for cleaning and utilizing as many as 7,600 acres of contaminated brownfields across the city (PlaNYC: 41) and suggests strategies to “make existing brownfield programs faster and more efficient; to create remediation guidelines for New York City cleanups; and to establish a City office to promote brownfield planning and redevelopment” (PlaNYC: 44). And, as we have seen, it calls for cleaning the water supply system and opening New York waterways for the use of residents (PlaNYC: 51-69).

**i. Scale:** PlaNYC focuses on plans for the city, streets, vacant and underused sites, buildings, and roof levels, but almost completely overlooks another important planning scale: the neighborhood.

In summary, evaluating PlaNYC from the perspective of Eco-Form reveals that the plan actively promotes compactness and density; enhance mixed land uses; sustainable transportation; greening; and renewal and utilization. Its shortcomings are in passive solar design and planning for diversity.

## **6. The Integrative Approach of PlaNYC**

PlaNYC advances an ambitious agenda for measures that aims to “create a sustainable New York City,” which “will require tremendous effort: on the part of City officials and State legislators; by community leaders and our delegation in Washington; from the State government and from every New Yorker” (PlaNYC: 140). Nonetheless, planners acknowledge

that “the existing organizations, programs, and processes are inadequate to implement these policies” and “no organization is currently empowered to develop a broad vision for energy planning in the city that considers supply and demand together as part of an integrated strategy” (PlaNYC: 104). The plan concludes that “there is a clear need for a more comprehensive, coordinated, and aggressive planning effort, focused on the specific needs of New York City,” and therefore calls for the establishment of the New York City Energy Planning Board (PlaNYC: 105). It also calls for “changes at the City, State, and Federal levels - for transportation funding, for energy reform, for a national or state greenhouse gas policy” (PlaNYC: 11), and for “creating a new regional financing entity, the SMART Financing Authority, that will rely on three funding streams: the revenues from congestion pricing and an unprecedented commitment from New York City that we will ask New York State to match” (PlaNYC: 13). In addition, it suggests establishing a City office to promote brownfield planning and redevelopment (PlaNYC: 45). In the ways mentioned above, PlaNYC promotes an integrative approach to the issue of climate change on the formal institutional level. Nevertheless, it fails to effectively integrate civil society and grassroots organizations, such as the 59 Community Districts and the Boards of New York City.

## **7. PlaNYC and Ecological Energy**

One major focus of PlaNYC is the city’s energy sector. Its main aim in this realm is to provide cleaner, more reliable power for every New Yorker by upgrading the City’s energy infrastructure (PlaNYC: 99). To this end, the plan calls for encouraging new cleaner power plants, renewing the city’s most inefficient plants, and developing a market to increase the supply and use of renewable energy (PlaNYC: 103-115). In order to maximize energy efficiency, PlaNYC calls for focusing on buildings, the city’s largest energy consumers



(PlaNYC: 107). Over two thirds of the city's energy is consumed within buildings, compared to a national average of less than one third. According to the Plan, "the City has 5.2 billion square feet of space parcelled into almost a million buildings" (PlaNYC: 107-108). By 2030, at least 85% of the city's energy will be used by buildings that already exist today. In this way, energy saving measures in existing buildings will result in a seven million ton reduction in global warming emissions. This is significant, for without the measures outlined in the Plan, emissions would have risen to almost 80 million metric tons by 2030 (*PlaNYC: Progress Report 2009*: 39). PlaNYC also forecasts a 30% reduction in the city's greenhouse gasses by 2030 (PlaNYC: 103).

In addition, the Plan proposes an extensive education and training campaign in the realm of energy awareness (PlaNYC: 110). It also encourages a shift to mass transit and various ways to promote fuel efficiency, the use of cleaner fuels, cleaner or upgraded engines, and the installation of anti-idling technology (PlaNYC: 13). According to the Plan, the most effective strategy is to reduce the number of vehicles on the road and to simultaneously expand the city transit system and implement congestion pricing (PlaNYC, 136). Planners predicts that approximately 50% of reductions in CO<sub>2</sub> emissions will come from increased energy efficiency in buildings, while 32% will result from improved power generation and 18% from changes in transportation. Planners explained their decision to not rely on "the widespread use of solar energy in this plan because its costs today are too high for general use" (PlaNYC, 136).

## **8. Ecological Economics in PlaNYC**

According to the authors of PlaNYC, improving the city's energy infrastructure and lowering demand will reduce energy costs by billions of dollars over the next decade;

watershed protection will make multi-billion-dollar investment in new water filtration plants unnecessary; and improving public transportation and reducing congestion will reduce the economy's annual \$13 billion loss due to traffic delays (PlaNYC: 133). By managing demand, increasing the energy supply, and saving energy in existing buildings, the city's overall power and heating bill will plunge by \$2-4 billion, resulting in an estimated annual savings of approximately \$230 for the average household by 2015. Congestion pricing is projected to generate net revenues of \$380 million in the first year of operation, increasing to over \$900 million by 2030 (PlaNYC: 96). To this end, PlaNYC proposes an amendment to the City Charter requiring that New York City invest an amount equal to 10% of its energy expenses in energy-saving measures each year. Planners also note that the measures required to execute these initiatives "will create thousands of well-paying jobs" (PlaNYC: 133), and that this will mean that the city will have "not only a healthier environment, but also a stronger economy" (PlaNYC: 13).

However, as we have seen, planners did not dedicate sufficient thought to solar energy in terms of design or as an alternative energy. PlaNYC suggests providing incentives to renewable energy and pilot emerging technologies, primarily for solar energy with the greatest potential. But the Plan also stipulates that "solar energy is still not as cost-effective as gas-fired electricity," and that New York City is uniquely expensive because taller buildings require more wires and cranes to carry equipment to rooftops, resulting in solar installation costs that are 30% higher than in New Jersey and 50% higher than in Long Island (PlaNYC: 112). In order to increase future solar use, the Plan suggests introducing property tax abatement for solar panel installations.

In these ways, PlaNYC provides a number of economic engines to promote climate change objectives and a cleaner environment. Its well based conclusion is that "adapting to

climate change and investing in mitigation not only ensures the city's long-term economic vitality, but it will encourage public and private investments in the city's infrastructure, support green jobs, and improve the quality of life and level of service enjoyed by New Yorkers today.” (*PlaNYC: Progress Report 2009*: 38)

### **Conclusions and Planning Recommendations**

Based on the above evaluation of PlaNYC 2030, this paper offers the following conclusions:

1. Like other cities around the world, New York's human, ecological, economic, and urban structures and spaces are at risk and face an increasing level of uncertainty due to the shifting parameters of climate change.
2. In light of these uncertainties, there is a need to rethink and revise the concepts, procedures, and scope of conventional approaches to planning. In order to meet the challenges posed by climate change, planning is in need of a more coordinated, holistic, and multidisciplinary approach, as planning in the context of such great uncertainty is unprecedented in our modern history.
3. Using the proposed conceptual framework to evaluate New York City's PlaNYC 2030 provides an informative, easy to grasp, effective, and constructive means of illuminating the Plan's strengths and weaknesses.
4. The assessment reveals some of the merits of PlaNYC. It proposes effective measures for planning the physical dimensions of the city. In terms of eco-form, it promotes greater compactness and density, enhanced mixed land use, sustainable transportation, greening, and renewal and utilization. With regard to the concept of uncertainty, it addresses future uncertainties related to climate change with institutional measures, and enhances the urban adaptive planning capacity of the city. PlaNYC recommends

efficient ways of using the city's natural capital assets and pays special attention to strategies for providing New York with cleaner and more reliable power. From the perspective of ecological economics, the Plan creates a number of mechanisms to promote its climate change goals and to create a cleaner environment for economic investment. Finally, PlaNYC offers an ambitious vision of reducing emissions by 30% and creating a "greener, greater New York," and links this vision with the international discourse and agenda on climate change and sustainability.

5. According to the assessment, PlaNYC has three major shortcomings. The first is its failure to adequately address the social planning issues that are crucial to New York City, the most diverse city in the world. PlaNYC does not effectively address issues of equity, such as social justice, diversity, race, and economic segregation. It also fails to address the issues facing vulnerable communities due to climate change. New York City is "socially differentiated" in terms of the capacity of communities to meet climate change uncertainties, physical and economic impacts, and environmental hazards.
6. The second shortcoming of PlaNYC relates to the plan's adaptation strategy, which focuses on emissions reduction alone and fails to prepare the city and its physical infrastructure for potential disasters caused by climate change shifting. Unfortunately, PlaNYC did not make a sufficiently radical shift toward planning for climate change and adaptation. This being the case, it seems clear that the authors of PlaNYC have not taken the lessons of Hurricane Katrina as seriously as they should.
7. The Plan's third shortcoming is that although PlaNYC calls for an integrative approach to climate change on the institutional level, it fails to effectively integrate civil society, communities, and grassroots organizations into the process. The lack of a

systematic procedure for public participation throughout the city's neighborhoods and among different social groupings and other stakeholders is a critical shortcoming, particularly during the current age of climate change uncertainty.

8. Another important lesson we can learn from applying the proposed evaluation framework to PlaNYC is that when planning for climate change, planners must not overlook any one of the eight concepts of assessment. The framework is not a mere collection of unrelated concepts. Rather they are interconnected, with each concept playing a specific role in the evaluation and influencing the others. Based on the measures advanced in PlaNYC, New York City could certainly be "greener," but in order to truly be "greater," planners must better incorporate its main treasures - socio-cultural diversity and the people of the city – into the planning process and into the Plan..

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## **Track 2: Planning History**

### **Track Co-Chairs**

Friedhelm Fischer, University of Kassel

Marjaana Niemi, University of Tampere

The congress directs our attention to the current state of the world – an urban world, in which quality space has become a luxury. How ‘on earth’ did we get here? This question of how it all began, and why, and questions about the role of planning in this context are at the centre of the planning history track. Practitioners as well as academics are invited to contribute papers on all aspects of the history of town planning, but especially in relation to the following themes:

### **Looking Backward**

In the beginning of the 21st century we are faced by conflicting challenges of population explosion and shrinking cities; overcrowded slums and spacious wealthy communities; a widening gap between economic demands and ecological responsibility. In the light of the conference theme we are asking: As “the city” evolved from ancient times to the present day, what were living conditions like for the rich and the poor, for the powerful and outcast? What was the role of nature in the urban context?

### **Meanings and dimensions of space and the urban**

The session will invite academic papers which explore the changing meanings attached to space and the changing notions of urbanity. What has made space a luxury in different times and different cultural contexts? What has constituted “quality space”? What are the connections between space and identity? In which different ways have cities been perceived – between Sodom & Gomorrah and the “Heavenly City”; between the proclaimed “Death of the City” and “Urban Renaissance”; the discovery of “mongrel cities” and “Cities without Cities”?

### **Concepts and ideals in planning and urban design**

A further key concern of this session would be to discuss the relationship between planning and urban society in different times. How have planning theories and practices reflected and reinforced power relations during different socio-economic processes such as industrialisation, de-industrialisation, colonialism and globalization? How is the assumption of “space as luxury” reflected in the planning concepts of Urbanists and ‘Disurbanists’, or in the aims of decentralisation (like the Garden City movement) and those of the Compact City? The session will also discuss the international diffusion of planning ideas. How have planning ideas and practices been adapted, redefined and reformulated in different cultural contexts and in different times?

**Representational space**

Space is representative on many levels of human culture. It represents economic and political power, even political convictions. It can be exclusive or inclusive, incarcerating and liberating. We want to look at shared spaces as well as spaces of isolation ranging from “Forbidden Cities” and prison camps to gated communities.

**Contested Space**

Space is contested and a reason for serious conflicts. We welcome papers that address planning in war and peace, in conflicts and during reconstruction, in the Cold War as well as in the process of the European Integration; trends of unifying, convergence or divergence. Furthermore, the aim is to discuss the ways in which ordinary city dwellers have contested planning policies and practices in different times.

**Looking forward**

What will be of greatest interest here are themes such as urban sustainability in historical perspective; the relevance of historical precedents in an age of globalisation and climate crisis; learning from the past for the future; searching for a more sustainable urban millennium.

## **THEORIZING AND EVALUATING VIENNA'S CONCEPTS AND PERFORMANCES OF QUALITY SPACES**

GERHARD HATZ<sup>1</sup>

Keywords: Urban theory, situationism, Vienna

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- Island urbanism, resulting in a fragmented patchwork of physically disconnected unfinished parts within the urban area (Novy et. al., 2001, Oswalt, 2006).
- “Instead of cities being determined by pre-planned structures, they are revealed as amorphous,...indeterminant sites,...they are temporary, emergent and transitory,...an endless world made up of tightly interconnected but heterogeneous spaces.” (Wigley, 2001, p.11).
- “We are in the epoch of simultaneity...in the epoch of juxtaposition,...of the near and far, of the side-by-side, of the dispersed” (Foucault & Miskowiec 1986, p.22).

Drawing on the meanings shaping urban discourses and utopias, the paper seeks to scrutinize the situationists' conceptualization of “New Babylon” and its enhancements by Sloterdijk's concept of “Foam Cities” with the intent to examine physical form, social relations and the ambient qualities of urban space as the relation among sites, simultaneously re-presenting different quality spaces.

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### **Introduction**

Notions on the urban form and spaces are based on utopias of urban society, urban lifestyles and shortfalls of previous urban experiences. Recent discourses and concepts of urban utopias and urban planning have developed as a backlash to the shortfalls of modern urban planning. However, conceptualizations of the urban form by modernism referred to the experiences of the gloomy pre-modern city that did not match with the utopias of modern urban society.

Changes in modes of production and technology in the post-industrial era as well as the failures of modern urban planning gave rise to new visions on urban futures shaping the post-industrial city. Homogenous suburbanization of residents, workplaces and shopping malls coincided with de-industrialization and the decline of inner city areas. Now functionally divided cities of homogenous precincts as envisioned by the

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Modern Movement have become the representation of the gloomy city. The utopia of the functionally divided city was replaced by visions of a poly-centered and compact city. Issues of culture, heritage and identity, social cohesion, creativity and environmental care have been shaping the discourse on and the performance of quality spaces. However, the fragmentation of urban areas has become subject of critical urban discourses.

Urban utopias are fluid concepts of inherent chronological contexts and dualisms of the “good” and the “sinister” city. The good city is the city to become, even if referring to romanticized visions of urban histories. “Every glorious past is always the invention of some present for the sake of a future yet to be achieved” (Sloterdijk, P. cit. in Elden & Mendiata, 2009, p.4). In contrast, the “sinister” city refers to the failures and unintended effects of preceding urban utopias.

Heterogeneous re-presentations, fluid concepts and contexts of urban utopias refer to Foucault’s notions on relational power, dispositifs and heterotopias. By making implicit values visible, urban planning can be perceived as both: as a re-presentation of power and a technology of power. (e.g. Lefebvre, 1996). Following Foucault, space is fundamental in any exercise of power. Imposing a vision and re-presentations of urban utopias on urban spaces symbolizes who belongs to specific places. Power relations constitute a network that is constructing and shaping discourses, belief systems and hegemonies, eventually spanning the matrix of a dispositif, constituted by an intertwined heterogeneous ensemble of discursive and non-discursive elements as institutions or architecture. The dispositif is the relation among these elements, having a dominant strategic function in terms of intended and unintended strategies. Inherent contradictions and unintended effects are re-interpreted and re-integrated, leading to new strategies. Hence, a dispositif is a fluid relation of power, knowledge and space that is continuously negotiated. Urban planning following visions or utopias of cities constitute a dispositif - in relation to space, one among other dispositifs (see Pløger, 2008 and Dahlmann, 2008). Dispositifs are the agenda settings and agenda framings of urban planning and development.

In Vienna, like in many other Metropolitan Areas in the Western Hemisphere the dispositif constituting intentions of urban stakeholders and the urban form has continuously been re-shaped, in the early postwar period inspired by thoughts of modernism towards an urban renaissance, moving on to adapting urban development to the demands of the globalized economies and the global competition of cities. Soft skills of cities have become prominent in the competition between the cities and of sites within the cities. The post-modern transformation of society marked by individualization, diversification of households and lifestyles, in sync with intertwining physical manifestations of prevailing previous dispositifs, has transposed the urban form into poly-atmospheric ambiances, now becoming absorbed into the dispositif shaped by global climate change and the call for ecological sustainable cities. The spatial dispositifs on the urban forms as one among others, though are fractured by dispositifs shaping the discourses on social sustainability, culture, heritage



and identity, modes of production or environmental care. Related utopias that emerge out of these dispositifs all come together and physically manifest themselves in their spatial representations.

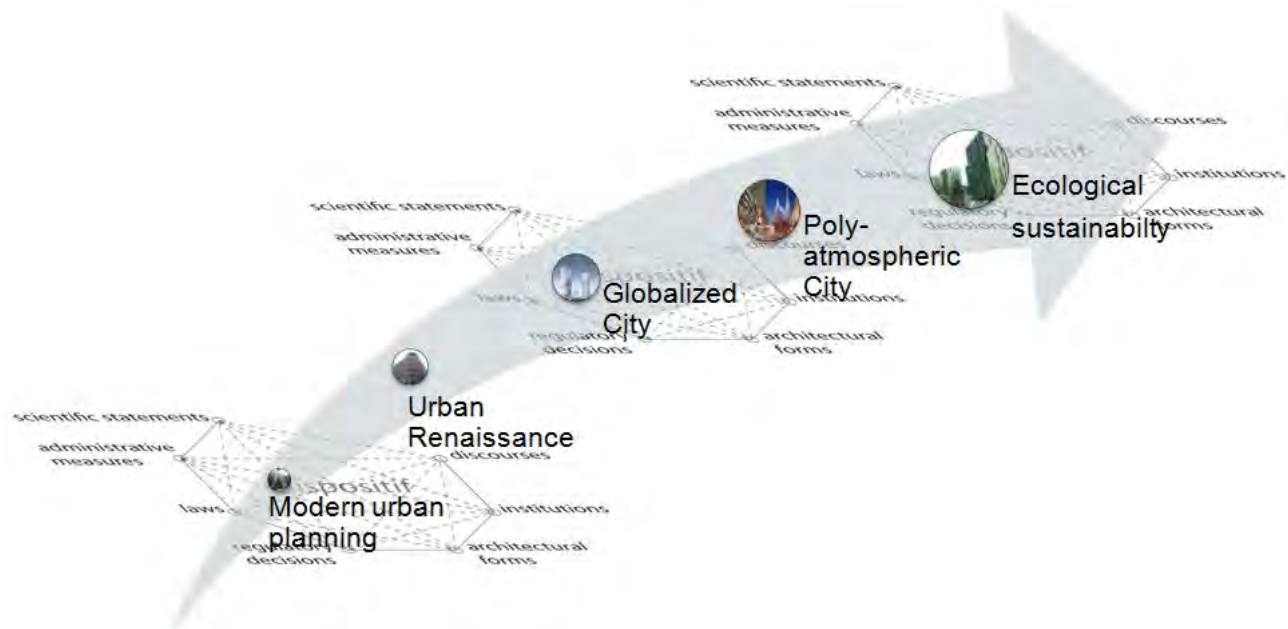


Figure 1: Fluid concepts of dispositifs shaping urban planning in Vienna

### From urban utopias to heterotopias

Utopias are spaces without a real place. When put in to practice, urban utopias are transformed into ‘heterotopias’ – real and unreal urban spaces – or ‘a sort of simultaneously mythic and real contestation of the space in which we live’ (Foucault, 1986, p. 24). Foucault identifies two functions of the heterotopias: “To create a space of illusion that exposes every real space, all the sites inside of which human life is partitioned...”, and implicitly incorporating the inherent contingency of the dualism of good and sinister places, “...to create a space that is other, another real space, as perfect, as meticulous, as well arranged as ours is messy” (Foucault, 1986, p. 27).

Meanings attached to spaces and places are essential in the concept of heterotopias. Heterotopias can be endowed with one or more, even different meanings. These meanings might change over time, even disappear. When their meanings are becoming obsolete or disappear, heterotopias dissolve, eventually leading to new dispositifs that shape new meanings – utopias of the urban and new urban heterotopias.

### The city of meanings

Meanings have always been attached to urban spaces and places at different spatial scales. When modern urban planners reduced the meaning of the urban form to its mere functions, it was the Situationist movement that considered psychological meanings in terms of detecting and creating emotional affective

urban places as the prime agenda in constituting quality spaces. Situationists envisioned the city as an arbitrary assemblage of emotional spaces or “situations” in terms of stages that provoke emotional “situations”. Buildings and architecture were to either preserve and/or to enhance emotions – the poetic power of spaces and places - the poetic meanings of urban precincts, that “correspond to the whole spectrum of diverse feelings that one encounters by chance in every day life. Bizarre Quarter vs. Happy Quarter (specially reserved for habitation) Noble and Tragical Quarter (for good children) - Historical Quarter (museums, schools), Useful Quarter (hospital, tool shops), Sinister Quarter, etc.” (Chtcheglov, I. cit. in Sadler, 1998, p. 120). The functionally divided city was to be replaced by several dualisms of situational quarters.

By seizing Lefebvre’s ‘theory of the moment’ situationists worked on endowing urban spaces with meanings, emotions and possible sensual experiences that had been neglected by modern urban planning, hence create moments or situations. Architecture and urban planning were considered as a means of transforming society and vice versa, the transformation of society was regarded as a prerequisite of the utopia of another urban life. The ‘political’ program of another life was to redeem urban dwellers from the constraints and boredom that functionalism imposed on them by the conceptualization of a unitary urbanism.

### **Unitary Urbanism**

The concept of unitary urbanism was grounded in the critics of modern urban planning in general and in the conceptualizations of the Charta of Athens and the ideas of Le Corbusier in particular. The critics focused on the strict fission of urban planning and the disregard of the cultural issues of urban society, reducing urban life to four functions: work, leisure, housing and traffic.

The modern city was reflected as a product of as well as producing the exploitation of labor force, as a ‘machine’ fostering (industrial) production and the circulation of goods and labor force. Art and creativity were suspected of losing their meanings. In unitary urbanism art and creativity were to attach a volatile meaning to daily life. Urbanism itself has to be construed as an art work, made to please and to render creative and ‘meaningful activities in life and culture’ (Constant cit. in Pinder, 2005, p. 197).

In the notions of a unitary urbanism city space is active. When being used as machinery it is to endorse the laborers into a dull state of mind and behavior, though it is also the source of bringing about another life of individual creativity. Unitary urbanism was to be an urbanism of harmonizing lifestyle and environment, a lifestyle with no goal, not conveyed by a superimposed or functional meaning but which makes life itself a goal, a lifestyle aiming to be the creation of the individual’s life. In the readings of the situationists, the exclusive meaning of creativity was to develop and perform individual life styles.

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Dérive, the meaningless drifting through urban spaces has been used to identify and to endow urban spaces with emotional, affective, hence, psychological meanings. For their first drawings situationists cut out meaningful sections of city maps and placed the pieces in a different order.

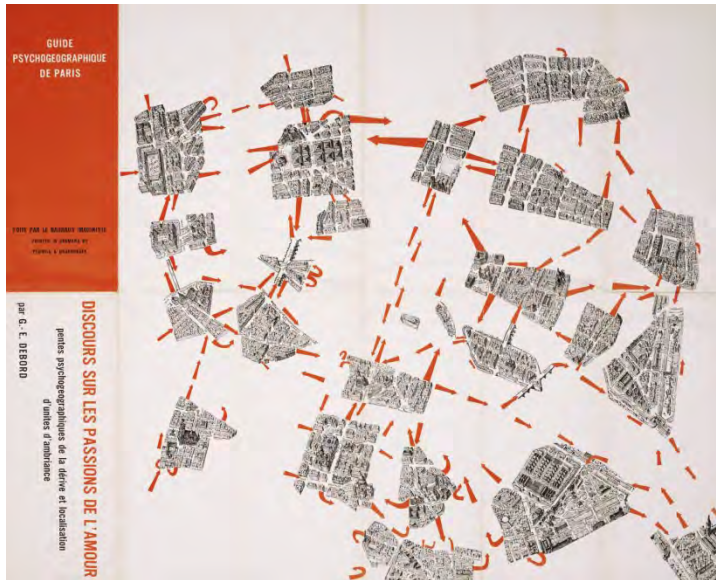


Figure 2: Guy Debord's Guide Psychogéographique de Paris. (© [imaginarymuseum.org/LPG/Mapsitu1.htm](http://imaginarymuseum.org/LPG/Mapsitu1.htm))

Still, the meanings attached to the identified emotional and sensual places seemed to refer to a romanticized historic interpretation of pre-modern urbanity – to a past that has more to offer than the present. When psychogeography was to identify and explain the subconscious influences exerted by the urban atmosphere, unitary urbanism was to consciously use psychological effects of the environment, eventually crystallizing in the utopia of a New Babylon conceived of Constant Nieuwenhuis or, as he was referred to, “Constant” (see Wigley, 1998, pp. 131).

### New Babylon – city of future

“... For him [Nieuwenhuis], feelings of emotion (ambience, affective) are not external to space, nor is space indifferent to emotional feelings. He was able to recapture and elevate a concept from the grand architectural tradition in which space creates something such as gathering together, a joy, a sadness, a submission, in short, space is active ... This is what Constant called an architecture of ambience ... the creation of ambience, emotion, situation, what I called a theory of moments. I find myself in accord with situationists when situationism puts to the forefront such ideas of creation, of the production of new situations...” (Lefebvre, H. cit in Soja 1996, p.50)

When Constant presented his utopia of New Babylon in 1960, it was an onset on the prevailing view of ‘modern’ urban architecture and modern urban planning schemes, an ideogram of the (future) urban society and a political statement. New Babylon envisaged sensuous, amorphous, ambient and indetermined sites for

leisure and play, temporary, emergent and transitory (Wigley, 2001, p. 9). It was an advancement of a Marxist post-revolutionary urban future that emerged from the situationist movement.

### **The New Babylonian Society**

As a critical metaphor to the exploitation of the productive labor force of the citizens enhanced by rationalized, organized and controlled modern urban planning, New Babylon was to incorporate desire and space, leading to new architectural forms and eventually a new society. In the utopian non-commodity society production labor will be absorbed by machine production and release the creative energy of the city dwellers.

In his vision on the future urban society Constant extrapolated the nomadic existence of the emerging globalized city dwellers. Due to air traffic the living space of the nomadic inhabitants of a New Babylon is expanding, widening their horizon and variety of experiences. Following this line Constant projected the 'endless' city and proclaimed the recovery of psychological spaces. New Babylon re-presents a transient city, a complex sensuous reality of interconnected heterogeneous spaces, each of which offering a variety of environments. Released from productive labor city dwellers are disengaged to constraints of time and place. Constant anticipated the mobile, flexible and globalized post-modern society. Creative fluxus performers are acting out their lives by drifting and circulating through various ambient surroundings. New Babylon draws on the Situationists' concept of *dérive* – a meaningless strolling – by providing quick passage to sector groups of different worlds - an imaginative journey through the sectors.

### **The architecture of New Babylon**

In the sectors Constant imposed his transcription of psychological spaces, reflecting on the conscious and subconscious impacts of urban environments, atmospheres or ambiances. However, there is no unique atmosphere of the spaces provided in New Babylon. The structure itself and the atmosphere are transient and volatile, subject to continuous modifications by the interactions of the people who pass through it.

New Babylon leaves the old city behind or beneath. The sectors are hung structures or elevated by pilots. The ground level is left to pre-existing urban structures like historic urban cores and/or provides unlimited space for traffic and infrastructure. Cars and transportation infrastructure just as the completely mechanized production plants are confined to the ground level, crisscrossed by freeways. Accessibility of the sectors is provided by air-traffic, by car from the ground level or by an underground system.

The elevated sectors themselves are multilevel structures stretching up to 10 hectares. Placed seemingly arbitrarily side by side and interconnected by a network of possible transportation lines, an endless matrix of sectors and interconnected lines is spanned. However, New Babylon does not dismiss the given urban structures completely. In various drawings, Constant superimposed his visions on maps of already existing

cities like London, Rotterdam or Amsterdam, carefully paying attention to the given urban morphology, e.g. the city center of Amsterdam was considered worth to be spared and bypassed by the “floating” superstructures (Sadler, p. 140).

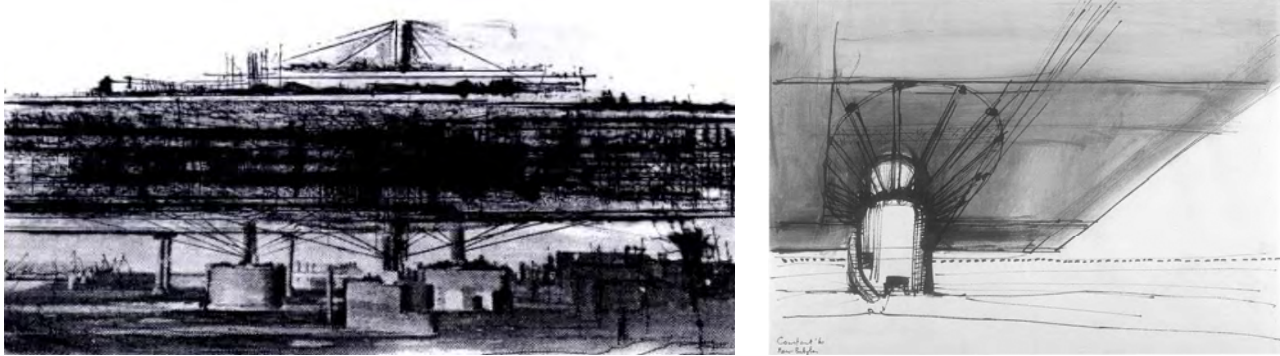


Figure 3: Constant: View and support of a sector. (© Wigley, 1998 (left), © Gemeentemuseum, The Hague (right))

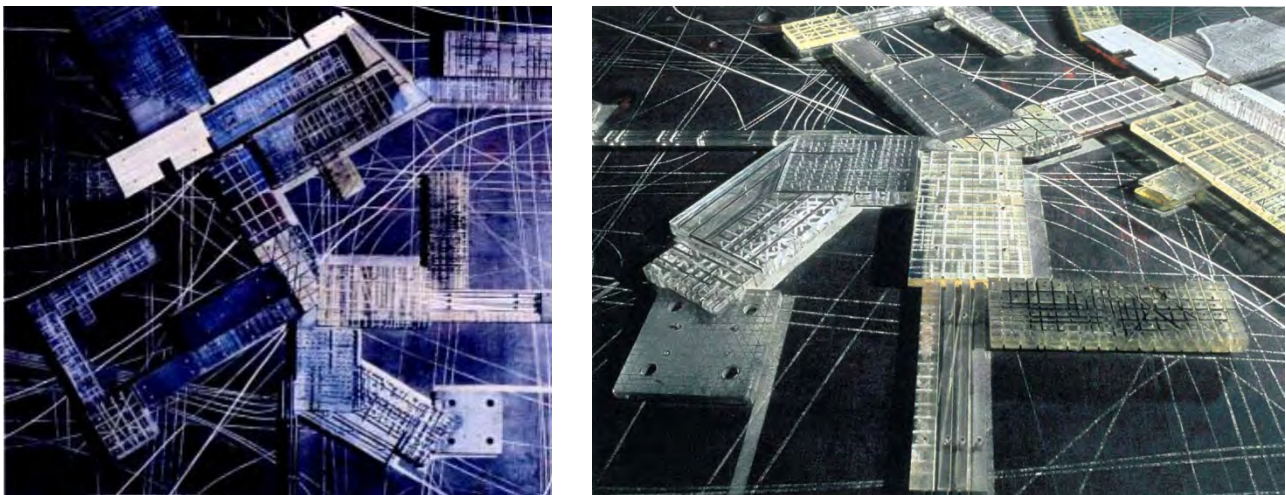


Figure 4: Constant: New Babylon, overhead views. (© Gemeentemuseum, The Hague)

The sectors are conceptualized as cities, however adapted to the demands of the post-revolutionary society. As enclosed entities the sectors provide units for temporary housing and warehouses. Still, the sectors are devoid of work places, but provide open spaces as ambient playgrounds for the drifting city dwellers. The ambient spaces inside the sectors are artificially constructed environments. Illumination, air conditioning and climate control are subject to permanent variation. The architecture inside the structures is based on the principle of confusion and playful ambient constructions. A mazy assembly is endowed with water effects, ballrooms, a circus, great plaza floors and ambient houses or rooms like the quiet room, the loud room, room of images for cinematic games, the rooms for rest or even rooms for erotic games. Even if enclosed, terraces can be found attached to the structure for experiencing the open sky or the water games. The car-free environment favors the *dérive* of the city dwellers. Inside the structure passages enable the drifters to connect physically just as visually with the ephemeral ambiences and situations e.g. demonstrations on the white plaza.



However, the ambiances conceal the programmatic vision on the future societies. The ambiances are not to be changed by the city dwellers themselves but by a “Team of Situationists” just as the extended stay in one of the ambient rooms or houses was to have a certain “brainwash” effect to “erase the effect of habits” (Constant, in Wigley, 1998, p. 122).

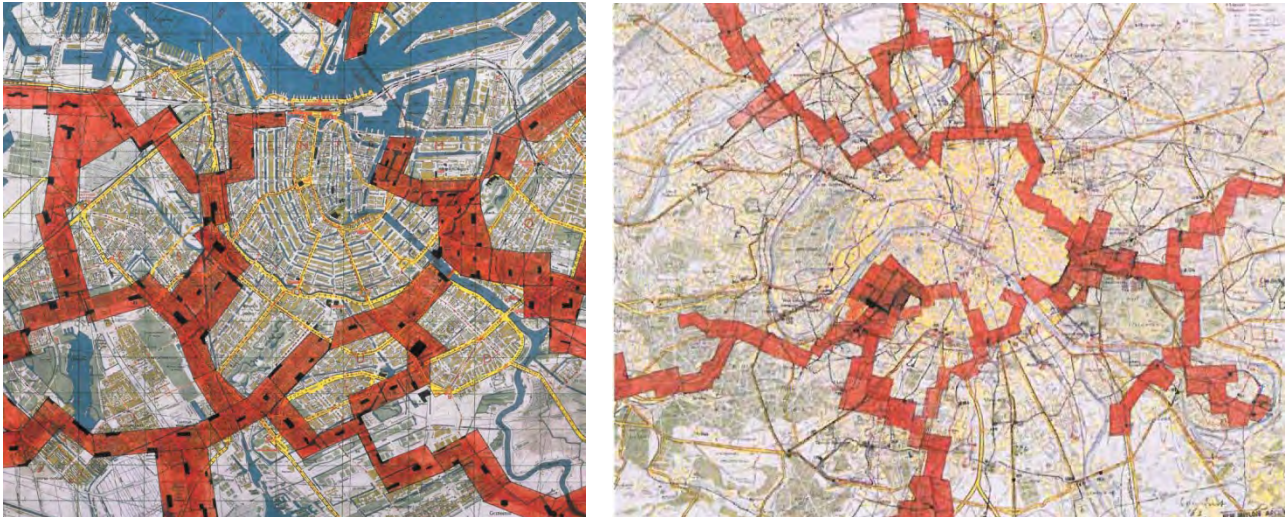


Figure 5: New Babylon/Amsterdam (left)/London (right). (© Gemeentemuseum, The Hague)

### Foam City

Drawing on the Situationists’ notions the philosopher Peter Sloterdijk refined the conceptualization of New Babylon by pointing at the topological characteristics of recent cities. In his rationale of emerging ‘Foam Cities’ Sloterdijk focused on the prime function of the city of a meeting place. The concept of the urban society and social spaces is based on the assumptions of “connected isolation” that is represented at the level of apartments, housing estates and settlements (Sloterdijk, 2004, p.257).

The Foam City is a site of collectors addressing the convenable masses and harbors apartment complexes serving as housing capsules for singles and nuclear families. In addition, facilities of the working environment are represented, providing the economic base for the urban dwellers. The three poles of urban life – work places, housing and spaces for collective assemblies are linked with each other by transport and communication infrastructure. The characteristic trait of the Foam City is the agglomeration of atmospheres of unique urban space settings – a ‘foam’ of urban spheres. Following Sloterdijk, the urban macro foam has to be read as a Meta-Collector, collecting sites of assemblage and non-assemblage (Sloterdijk, 2004, p. 655). The intrinsic function of metropolitan agglomerations is to provide the co-existence of centers and non-centers, not as a superimposed center but as an agglomeration or a piling up of a discrete spatiality of the types collector, business, apartment and designed public spaces. The current city that has emerged as a meta-collector does not refer to the individuals either assembled or isolated – or the apartments of the individuals – but to spaces as invented space settings. In these inventions of space settings individuals might make use of

the options of gathering or not and might make use of options to communicate – or not. New urban realities and quality spaces are made up of constructed installations of atmospheres and environments.

### Emerging Foam Cities?

When it comes to recent development and utopias of urban futures connections could be made between the drawings of New Babylon and the concept of Foam Cities. Intentional just as unintentional urban planning strategies and urban development reshaped the urban form convergent to what was envisioned by Constant and noted by Sloterdijk. Since Constant presented his utopia of New Babylon in 1960, societal changes, changes in modes of production and technological advancements could be observed as assumed by Constant, incrementally transposing urban forms according to his projections.



Figure 6: Superstructure over Vienna, Hans Hollein, 1960 (© Collection Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris)



Figure 7: Drafts Grand Paris. (© Antoine Grumbach et associés (center), © Atelier Castro Denisoff Casi / La Courneuve-Manhattan (right))

Architects were influenced by Constant's conceptualization of New Babylon, however mediated and transformed his ideas. Emerging conurbations just as recent planning schemes as proposed e.g. for Grand Paris or New York point at that direction, performing and promoting “endless cities” by integrating the poly-

centered and poly-atmospheric conceptualization of ambient quality spaces, now adapted according to the emerging dispositif of the environmentally sustainable city.

### **Urban renaissance – compact city - the production of ambiances**

The production of ambient quality spaces in Vienna can be traced back to the overlapping cycles of modern urban planning and urban renaissance in the 1980ies. At that time new construction on greenfield sites at the fringes of the city slowed down. Even though and because suburbanization continued, the focus of urban planners was redirected to inner city development.

A new urban class evolved, at first preferring an avant-garde, later on a bourgeois life-style in a traditional urban ambience. Still, the living qualities within the inner city did not match the romanticized vision of the new urbanites at all. The building fabric of the housing stock, dating back to the second half of the 19th century was deteriorating. In 1961 around 45% (300,000) of all occupied apartments in the city were classified as substandard, i.e. without running water and/or WC inside the apartment. The ambience of the inner city precincts was more related to what was referred to by modern urban planners as the “gloomy” city: Congested by cars, declining building fabric, deteriorating shopping streets, bad lighting conditions and lack of green spaces that might serve as social spaces. City dwellers living in these neighborhoods at that time still refer to Vienna as a grey and dark city.

In the first place city planners and developers followed the notions of modern urban planning in terms of jettisoning all historic types and forms and decided in favor of new constructions replacing the old housing stock. Starting in the 1980s, the dispositif constituting urban renewal was reinterpreted by the narratives that imposed a romanticized meaning on the historic urban ambience. Still, the living quality had to be improved. The City of Vienna launched an ambitious soft urban renewal program, targeting the preservation and improvement of the historic ambience in the inner districts, improving the housing quality and ensuring the social sustainability of the renewal process. Subsidies were provided to initiate the renewal process by covering investments for the reconstruction works. By these means, rent increases should be reduced to a moderate level. Between 1984 and 2007 financial support for the renovation of approximately 4,500 residential buildings at a total cost of almost 5.2 billion Euros was granted. The municipality of Vienna's share amounted to about 3.5 billion Euros ([www.wbsf.at](http://www.wbsf.at)). The more than 210,000 apartments renovated and improved comprise about one quarter of the entire apartment stock in the city, about the same amount that is provided by public housing.

The issue of social sustainability was redirected from the provision of social housing schemes at the urban fringes to the inner city, but it was also a shift from mere functional urban planning to considering sensual, emotional and ambient aspects in urban planning schemes. The aesthetic quality of the neighborhood in terms of preserving and re-establishing romanticized historic neighborhoods was in sync with the



transformation of the urban society into a life-style society, differentiating into ‘Bobos’, ‘Yuppies’, ‘Dinks’ or ‘Power Couples’, and the cultural values of city-dwellers and their desire for neighborhoods where they could find identity and feel at home. The apartment as ambient lifestyle capsule of households was extended to the neighborhood. The concept of ambient urban spheres or sectors implicitly entered urban planning schemes.

However, the vivid quality of social spaces, as promoted by Lefebvre and consequently by the situationists could not be recovered. Public spaces as the streets and plazas in the redeveloped neighborhoods did not serve as social spaces anymore. Small shops and cafes as places of encounter, creativity and discussion closed down, replaced either by food chain stores, apartments or garages. Small manufacturing firms vanished and so did the meaning of a lively mixed used urban precinct. The meaning of the streets as places for social assemblage disappeared and was replaced by a homogenized and globalized ambience of gentrified neighborhoods. At the turn of the Millennium the dispositif of urban planning became modified. Urban renewal in terms of upgrading the apartments behind the historic facades slowed down and was replaced by new narratives. Planning the globalized city became the canvas of urban planning projects.

### **Towards a poly-centered and poly-atmospheric city**

New Babylon was superimposed over existing urban forms. Urban planners in the “real” city have to interact with the already given. Like Constant foresaw the impact of de-industrialization on urban society, the number of work places in industrial production had decreased in Vienna since the 1970s. Industrial sites lost their functions and their meanings, eventually falling into decline and taken over by nature – seemingly referring to New Babylon where the structures are continuously extending in one direction, whereas abandoned sectors are left to be recycled by nature. The heterotopias of the industrial city were dissolving and disappeared transforming the sites into “waiting lands” (Christiaanse, 2002) – waiting for a new meaning, then a new function attached to the sites.

The redevelopment of brownfield areas was triggered by and embedded in the new meaning of urban renaissance. The sites became emanated with particular meanings embodying new visions of urban lifestyles. Terms as ‘Loft Living’ or ‘Live and Work’ represented a new culture of a first avant-garde, later on a bourgeois urban lifestyle. The pristine function of the site became inverted and attached with the “myth”, theme or narrative of an alternative urban life-style.

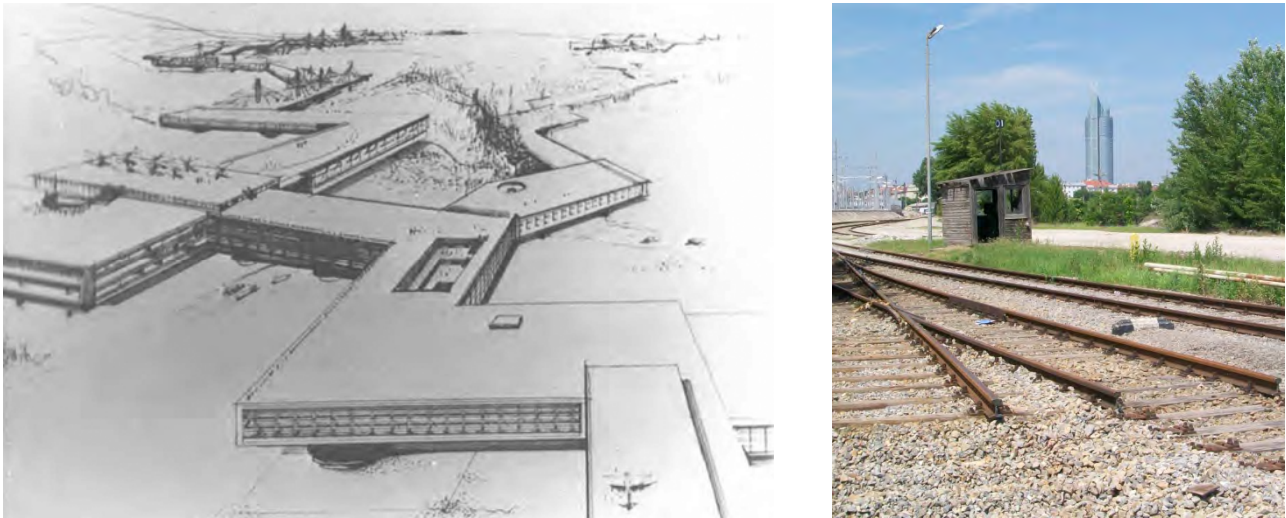


Figure 8: New Babylon: Transient development (left) – Vienna: Brownfield area Northern Railway Station (foreground), Millennium City (background) (right). (© Gemeentemuseum, The Hague (left))

With reference to the concept of Foam Cities or its predecessor New Babylon, redeveloped brownfield areas have been transformed into sector-like ambiances, loosely interconnected to the other sectors of the city and redeveloped brownfield sites by mass rapid transit system. The sites are attached with a theme that occasionally refers to the former uses like ‘Tobacco Factory’, ‘Cable ‘Factory’ , ‘Brewery’ or ‘Gasometer-City’. The historic building fabric was re-used as a signifier of the narrative and the identity, hence, attaching a meaning to the site and enhancing the ambient quality of the site in terms of architectural diversity.

At the dawn of the Millennium the disposition of urban planning in Vienna incrementally modified the urban form according to Constant’s drafts of New Babylon. The city had to adapt to the demands of the globalized economies that could neither be met in the historic precincts of the inner city nor in the homogenized remainders of modern urban planning schemes.

Following the planning scheme of the compact, polycentric city, new urban centers emerged or were implemented into abandoned brownfield sites. Connectivity became the decisive location factor of these new urban centers. New urban centers were located at the intersections of inner city highways and the mass rapid transit system, resulting not only in a time distance convergence between the new urban centers and the new urban centers and the airport, but also to the new urban centers and the ambiances of the historic inner city and the city center. Like the sectors of New Babylon, even if not physically placed side by side, considering time-distance, they are. Urban planners enhanced this development by planning transportation infrastructure. Converted brownfield sites were connected by extensions and modifications of the underground system. Today the “sectors” of new urban centers and accordingly adapted brownfield sites seemingly follow the arbitrary zig-zag patterns that constituted Constant’s New Babylon.

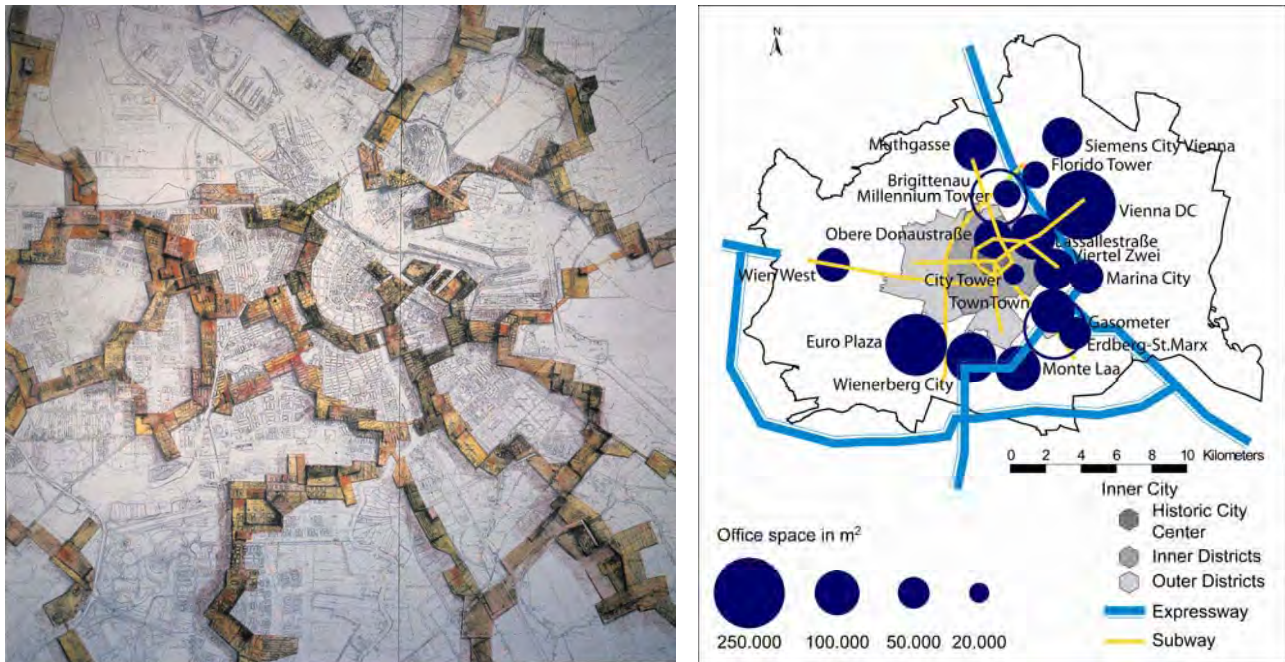


Figure 9: New Babylon/Amsterdam (left) – Office space in New Urban Centers and redeveloped brownfields, completed 2000-2009/Vienna (right). (© Gemeentemuseum, The Hague (left))

The newly built urban centers implicitly refer to the construction-scheme of the sectors as conceptualized by Constant for his New Babylon. Built on platforms they span over the inner city freeways resp. transportation infrastructure. Located at the intersections of inner city freeways and the underground systems, they are easily accessible by car from the ground level or by underground. Even if the New Urban Centers are not directly reachable by air-traffic, they are well connected to the airport. According to their promotion sites, the Vienna International Airport can be reached within 20 minutes, even if located more than 20 kilometers away.

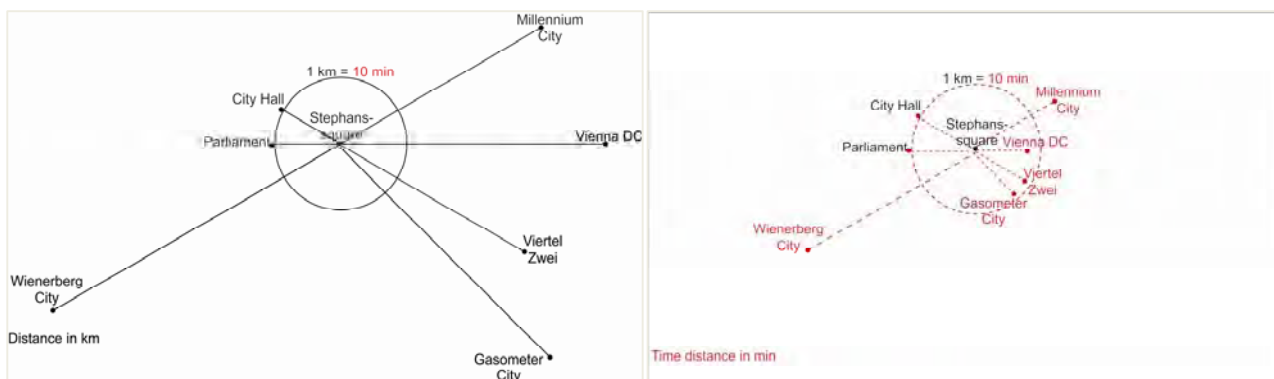


Figure 10: Time-distance convergence: City Center – New Urban Centers

The new urban centers or “sectors” are conceptualized as mixed used urban environments, in contrary to New Babylon, though not providing work places for industrial production but office spaces. Implicitly following the urban planning schemes of New Babylon, the sectors are piled over transportation

infrastructure and provide car-free but city-like environments in terms of enclosed shopping malls and apartments. The playfulness is referenced by urban entertainment centers, just as the new urban centers or sectors are attached to recreation areas. The flexible arrangement of spaces as it was foreseen in New Babylon's sector have become realized in terms of flexible office spaces and schemes for apartments, just as residential and office buildings provide playful ambiances, equipped with swimming pools, recreation and leisure facilities. The meaning to the housing estates has been attached by labeling them as 'residential parks', later on by dedicating individual residential buildings to specific themes or lifestyles, like "Hanging Gardens", "Living at the Golf Court", "Monte Verde", etc.. New urban centers and redeveloped brownfield sites have become the heterotopia of a globalized but individualized lifestyle society. The ambient quality of the historic urban form in the inner districts has been complemented by a diversification of lifestyle environments in the new urban centers and redeveloped brownfield areas. At least as far as the intentions of the developers are concerned.

According to the dispositions modifying the urban form, the disposition of social sustainability has changed. The ambitious social housing program silently faded out. The task of social sustainability was handed over to the soft urban renewal program, to housing associations and the provision of individual subsidies. At present about 60% of Vienna's population lives in subsidized apartments. Due to this fact social inequalities like segregation remain at a moderate level, enabling even the urban middle classes to make their choice among the sectors providing a variety of lifestyle environments.

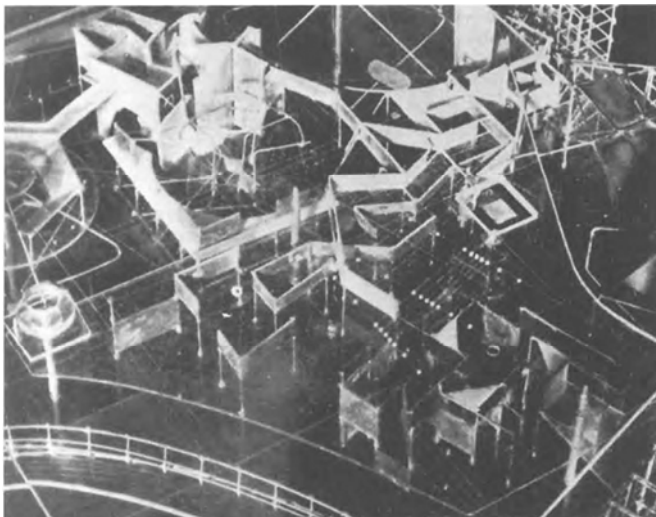


Figure 11: Constant (ca. 1960), View approaching sectors G and E (left), View approaching New Urban Center Vienna DC (ca. 2014) (right). (© Sadler, 1998 (left), © beyer.co.at (right))





Figure 12: New Baby Ion/Orange Construction (left) – Vienna/New Urban Center ‘Monte L aa’ (right). (© Victor Niuewenhuis (left), © ARGE Hans Hollein - Albert Wimmer (right))

In the newly built housing estates the City of Vienna fosters socially mixed developments by offering a mix of subsidized and non-subsidized rental as well as owner-occupied apartments. Still, these means do not reach those at the lower end of the social strata, but do not confine the middle classes to specific urban milieus. Within the housing estates, however, social stratification is reflected in the quality of the apartments. The less attractive are restricted to the segment of subsidized housing, the most attractive and luxury spaces are rented out or sold at market prices. In the case of high-rise apartment buildings social segregation has been transformed into the vertical dimension, with the most affluent residents on the top floors. Hence, the non-commodity society as envisioned by Constant has been replaced by a welfare society performing an individual life style (Lootsma, 2001, p. 106).

### **The ecological sustainable city**

Like the issue of social sustainability the dispositif of ecological awareness has been affiliated with transient meanings. When modern urban planning was guided by the dispositif of ‘reconquering the sun’ (Le Corbusier) and providing open green spaces in urban settlements that were at odds with the congested densely built up inner city precincts – eventually supposed to be flattened –, by the increase of car traffic and growing green movements, the ecological dispositif of urban planning was reinterpreted. Urban Renaissance, focusing on the idea of a compact city, was, beside others, to reduce the waste of land reserves by urban sprawl and the negative impacts of increasing car traffic. By promoting walkable and car free urban environments the dispositifs of reconquering the social spaces in the city and environmental care came together. At the turn of the Millennium the issue of global climate change entered the urban arena, shaping the dispositif of low carbon cities. Zero energy architecture and ecological sustainability attached new themes to new urban sectors and lifestyles. The playful eclecticism of post-modern architecture is becoming replaced by a new “low carbon” functionalism, though endowed with meanings of an ecological sustainable life style as ‘Car Free City’, ‘Bike City’, ‘Ville Verdi’, etc..



Figure 13: From urban renaissance towards the low carbon city. Ville Verdi (left) - Refurbished Gasometer-City (right).

Accordingly, the dispositif shaping the issue of social sustainability was modified and re-interpreted. Subsidized housing is to provide affordable housing in the environmentally sustainable sectors of the city. The issue of ‘soft urban renewal’ has moved on from the re-construction of the historic inner city neighborhoods to ‘thermo-energetic’ urban renewal, now focusing on the buildings constructed since the 1950s, among them the social housing estates built according to modern urban planning schemes. When social sustainability at that time meant to providing affordable but high quality apartments for low income households, now it is to lower the expenses for energy consumption in these households.

### **Urban voids**

Modern urban planning, just like as previous urban utopias, was to impose a comprehensive meaning on urban planning schemes and to remove the remains of previous urban development. Since then the cycles of dispositifs (re-)shaping the urban form accelerated, each of which focusing on particular urban sites that were either reinterpreted or had to be newly constructed, eventually resulting in fragmented patterns of urban planning. Hence, in between the sites that moved into the focus of new meanings attached to urban planning,

urban areas lost their meanings eventually turning into voids of urban planners. In Vienna the remainders of modern urban planning such as social housing estates at the urban fringes, but even low quality apartments in the inner city not affected by the soft urban renewal program have become such voids, having turned into the areas where the powerless urban dwellers, such as low income or immigrant households are concentrated. Even though these groups attach their own meanings to the sites, they do not follow the mainstream of urban planning. When turning to Constant's New Babylon, these areas are now representing the "old" city that is left behind or beneath by developing the poly-atmospheric city.

### Heterotopia City Center

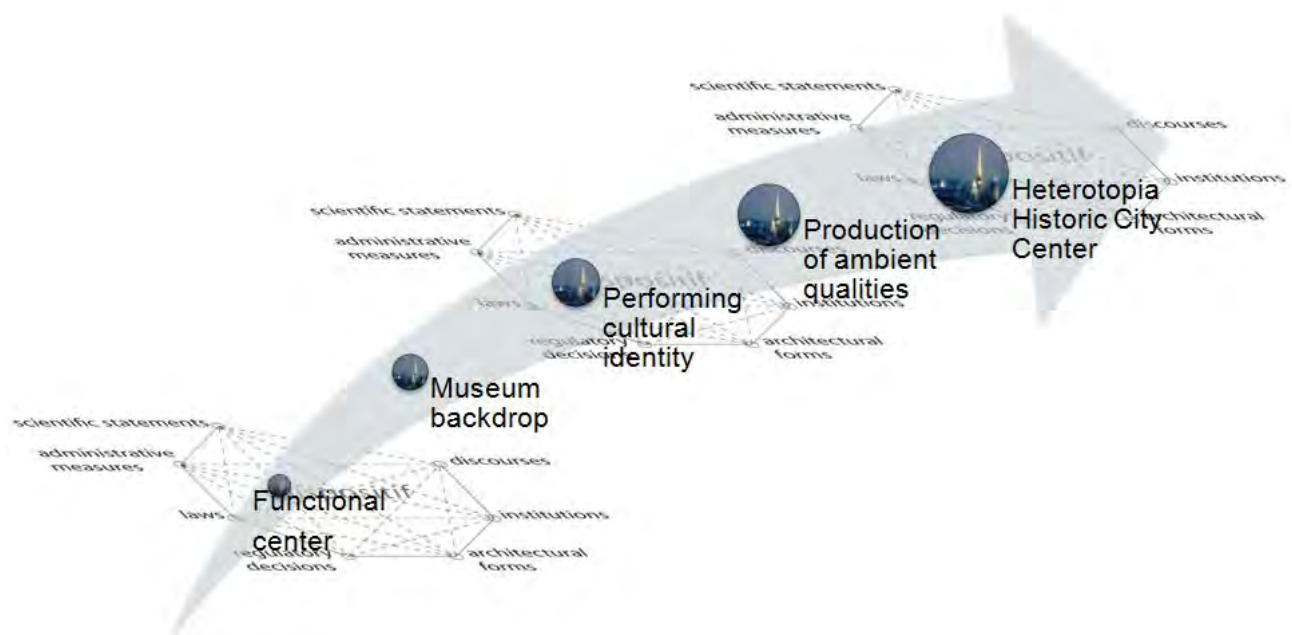


Figure 14: Fluid dispositifs of the historic city center

Urban utopias imply visions on a perfected form and representation of society. Though, utopias are places without a place. When transferred into space, urban utopias are becoming converted into heterotopias, "effectively enacted utopias ... a sort of simultaneously mythic and real contestation of the space in which we live..." (Foucault, 1986, p. 24). Following this line the enacted dispositifs of urban utopias as modern urban planning schemes, urban renaissance, brownfield redevelopments, planning the globalized or low carbon city bear similarities to heterotopias. Heterotopias can take various forms, however it has to be expected that there are no universal forms of heterotopias. Foucault describes several traits of heterotopias, implicitly arguing the more traits apply to particular spaces, the more are the spaces approximating to the universal form of heterotopias or highly heterotopic places. By dissecting the traits of heterotopias the city center unfolds as the most highly heterotopic place in the City (of Vienna), turning the meanings of the city center from the functional center of the city into a place of symbolic representation of the cultural heritage.



and identity of the entire city and moving on to the production of ambient qualities and a kind of a playful environment, bearing similarities to the emotional environments of New Babylon. In sync to the principle of heterotopias: "...heterotopias can change in function and meaning over time, according to the particular 'synchrony' of the culture in which they are found" (Soja, 1996, p. 160).

When modern urban planning proceeded and the inner city district fell into decline, the city was to become a city without meanings, history and identity, the city center was out of the focus of urban planners. Since the 1970s the production of ambient qualities in and of the historic city center came to the fore. In 1978 the entire Historic City Center was designated as a 'protected zone'. The ambience of the heterotopia 'Historic City Center' was enhanced by refined regulations on the outward appearances, e.g. character and style of the buildings, and broken down to every single detail of the visual coherence, e.g.: shop entrances, windows replacements, etc. (UNESCO, 2008), excluding influences of modern architecture. Even the vision of a mixed-used old-fashioned city center was considered worth preserving by designating neighborhoods of the Historic City Center as protected residential areas.

By establishing the UNESCO Cultural Heritage core zone and buffer zone in 2000 another layer of regulation and control, now spreading over the entire city has been implemented. The production of the heterotopia "Historic City Center" has moved on to put the setting in perspective. Sight axes and sight lines to the Historic City Center have become a prime agenda in urban planning of the entire City of Vienna. New urban development as new high-rises have to adjust according to the sight axes to the Historic City Center, referring to a painting of Vienna's skyline in the 18th century. In imposing the hegemony of cultural identity by preserving the cultural heritage the Historic City Center is "...linked to accumulation of time in an immobile place of time – as museums or libraries..." as it is a principle of heterotopias (Foucault, 1986, p.26).

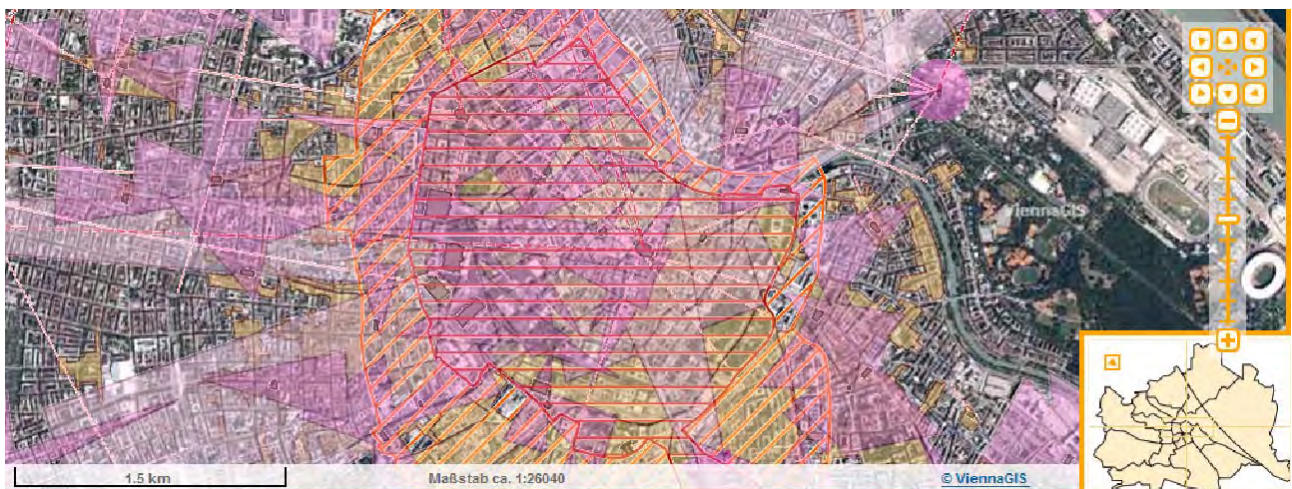


Figure 15: Layers of regulations on the visual coherence, imposed on the city center



In the sectors of Constants New Babylon ambient qualities are provided by changing lighting conditions just as places for pleasure and entertainment like circuses. The production of the ambient qualities in the city center of Vienna required another layer of control. The 'Lighting Master Plan for Vienna' was passed in 2007, regulating how each individual structure has to be illuminated. Public spaces are integrated in the spectacle of the Historic City Center, taken away from the public and returned as a controlled and commodified experience. Planning schemes for the main shopping district at first suggested transforming the space from a congested shopping street into an ambience for strolling flaneurs or consumers. The most recent refurbishment, completed in 2010, however was exclusively focusing on the production of the ambient quality as enticing lighting or 'polished' surfaces. By evoking 'controlled' emotions power can be exerted over behavior and minds. Urban design evolves as a technology of designing emotions, as envisioned by Constant for the sectors of New Babylon, eventually erasing the mundane habits.



Figure 16: Main shopping district, ca. 1960 (left), drafts for refurbishments 1970 (center) and 2010 (right).  
(© Gruen V., left, center)

“Opposite these heterotopias that are linked to the accumulation of time, there are those linked, on the contrary, to time in its most fleeting, transitory, precarious aspect, to time in the mode of the festival” (Foucault, 1986, p.26). As the playful ambiances of New Babylon provide spaces for events and festivals, in the Historic City Center public spaces and the historic facades have become attached with the meaning of a stage for performing urban culture. Squares are re-interpreted as art-place and become occupied by events and performances all year long.



Figure 17: Festivalized square in the city center in front of the City Hall (left), Traditional amusement park 'Prater' (right). (© foto-julius.at (left))

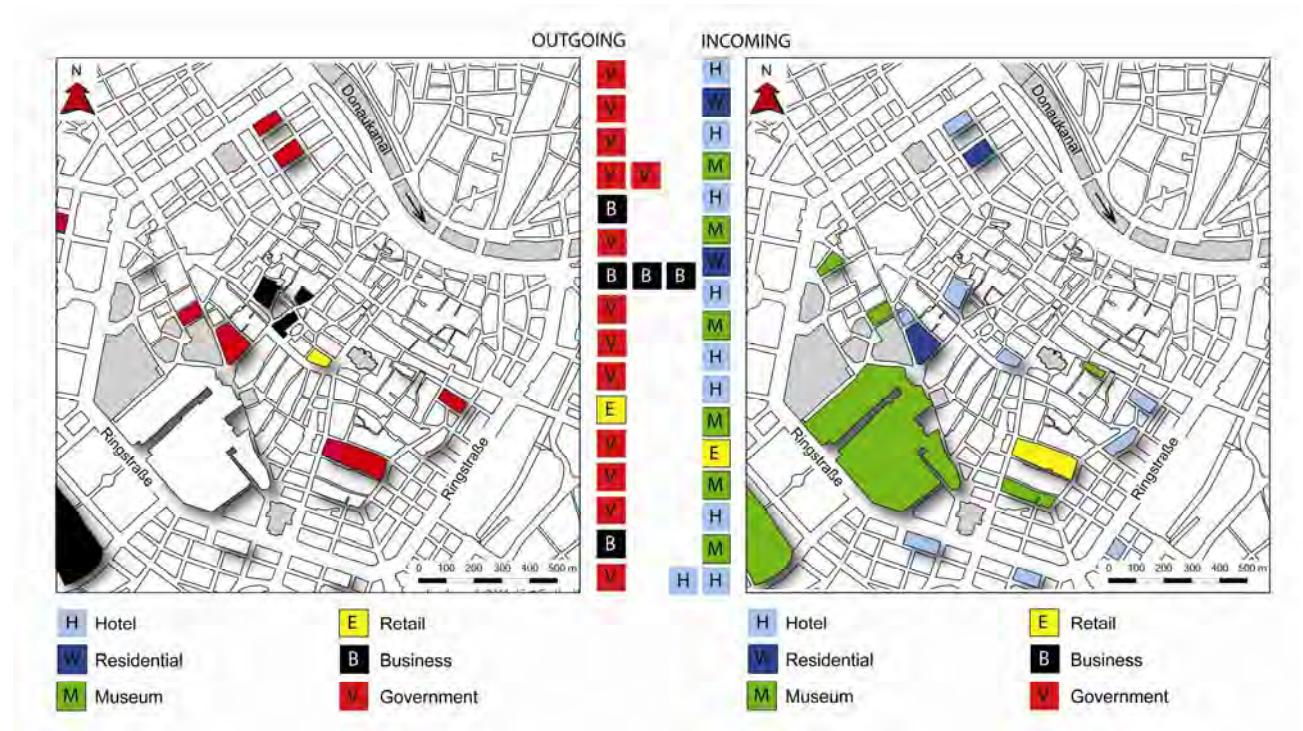


Figure 18: City Center: Urban functions follow the urban form (Exchange of functions 2000-2010)

However, the production of ambient qualities is moving on to the social design of the environment, removing social groups considered as deviant. Even shop owners have to give way for re-presentations of art, implicitly in accordance to the dispositif to remove anything that can disturb the magic show of an historic city center. By the prevailing power of the ambient quality now the urban functions follow the urban form. The meaning as the functional center of the entire city is weakening. Work places and headquarters of leading companies are relocating as the strong regulations on the ambient quality do not meet the demands of globalized economies anymore. Government departments and offices of the city administration are leaving the city center, giving way for accommodations for a climbing number of a mobile, drifting urban class.

Hotels now take advantage of the ambient qualities. City planners foster the playful ambience of the city center. Cultural institutions are expanding. At the least a attractive back of the Historic City Center globalized leisure facilities are established like a 'bathing ship' or artificial beaches.

Even the transformation of the main shopping area in to a globalized shopping destination is part of the playful ambience. In performing individual life styles consumerism has become an important means. Drifting city dwellers use the ambience of an historic city center to inform themselves on the recent trends of fashion and life styles by what is provided by the globalized and exclusive chain operated stores of globalized retailers that have established behind the protected historic facades of the stores. The motives of city dwellers for coming to the Center are: to experience and perform an exclusive urban life style characterized by strolling, window shopping, meeting friends, going out for lunch, dinner, to bars and cultural activities (IFES, 2009).

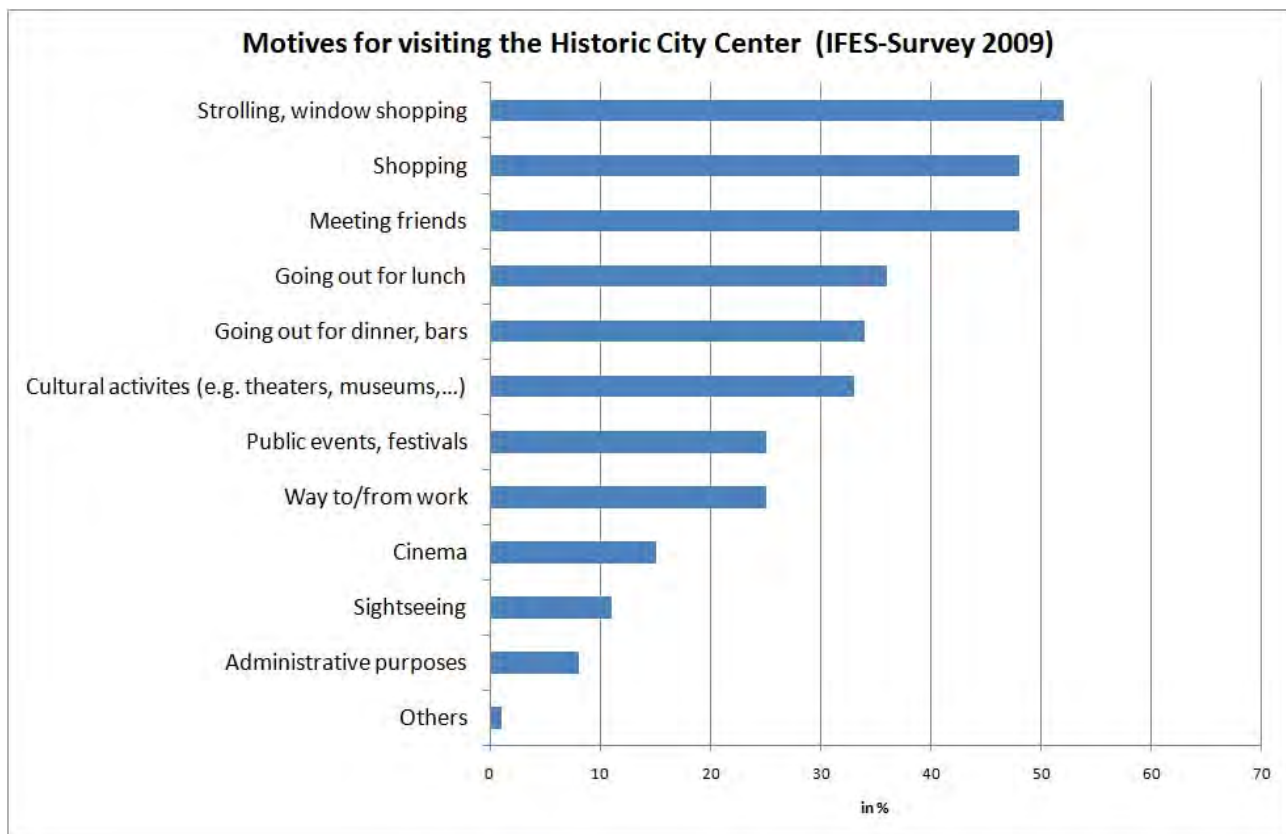


Figure 19: Motifs for visiting the Historic City Center (Source: IFES, 2009)

The prime function of the city of a meeting place, as Sloterdijk notes, has become represented in the Historic City Center in terms of an exclusive "ballroom" or "assembly hall" - in relation to the other sites in the city - serving as social space providing city dwellers the option to be with and among people and to pursue and perform an exclusive urban life style that can neither be performed in the declining shopping streets, nor in the homogeneous housing developments at the urban fringes, nor in the emerging sectors shaping the 'New Vienna'. Following the principles of heterotopias the historic city center is turned into a highly heterotopic



place “...onto which the whole world comes to enact its symbolic perfection ... a space that is other, another real space, as perfect, as meticulous, as well arranged as ours is messy ... a space of illusion that exposes every real space, all the sites inside of which human life is partitioned...” (Foucault, 1986, p. 27). However, by refining and tightening regulations for the production of a perfect place “All the conditions come together thus for a perfect domination, for a refined exploitation of people as producers, consumers of products, consumers of space...” (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 85), inverting the pristine intentions of the situationists utopias of quality spaces.

## Outlook

Following the Master Plan the remodeling of the city by sectors imposed over and extending the given urban form just as the production of ambient and themed quality spaces is not finished yet. The Master Plan of the City of Vienna points at this direction by designating 13 key areas, each of which dedicated to a specific ‘theme’, hence to specific combinations and variations of quality spaces, providing the dramaturgies and the “soundtracks” of the aesthetization of daily life (Walter Benjamin). Following the notions of Foucault, Constant and Sloterdijk, the future city has to be understood as a relation among sites, loosely interconnected, a ‘Meta-Collector’ of constructed ambient urban environments.

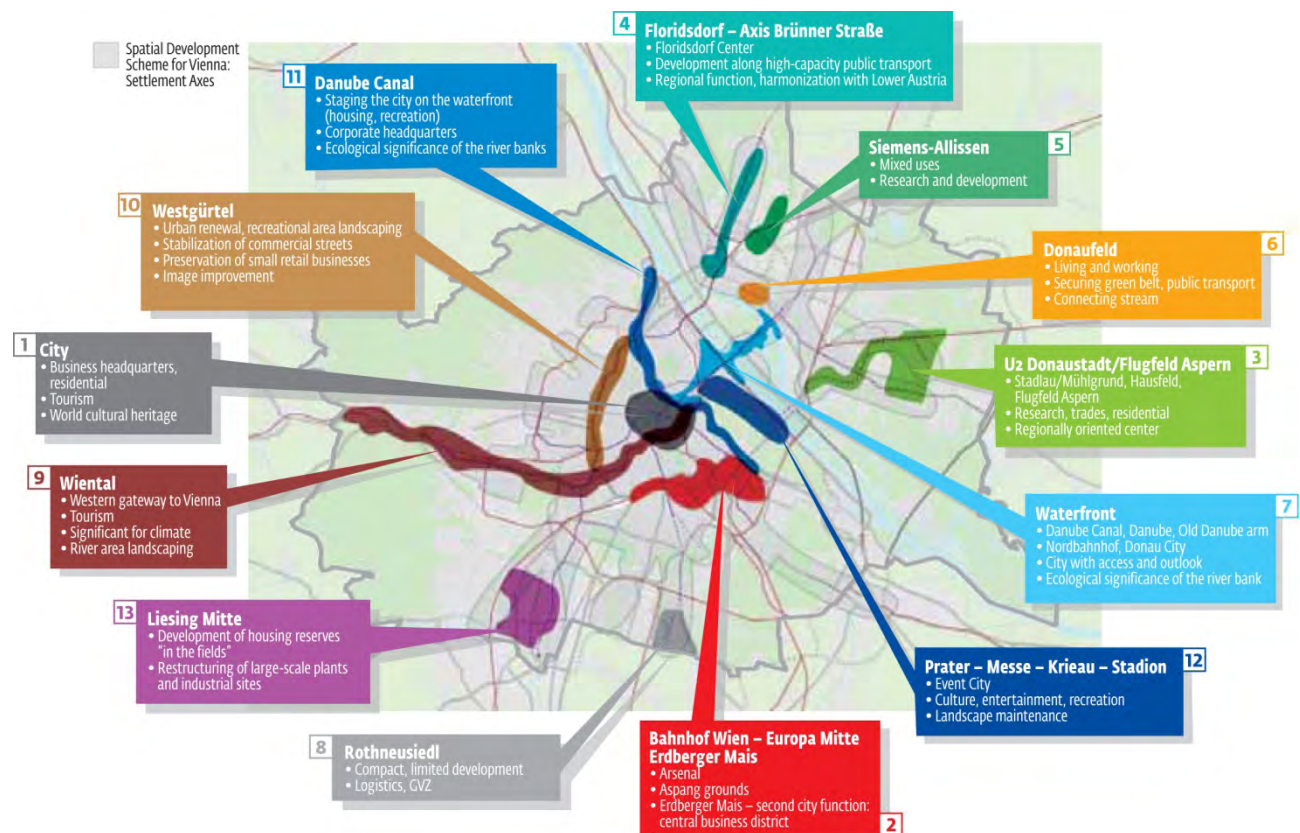


Figure 20: Urban Development Plan Vienna 2005. (© City of Vienna)

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## Track 3: Planning Education

### Track Co-Chairs

Andrea I Frank, Cardiff University

Hanna Mattila, School of Science and Technology, Aalto University

“Space” within the planning education curriculum has become a luxury in recent decades, both physically as well as intellectually.

For one, increasing student numbers or class sizes, widening access and a greater emphasis on CPD (continuing professional development) means educators have to rethink how we ought to use technologies and in which kinds of physical and virtual environments we best deliver our programmes. Second, planning education has been impacted by the general “paradigm shift” in planning theory whereby the formerly central position of space and spatial qualities as well as the discipline of “spatial planning” has been put into question by the “procedural turn” of planning. Undoubtedly, both procedural and spatial issues will always have their place in planning education and practice. But given that the scope of the planning discipline is ever expanding with new topics such as gender planning, professional ethics, facilitation, planning for climate change, intercultural and interdisciplinary working, a balance is often difficult to achieve. It is therefore reasonable to ask: Are we (still) giving enough space to the spatial issues in our curricula? Does the temporal space allow us to educate planners and designers who are able to understand place qualities and are capable of designing liveable urban space? Or are spatial and design concerns considered too luxurious and expensive in difficult economic times?

For this year’s congress, the planning education track invites in particular contributions which for example:

- consider the position of spatial planning, urban place and space qualities and the design dimension of planning in today’s planning education; explore the issue of pedagogy and novel methods especially geared to teach and learn about space and spatial qualities;
- examine the influence of learning spaces and environments upon the efficient education of (spatial) planners and urban designer; or
- discuss more broadly the intellectual space that planning education should occupy in the next decades.

Papers can be theoretical and literature-based, or they can build on practical experience in planning or design education. Please do not hesitate to discuss with us any ideas that you might have, – particularly if you wish to organise a themed session or roundtable even before the formal submission of your abstract.

## Conceptual Apprenticeship – Heuristic Simplification in Training Planning Students in Negotiation and Argumentation

Anders Törnqvist

Spatial Planning, Blekinge Institute of Technology, Karlskrona, Sweden<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract.** Educational experiments 2003-2009 at the Swedish School of Planning, Blekinge Institute of Technology, have tested software and other tools in training students to acquire professional skills in negotiation and argumentation.

Results indicate that conceptual models, simplified, yet reflecting professional practice, facilitate learning. They do so by organising student efforts to acquire complex skills, providing immediate feedback and help to interpret teachers' hints and corrections. Simple models stimulate student elaboration. Complex models may need simplification and modification of target skills. In both cases improvement of learning outcomes can be observed.

Software helps in externalising professional methods, visualising outcomes, and diagnosing student errors. Software also presents operating difficulties and may lead to cognitive overload for some students. Contrary to common opinion in the field, results indicate that one should assume no clear relation between features of different software and learning outcomes. Educational contexts are unavoidably different, which makes comparisons difficult.

Modifying conceptual models and target skills, improving learning outcomes, should be seen rather as examples of *heuristic simplification* and *conceptual clarification*, supporting *conceptual apprenticeship*. This can be developed and reliably tested in a specific educational context.

### Keywords:

Conceptual apprenticeship, heuristic simplification, negotiation, argumentation

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<sup>1</sup> This paper is based on research by Bertil Rolf, School of Management, and Anders Törnqvist, Spatial planning, Blekinge Institute of Technology. Recently the research has been financed by a grant from the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency (Naturvårdsverket) to Rolf & Törnqvist: *Tools for Reasonable Deliberation*.



## **The Basis of Professional Skills – Apprenticeship or Research?**

How do planners, engineers and architects acquire their professional skills? A traditional answer is: by apprenticeship, learning from masters. Tasks are presented to beginners, which represent typical difficulties of the profession, but in an elementary form.

Apprenticeship is practiced in many fields. A skilled craftsman; a carpenter, a welder, learns rules of thumb, imitates a master, and practices to achieve satisfactory results. Apprenticeship is also common in educated professions, among engineers, architects, medical doctors. The architectural student starts by designing a small weekend hut and goes on to more complex design tasks. The engineer calculates the appropriate properties of technical components and goes on to develop more complex constructions. The doctor learns how to diagnose common illnesses, and goes on to analyse more complex syndroms. They all need to apply available scientific knowledge as a basis for action. They are dependent also on a professional context: the guidance of more experienced colleagues, who know what scientific knowledge to apply, who can communicate and reflect upon this in a professional discourse, the acquisition of which is part of apprenticeship.

There is a problem, however, with apprenticeship. Professional knowledge is not reliable. Buildings rot, bridges collapse, money is wasted on huge and useless projects, patients die or become worse after medical treatment. (Dawes & Hastie, 2001, Flyvbjerg et al, 2003, 1998, Gigerenzer, 1999, Hall, 1982, Parkin, 2000, Rolf, 2008). Professional decisions are inconsistent, and experts often show unfounded confidence in their judgments (Plous, 1993).

Professions reserve the right to decide the standards of good practice. This can lead to young professionals sometimes learning only how to repeat the mistakes of older colleagues. There are also legitimate causes of the unreliability of professional judgment. Professionals deal with complex, non-deterministic socio-technical systems, where the feedback of actions taken is delayed. This makes it difficult to learn from experience (Rolf, 2008). Social problems in modern housing estates, for example, often take long time to emerge and are difficult to relate to the design of buildings and urban structure (Öresjö, 2004).

Another indication of the lack of reliable basis for professional judgment is rivalry between different pedagogic paradigms. In the field of architectural education, there are competing views of how architects should be trained. Diaz Moore (2001) identifies four main pedagogies of architectural education. It is difficult to see what kind of evidence would show that one pedagogy is better than the other.

This uncertainty has led to demands for a broader and stronger scientific basis for professional judgment. Britton Harris was a pioneer, who in the 1960s developed computer models for use in

spatial planning. In his view, goal conflicts, great costs and often irreversible consequences mean that planning decisions should not be left to the judgment of individual professionals, however qualified (Harris, 1997). Formal models, preferably computer models, are needed to verify the consequences of recommended actions. Healey (1997) objects that formal models reflect fixed problem-framings and hinder continuous, mutual learning. They also tend to favour certain types of goals and consequences, which are easier to model in quantitative terms than others.

Recently, the demand for policy based on evidence has revived the debate on what is relevant knowledge for planning (Davoudi, 2006). According to her argument, an *instrumental* interpretation of “evidence” assumes a too simplistic, linear relationship between research and policy. This interpretation predictably calls for the development of broad databases, expert systems, and computer models to underpin policy decisions.

Davoudi questions the usefulness of this interpretation of “evidence”. There are indications that decision-makers do not want more knowledge about the issues. It makes decision-making more complicated. A legitimate reason for this may be that more information could make it more difficult to discover patterns and efficiently frame the problem, (Schön, 1983, Simon, 1997, Rolf, 2008).

Davoudi lists additional arguments against the instrumental use of knowledge. Experts are not always impartial but have self-serving professional agendas. Ideology and vested interests tend to demand knowledge that supports past decisions and may suppress opposing evidence. Instead she advocates an *enlightenment model*. The purpose of scientific research is rather to “illuminate the landscape within which policy decisions have to be made”. (Davoudi, 2006:16)

## Heuristics – Simple Tools for a Complex World

So what should young professionals do? They cannot always trust their masters, and there is not sufficient, or sometimes too much scientific, conflicting knowledge, to guide them.

In view of this dilemma, Rolf (2008) identifies a group of *intermediate* methods for decision-making, between what are called “strong” and “weak” methods. “Strong” methods are used by professionals with expert domain knowledge, who quickly can reduce complexity by identifying relevant features of a problem – apprenticeship, in other words. The problem with these methods is the need to trust professional authority, with risks pointed out above, and difficulties in teaching these methods to beginners. “Weak” methods are general, based on scientific knowledge. They are valid, open to all, but also difficult for inexperienced professionals to apply to specific cases.

*Heuristics* is a term to denote *intermediate methods*, relying partly but not completely on domain knowledge. Heuristics elaborates on *representations* in order to support the process of inquiry, to identify patterns, and to connect problem formulation to a final decision (Simon, 1997) “Thus, heuristic methods are directed at managing processes.” (Rolf, 2008:6, after Polya, 1957).

The student of architecture is instructed, for example, to make “design experiments”, working in the “virtual world” of developing outlines of three-dimensional designs, formerly on onion-skin paper, nowadays on the computer screen, evaluating the result, learning from it, modifying it in an iterative process that develops simultaneously the understanding of the problem and of the possibilities to solve it (Schön, 1983). See also Cross (2006).

Heuristics thus focuses on ways to *conceptualize* and *represent* problems.

### **Experiments in planning education**

#### **Training skills in negotiation and argumentation**

At the Swedish School of Planning, Blekinge Institute of Technology (BTH), with programmes of Spatial planning and Urban Design at Bachelor and Master levels, a professional culture seems to be adopted quickly by students. Early enough they learn what seems to be the “code”: synthesizing multiple requirements into an attractive design for improving urban environment and public space.

As in many schools of architecture and urban design, the emphasis is on innovative spatial arrangements that potentially solve several problems, functional and technical goal conflicts, while also satisfying esthetic requirements. Arguments when presenting planning proposals are mainly used to support the selected design. Self-critical evaluation is rare. Students are also reluctant to criticize fellow students’ proposals.

The professional culture as perceived and adopted by students seems to be one of *consensus*, *collaboration* and *creation* of spatial arrangements that would satisfy multiple interests.

But planning is also *conflict*, *negotiation* between different interests and *analysis* of arguments for and against planning proposals (Forester, 1989, 1999, Healey, 1993, Törnqvist, 2006). Planners need the ability to construct and evaluate *hierarchies* of argument. Some interests are more important than others, because of more valid arguments. Analyzing chains of arguments is essential for *conceptual clarification*, reducing both *conceptual* and *epistemic* uncertainty, (Rolf, 2006, 2007a). “What kind of problem is this, and what do I need to know in order to solve it?”

It is symptomatic that according to Diaz Moore (2001), only one of his four pedagogies for architectural training lists *competitiveness* and *critical thinking* as characteristic of student roles. Two emphasize *collaboration* and one *individual dependence on a master*.

Consequently, teachers at the Swedish School of Planning have identified a need to strengthen the skills of *negotiation* and *argumentation* among planning students.

### **Cognitive Apprenticeship and Software**

Negotiation and argumentation are skills that need both theoretical knowledge and practice. Fisher & Ury (1981) argue the merits of *principled negotiation*, arguing over interests instead of positions. Successful negotiation should aim to invent options for mutual gain, not one-sided “victories” of one party over the other. This requires insight, conviction and experience. Likewise, evaluating arguments and successfully using them needs both ability of logical reasoning and debating experience.

Collins et al (1989) have suggested ways of applying apprenticeship methods to the training of complex skills of this nature. In describing methods of *cognitive apprenticeship*, they emphasize the need to teach the *processes* experts use, not only having expert-teachers evaluate and correct the *outcomes* of apprentices’ efforts. To do this teachers need to develop and transmit *conceptual models*, which help students to make observations of the expert way of solving a problem, models which help them to organize their attempts to execute the desired skill, and which provide an interpretative structure for making sense of coaching: feedback, hints and corrections. (op.cit:456).

Collins et al in their early paper foresaw that the core techniques of *modelling* and *coaching* could be formalised in computer software, suggesting that it could make a style of learning, previously limited, cost effective and widely available (op.cit:491).

A number of software products now exist to support the teaching of elementary reasoning skills. Recently Scheuer et al (2010) have presented a review of these products and tried to evaluate the effects of various features, such as visualisation techniques and feedback mechanisms on learning outcomes. The evidence is inconclusive. Some empirical studies find effects, others do not.

Rolf (2007b) argues against such *intercontextual* comparisons between software products. Learning contexts are unavoidably different from each other. Many unknown factors influence the learning outcomes. It is nearly impossible to draw conclusions concerning the effects of certain software features. Instead, Rolf recommends *intracontextual* testing, exploring the effects of various tools and conceptual models in a specific educational context. This is the approach presented and evaluated here.

## Research Questions

What is adequate simplification in conceptual models of professional practice concerning negotiation and argumentation in spatial planning?

In what ways can software facilitate learning professional skills of this nature?

## Conceptual Models in Negotiation and Argumentation Exercises

In line with the recommendation of Collins et al (1989), conceptual models for training negotiation and argumentation among planning students have been developed at the Swedish School of Planning. The criteria have been that models should be so comprehensive that they realistically illustrate professional tasks, yet so simple that they are possible to operate for inexperienced students.

It is in this context that *heuristic simplification* and the use of *software* have been tested. As will be shown below, software may help to model real planning tasks and give immediate feedback of attempts to learn a complex skill. Heuristic simplification takes place in describing the assignment, defining the target skill, giving instructions, presenting tools and forms of representation and providing feedback and correction.

*Conceptual model* is used here to mean the description of a planning situation, in which professional skills are to be trained. It necessarily represents a simplification of a real planning situation. The number of actors and stakeholders is limited, the number of planning issues, subject to negotiation and argumentation, is limited.

The *assignment* is the task set for students within this conceptual model: for example, to negotiate an outcome, which the negotiating parties can accept, to organise and evaluate all presented arguments in a planning case, or to select the strongest arguments and recommend a decision.

*Target skills* are the skills the assignment intends to develop with the help of instructions and tools. The target skill can be to defeat an opponent in negotiation, maximising gain at his expense, or to find negotiation outcomes for maximum combined gain. The skill can be to organise and evaluate all presented arguments in a logically consistent way, or to identify only the strongest arguments and present them in support of a decision.

*Instructions* are written and oral information, describing the conceptual model, the assignment, as well as guidelines, coaching, feedback, advice and corrections in teachers' interaction with students.

*Tools* are software and paper forms, providing forms of representation, both of the conceptual model, and for the presentation of student results.

## **The Negotiation Exercises**

The conceptual model in these exercises was a planning situation, where a private property developer would negotiate with municipal planners on the terms of developing a central piece of land: a former hospital with a surrounding park. Preliminary discussions had resulted in agreement that the parties would meet to negotiate on four parameters:

*land use*, with the alternatives housing, offices, park, or a mix.

*plot ratio*

*land rent*, to be paid by the developer to the municipality.

*start date*

Students were divided into teams, half of the teams representing planners and the others the developer. They received written instructions, including the weights for each parameter and utilities for each value. For example, the planners would have a weight of 60 % on land use, and a utility of “100” for a mix of housing and offices. The developer would have a weight of 80 % for this parameter and a utility of “100” for offices only. The teams were instructed to find out how they could make gains of utility, while making limited concessions.

After negotiation the teams reported the agreed values for each parameter. This data was fed into Athena Negotiator software ([www.athenasoft.org](http://www.athenasoft.org)), which is based on a mathematical model for multi-criteria analysis, calculating the maximum combined gain possible with given weights and utilities for each party. On the computer screen the students could immediately see how close to this optimum outcome they had come. In the first round, several teams failed to reach their maximum gain, realising that they had given unnecessary concessions to the other party. In the second round, teams switched roles, and in that way learned of the priorities of the other party. In a third round, students were allowed to set their own weights, this after a suggestion from students one year.

## ***Results of negotiation exercises***

Students have showed consistent improvement of negotiation outcomes in these exercises. After three rounds they have approached the maximum combined gain, moving their results toward the top right corner of the diagram showing possible outcomes. See Fig 1. Earlier outcomes closer to origo showed suboptimal gains for each party; results close to either the y- or the x-axis revealing gains for one party at the expense of the other.

Students told in evaluation that they quickly learned how to exploit the different priorities of each team, but complained that negotiation turned out to be too much calculation. They wanted to make better use of their persuasive and creative skills! The teacher explained that in real negotiations there would be plenty of opportunities for this, both before and after the simplified and tightly structured negotiation practiced in this exercise. There would be discussion about which parameters should be subject to negotiation. Planners would argue with councillors before negotiation about possible land-use and plot ratios, presenting creative designs that combined high plot ratio and land rent with attractive housing qualities, setting the utilities accordingly. After agreement on land rent the developer, on the other hand, could suggest payment in kind, like financing extra landscaping.

Student evaluations of these exercises consistently have been very positive. In contacts with students at other Swedish schools of architecture, BTH planning students have suggested that this kind of negotiation exercise should be included in the curriculum of other schools.

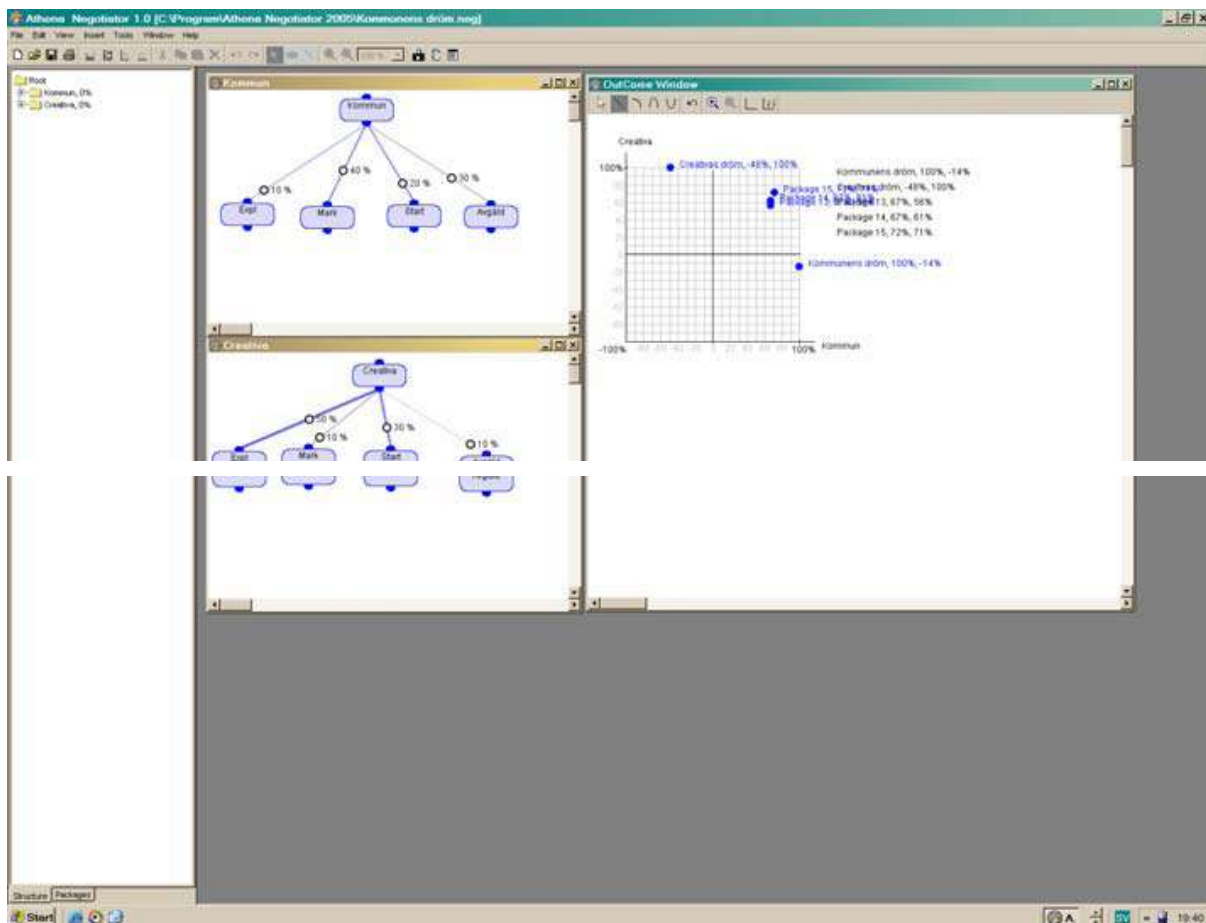


Fig 1. Athena Negotiator showing parameter weights of each party (left) and negotiation outcomes after three rounds (right). The outcomes of all teams are now concentrated in the top right corner, close to the position of maximum combined gains, as calculated from the priorities of the negotiating parties: developers and planners.

## The Argumentation Exercises

The conceptual model in this exercise was based on a complex planning case that had been appealed at all administrative and judicial levels and finally decided by the national government. The documentation of the case was provided by the National Board of Housing, Building and Planning, in a report on how the planning system handled conflicts concerning workplaces (Boverket, 1995).

Municipal planners in this case had proposed a plan allowing for densification of an old housing estate, originally built at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century for workers at the adjacent steel plant, which was still in operation. The buildings had been modernized, but the housing estate was still considered uniquely preserved and a valuable part of the industrial heritage.

The rationale for densification was the need to finance renewed technical infrastructure and to provide a broader population base for social and commercial services. There was pollution in the form of dust and noise from the steel plant, occasionally exceeding national norms. The current plan had provided for these health hazards by restricting new development to areas farthest away from the plant. A court order had also required the plant to eliminate dust emissions by encapsulating certain industrial processes within three years. The National Board of Antiquities considered that new development according to the plan was possible without impairing the cultural heritage qualities of the estate.

In preparation the teachers extracted twelve arguments presented by stakeholders and authorities during the long planning process, as documented in the report (Boverket, 1995). The conceptual model of the exercise proposed that the student would play the role of an expert civil servant at national government level, weigh the evidence, and recommend a decision to the Minister of the Environment.

The assignment for the students then was to structure and evaluate the list of arguments with the help of Athena Standard software, specially developed for argumentation analysis ([www.athenasoft.org](http://www.athenasoft.org), Scheuer et al 2010). The software made it possible to visualise and describe arguments in a diagram, to set values on their acceptability and relevance and to connect them with other arguments in pro- or con-relations. See Fig 2. The software also made it possible to filter out the weakest arguments (the strength based on the product of values of acceptability and relevance). In that way the students could verify whether their evaluations of single arguments supported their main thesis – a decision for or against approving the plan for densification.

Instructions included a list of guidelines for applying values of *acceptability* and *relevance* to arguments. This list was set up as a result of discussions with professional planners with experience of planning at the municipal, as well as regional and national levels. It was agreed that *relevance* primarily should be related to legal rights and obligations of authorities and stakeholders to take part in the planning process. The arguments of neighbouring landowners, the County Administrative Board, expert government agencies, like the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency, consequently would



have high relevance. *Acceptability* on the other hand would depend on the factual basis for their arguments. Arguments referring to measurements of noise levels as compared to national norms would have high acceptability, for example, whereas mere opinion on environmental disturbance or quality would have less acceptability.

After some introductory experimentation, the conceptual model including twelve presented arguments, and the guidelines for evaluating acceptability and relevance have been constant for the last four years (2006-09). Different tools have been tested: the Athena Standard software, Mind Manager software and simplified paper forms. The effects of these tests can be studied in Figure 2 and Table 1.

Year	2006	2007	2008	2009
No of students	49	47	54	27
Tools	Students first make an individual evaluation of arguments on a paper form. Then groups of 3-4 students make the same evaluation with Athena Std.	Students work in parallel groups with Athena Std, Mind Manager and a paper form.	Students work in parallel groups with Athena Std, and two paper forms, one simplified.	All students work with the simplified paper form.
Errors in student presentations <sup>2</sup>	B1: 52% A: 31%	A: 57% B1: 56% MM: 60%	A: 33% B1: 33% B2: 17%	B2: 19 %
Students who recommended the same decision as the government actually made in the case.	B1: 40 % A: 69 %	A: 80 % B1: 100 % MM: 100 %	A: 67 % B1: 67 % B2: 86 %	B2: 96 %

Table 1. Argumentation exercises 2006-09

A = Groups using Athena Standard software.

B1 = Groups using a paper form with list of arguments and instruction to value each arguments according to acceptability and relevance and recommending a decision.

B2 = Groups using a simplified paper form with list of arguments and instruction to indicate the 3-4 strongest and weakest arguments and explaining their recommended decision.

MM = Groups using the general purpose visualization software Mind Manager and recommending a decision.

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<sup>2</sup> Errors are of two kinds 1. Pro-con errors. Athena Standard software requires that the pro-con relation refers to nearest argument above in the tree, not to the main thesis, which many students assumed. When filtering out the weakest arguments, this may lead to the result that the student's strongest arguments do not support the main thesis and the recommended decision. If the student doesn't realise this, it is considered a thinking error. 2. Logical errors. For example: Two arguments are connected, which seem to have no logical or factual relation. Or one argument is presented as support for two opposing arguments. A strong counter-argument obviously weakens the first presented argument. If acceptability and relevance values of the first argument then are not adjusted, it is a logical error. Logical errors can occur when using other tools than Athena Standard. The figures indicate the percentage of students with one or more of these errors.

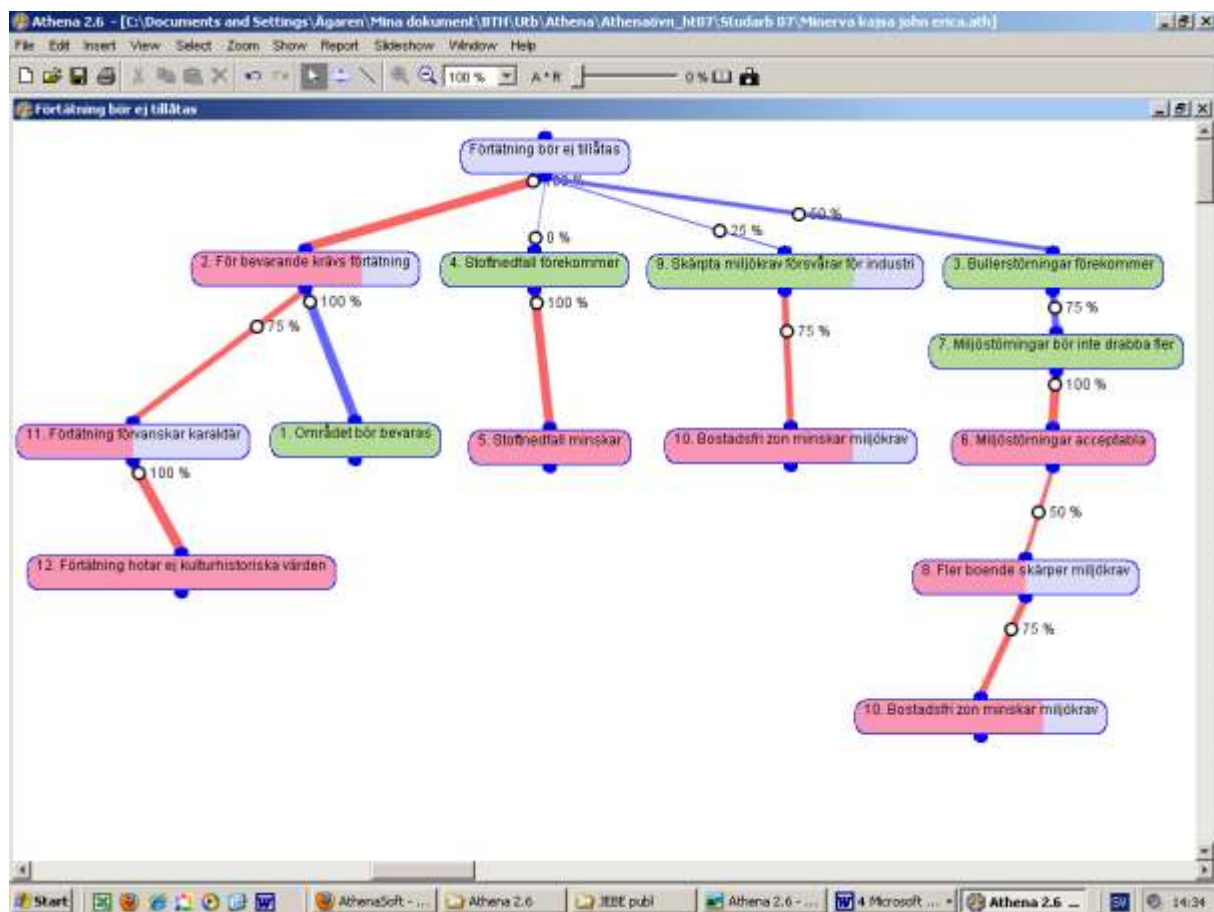


Fig 2. Example of argument tree in Athena Standard. Fully green-coloured nodes signify highly acceptable pro-arguments. Red nodes signify counterarguments. The width of connecting lines indicates the relevance of the argument to arguments immediately above. Filtering out the weakest arguments shows if the main thesis on top receives support or not. In this tree, strong counterarguments lead to defeat of thesis that densification should not be allowed.

### Results of Argumentation Exercises

The students have had difficulties using Athena Standard software to structure and evaluate arguments in the planning case. Some students were able to build clear argument trees, identifying important

chains of arguments, gaining insight in the planning process, detecting weaknesses in arguments and the need of additional evidence. Many students seemed confused, however, by the assignment to build argument trees, and revealed thinking errors. Some errors may have been due to insufficient understanding of the requirements of the software, primarily that pro- and con-relations should be related to the argument immediately above in the argument chain, not to the main thesis. See note in Table 1.

Other errors seemed more fundamental, like connecting arguments that seemed to have no logical or factual relationship, or marshalling one argument in support of two opposing arguments. Several students also failed to understand that strong counter-arguments weakened the acceptability of other related arguments, which led to inconsistency and insufficiently founded recommendations for a decision on the case.

The software diagrams produced by the students in earlier exercises made it easy for the teacher to discover these errors and indicate corrections. A small majority of the students succeeded over the years in finding a consistent recommendation, which also conformed to the actual decision of the government in the case. See Table 1.

To a great extent, however, student evaluations of using Athena Standard in this exercise have been negative.

The software difficulties led in the following years to the introduction of paper forms, where students were asked to make the same evaluation of arguments, but without having to build visual argument trees with the help of software. The results were inconclusive. Significant thinking errors were found in all groups, whether using software or paper forms in the year of 2007. See Table 1.

In 2008 a simplified paper form was introduced. Students in one group were only asked to indicate the strongest arguments, without rating their acceptability or relevance, and to recommend a decision. The low rate of thinking errors observed in this group led to the experiment in the final year 2009, that all students would use only this simplified form, and in addition explain their way of thinking when evaluating the arguments and recommending a decision. This experiment was partly intended to serve as a base-line indication. How would students reason in a planning case, with a minimum of instruction and tools to help them to structure and evaluate the arguments?

The result was unexpected. The rate of thinking errors, when using this simplified form was almost the lowest among student presentations during the whole testing period (Table 1, year of 2009). When describing their thinking process, a strong majority of students demonstrated consistency in evaluating arguments, relating them to a clear hierarchy of values, e.g. that concerns of health and protection of the environment were more important than economic interests. Professional expertise was also

considered more credible than expression of partial interests. Students identified at least two levels of arguments, realizing that a strong counter-argument weakened the strength of a previously presented argument. For example, dust pollution at the housing estate, would in consequence with a court order be substantially reduced in three years, strengthening the argument for densification.

A majority of students also identified inconsistency in arguments of the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency on the case. The agency argued that existing levels of pollution were acceptable, but still disapproved of densification if more people would be subject to pollution. Students argued that if pollution was acceptable for some people, then it should be acceptable for all. And if not, not.

## Discussion

Consistently satisfactory learning outcomes in the **negotiation exercises** verify the usefulness of a conceptual model, which although simple, reflects a complex professional context, and stimulates student elaboration. The simplification, of course, consists in including only four negotiation parameters and providing numerical weights and utilities for these parameters and their values. This makes the conceptual model an easily operated, predictable system, which in combination with immediate feedback, facilitates learning, according to several studies (Rolf, 2006). The fact that this feedback has been visual as well as numeric and verbal may also have contributed (Tufte, 1983).

The adequate simplicity of the conceptual model was confirmed by the fact that students quickly suggested elaborations, such as varying the weights of the parameters according to personal preferences. They also asked for opportunity to develop their persuasive and creativity skills further, for example, as teachers suggested, by introducing additional parameters in the model. This supports the recommendation by Collins et al (1989) that a conceptual model should provide an internalized guide for independent practice and further improvement (op.cit: 456).

The improvements observed also support common principles of negotiation, claiming that increased understanding of the interests and priorities of one's opponent, as well as of your own, facilitates mutually satisfactory outcomes (Fisher & Ury, 1981).

The learning outcomes of the **argumentation exercises** have been more varied and give rise to questions concerning the stability of the educational context, the adequacy of the conceptual model, definitions of targets skills, forms of representation and effects of features of the software and other tools.

The educational context seems to have been stable during the latest test-period of four years. The conceptual model and the teachers have been the same. The motivation and the ability of the students may have varied, however, as well as the amount of teacher instruction and student interaction. The

improvement of learning outcomes in 2006, when students first individually used a simple paper form, and then in groups used the Athena software to model chains of argument, may have been a result of several factors: practice by repeating the exercise, group interaction and intensified teacher instruction in using the software.

There has been stable recruitment of students over the years to the Master programme of Spatial planning; no difficulty to fill the quota, but no obviously sharpened competition, which could have increased the number of students with better scholastic merits and potentially better reasoning skills.

The latest exercise in 2009 gave an opportunity to test for possible variations of student ability. The results of the argumentation exercise were matched with evaluation from teachers in other courses of the varying ability and dedication of students in the class. Several students, who were considered poor performers by other teachers, nevertheless did well in the argumentation exercise. The few students demonstrating weak reasoning skills in this exercise also were poor performers, according to this evaluation. The conclusion is that the conceptual model as such apparently was sufficiently simplified and possible to operate for most students.

Another factor to have influenced the improved outcomes with the simple paper form in 2009 could be better understanding of the planning process by students. In earlier exercises teachers noted that difficulties to organise arguments in graphically clear argument trees could stem perhaps from insufficient knowledge of the Swedish planning process, where planning proposals are subjected to several reviews and appeals in a complex system. After only one year of study this could be understandable.

The results then would have indicated that the conceptual model; the planning situation presented, and the assignment, were insufficiently simplified. In 2009, however, coaching students in the assignment indicated to teachers that many students now seemed to have a better grasp of the planning process. An observed high level of student interaction in the studios this year could explain this. It could also be due to improved teaching in other courses during the first year. This, of course, would be difficult, although highly desirable to verify. The satisfying learning outcomes this last year confirmed, however, that under present conditions the conceptual model as such apparently was adequate.

The observation that some students using the graphic possibilities of Athena software developed a deeper understanding of the planning issues and the nature of the evidence seems to match the results of Suthers & Hundhausen (2003). They compared student groups using a *graph* representation with *matrix* and *text* representations of issues and arguments. They found that while matrix users represented and discussed a greater number of evidential relations, graph users may have been more focused in their consideration of the relevance and acceptability of the evidence. But this could be mere coincidence and one must agree with Rolf (2007b) that educational contexts are so different

when testing software and other tools for training reasoning skills, that one should assume no clear relation between features of such tools, or forms of representation, and learning outcomes.

The suggestion by Scheuer et al (2010) that using software to model argumentation may lead to cognitive overload finds support in the evaluation of the argumentation exercises. The teachers considered the Athena software easy to use, practically self-instructive. The planning students could also be considered proficient in using GIS-, CAD- and other software, presented and trained at the school. Nevertheless, several students had difficulties as mentioned, using Athena for structuring and evaluating the listed arguments. The satisfying outcome of using a simplified paper form in the latest years seems to confirm the notion that the software was unnecessarily demanding and contributed to cognitive overload for some students.

One must realise, however, that this simplified paper form also represented a modification of both the target skill and the assignment. In the latest exercise students were not asked to organise and evaluate the complete provided list of arguments, but to indicate only the 3-4 strongest and the 3-4 weakest arguments and to use this evaluation as the basis for a decision.

There are reasons to believe that this simplification may have been the decisive factor. Studies of practical decision-making indicate that decisions are usually made on the basis of a few factors and arguments only (Davoudi, 2006, with references). Rolf (2007b) cites evidence that natural ability to identify and evaluate long chains of argument is indeed not common. Developing this ability normally requires long and specialised training, for example in the fields of philosophy, natural science and law.

For planning students the relevant target skill may be that they show an ability of consistently evaluating a limited number of arguments and clearly express their reasons for the selection and the evaluation. The latest educational experiments confirm that this is what students manage to do, when presented with a sufficiently simplified conceptual model.

Distinguishing between the *acceptability* and the *relevance* of an argument seems fundamental in argumentation analysis. Nevertheless, several students neglected in the earlier exercises to use instructions to evaluate arguments in these terms and to build argument trees with Athena software accordingly. Even when they did, many failed to draw the proper conclusions, for example, that a highly acceptable counterargument should weaken the acceptability of related arguments.

In line with this was the observation that hardly any students, when explaining their thinking in evaluating arguments on the simplified paper form the last year 2009, explicitly mentioned either *acceptability* or *relevance*. One could, however, identify an implicit evaluation of arguments in these terms. Most students, for example, declared that they gave stronger weight to arguments presented by expert government agencies, than to arguments from private interests, like an industrial company or

neighbours. From their formulations it seemed that the reason for this was both an assumed higher degree of expertise (acceptability) and a higher degree of impartiality (influencing both acceptability and relevance). Whether this confidence by planning students in government authorities is well-founded is one thing. It could reflect an early developed professional bias. After all, government agencies could be future employers.

What is important is whether this way to evaluate arguments is logically consistent, which it is. Consequently, simplification in this respect, not distinguishing between acceptability and relevance, does not seem to weaken learning outcome in view of the target skill.

### **Conclusions**

Student use of simplified conceptual models facilitates learning. The models should be so comprehensive that they realistically illustrate professional tasks, yet so simple that they are possible to operate for inexperienced students.

The advantage of using software to represent and operate conceptual models needs to be balanced against operating difficulties. Although software may support heuristic simplification, helping some students to achieve conceptual clarity and helping teachers to diagnose thinking errors, some students may still be unable to develop a deeper understanding of the planning issues because of difficulties to use the software. Features of different software seem unable to explain these difficulties.

Obviously simplification is inevitable when designing conceptual models for training complex professional skills. Results indicate, however, that *heuristic simplification* can be carried far and tested reliably within a specific educational context. Using software to visualize negotiation outcomes consistently has improved negotiation skills, when using a conceptual model for negotiation on planning issues, simplified, yet reflecting professional practice. The results confirm findings in other cognitive studies, that a conceptual model providing immediate and predictable feedback, facilitates learning.

The results of the argumentation exercises underline the importance of defining the target skill. In the negotiation exercises the target skill was to achieve maximum combined gain. Using software to illustrate this improved learning outcomes. In the argumentation exercises the target skill was modified after evaluation, also resulting in improved learning outcomes.

An interpretation of this result is that planning students must not perhaps achieve the ability of court lawyers to structure and evaluate complete chains of arguments. It could be sufficient that they identify the strongest and weakest arguments in a case, that they are able to discern at least two levels of arguments and counterarguments, to discover contradictions in arguments of stakeholders, and to make consistent evaluations of arguments, leading to a reasonable and transparent decision. This was



what a majority of students managed to do, documenting in a final exercise a minimum of thinking errors.

Thus, the *negotiation exercises* have indicated that heuristic simplification may have been carried too far, spurring students to suggest elaborations of the *assignment*. In combination with immediate feedback, this has led repeatedly to improved learning outcomes.

The effects of modification of the *argumentation exercises*, in a complementary way, have demonstrated that the complexity initially may have been too great. Successive heuristic simplification of the *assignment*, *target skills* and *tools*, consequently also have led to improved learning outcomes.

*Conceptual apprenticeship* is a term suggested for the training of this type of professional skills.

There are indications that it may be more difficult to use software to structure and visualize arguments of others, than to use it to develop a thesis of one's own. Further studies should test this, instructing students to identify, on their own, arguments from planning documentation, and to structure and evaluate these arguments with the help of different tools.

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## THE LUXURY URBANITY OF NEW HOUSING PROJECTS. REPORT OF AN URBAN DESIGN AND PLANNING COURSE IN CHINA

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Keywords: Housing-China, Value Judgment, Urban Wealth

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'Housing' is an issue combining architecture, planning, and social matters like the role of the market and an equal access to urban resources. Housing is worldwide effectively mirroring the socio-economic changes, as measured by institutional statistics and personal income. The housing stocks supplied by the market, and the public policies correcting that supply, also materialize common or questioned ideas on urbanity. While housing in the real world is mainly considered the result in balancing these different constraints, residential areas are also one of the first applied exercises in the courses of urban planning. The Chinese University context, and particularly that of a large metropolis like Guangzhou, offers a hot spot to look at the role that planning education may - or might have - in preparing professionals for the future challenges and addressing crucial public decisions on the future urbanity.

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### ***Housing and the task of making better urban places: the setting of the issue in Western countries and in China.***

Housing is a basic component of every urban society, as well as the morphological basis of the urban fabric. Although we mainly identify cities through special buildings, housing is their major component. Urban shelters where more than a half of the world population live in, differ obviously in quality and urban performance. It is housing density that materializes the compact historic European city. It is housing sprawl the icon of the American dream. It is the ashamed threats of slum conditions during industrialization peaks that pushes governments to develop strong urban policies and planning and architectural milestones. A decent house is finally the first commodity achieved by a wealthy household. Thus the dwelling condition, the quality of the housing demand and supply, and the kind of housing policy and planning approaches by the governments, are tangible symptoms of the socio-economic stages of cities and of the accepted urban models. Urban planning in itself is not defining which housing projects will be chosen by the market or by

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the households; nevertheless, planning is asked to coordinate and balance high discrepancies in the supply side, and a fundamentally distort market.

*A short excursus into basic space and luxury space*

On considering housing as a merely mass process, architects and planners have had a crucial role in setting up tentative Utopias: dealing with the mass urbanization, the proposals by planners and architects were the radical modernist breaking down of the continuity of building- neighbourhood-city. They acted as social designers for the best of the new citizens, setting their targets and aspirations. Planners worked as organizers of urban functions (i.e. distribution and consumption functions), they imagine themselves as the directors of a city-machine built up on residential cells that can be substituted at any change of individual necessity or at any change of citizens.

Utopia crashes on facing a global urbanization wave and urgent needs of new dwelling. It is in this phase, since 1950s, that world cities expands into former rural areas, without any possible distinction between city and countryside (Hall, 1984). There is no more time for questioning the kind of new city which is growing; the problematic peripheries of Europe will be unveiled not before the 1970s. The foci move instead from the production of things within the urban space - buildings within an urban fabric - to the production of the urban space itself (reinterpreting Lefebvre, 1974). According to leftist social analysis of the urban growth, this way the capitalist mode of production maintains itself and make room for itself and the needed society (workers and consumers). Urbanization is capitalism's primary extension, and in this view the value of the physical space is reduced to its cost: the traditional urbanity is merely a potential amenity, to be used to produce surplus value. The new dwellings, either public housing or estate property, have instead any functional target, but the city production.

The turbulent social movements in the end of the 1960s, combined with the international oil crisis in the first 1970s, open another kind of praxis, questioning the growth in itself and assuming a political focus on the social and ecological life of a limited community. The more we get closer to current years, the more we see an alternative to the urban space as a function of the market. It is rediscovered the value of a differentiated space, ancient fabrics are renewed and re-appreciated, plans are settled up to limit the urban growth and to intensify the urban land use. This exclusive space is the adequate achievement of mature societies which are not growing any more, in terms of population, and have a wealthy and differentiated economic basis. The principle of the dwelling for everybody is generally overcome with the idea of a dwelling for each individual. The target, the positive or negative utopia, is shouldered on one own possibilities (Beck, 1992). The idea of luxury is then commodified and personalized, according to individual tastes, fragmenting and recombining potential class affinities.

*Collective needs and individuals luxury in China*

The Chinese context obviously combines a different social culture, a different dimension of social processes, and a different government system. The development of a property market for housing, instead, offers some similarity as well as the incremental individualization of the housing commodity. Housing projects are necessary for Chinese masses, nevertheless they swing relatively, from functional to communitarian, to commodification.

The tradition of centralized planning has changed dramatically in China in recent years, and housing has been one of the most affected sector. Not long ago, the urban residential space was mostly owned by the central government and households paid nominal rent (Song et al. 2005). Urban planning was a tool for the government in regulating urbanization and dwelling of urban citizens through the *danwei* system. In short, every urban citizen belong to an urban working units, the *danwei*, which provided basic accommodation, basic welfare and education to the household. A basic condition was thus guaranteed to all urban citizens, housing was designed according to *existenz minimum*, and Soviet Union models and principles of community design, as they were defined in the 1950s. In the Chinese post-Revolution urban model, the economic planning in itself acts as the locational power that urban planning just need to materialize into the built environment. The Schools of Planning, that re-opened in the late 1970s, have extended this subordinate approach to the economic realm, offering proper design tools and light assessments to the economic and political mainstreams (Zhang, Wang 2001; Yeh, Wu, 1990; Leaf, Hou, 2006).

In 1978 the National Plan for Housing Reform was adopted, and private ownership encouraged in addition to a pro-market approach. After the revision of the National Plan in 1990, the official housing policy is one of a market-oriented housing system. Today the housing renting fees reflect the cost of location, construction and maintenance, many Chinese households own their places (either new ones or former State-owned), and a powerful property estate block leads construction and urbanization. In the recent approach to local Economic Development Plan, city governments act as direct promoters of urban development, seeking for growth-coalition with outside investors. The privatization of housing stocks and the negotiation with commercial housing developers are crucial resources for the local administrations, in dealing with the speedy urbanization of new citizens, that requires more affordable housing, and the increasing willing of wealthy people to display their personal success.

Housing is increasingly considered an investment for wealthy households and for agencies working in the property market. The idea of luxury is thus related with these recent possibilities of differentiation. In the former Chinese context of standard housing provided by the State or the *danwei*, any idea of differentiation was targeted as a backward attitude against the egalitarian communist system. Spatial differences were actually leveled also within the existing urban space. The urban or rural condition simply stated a different belonging to the same system; it was not a matter of better or worst. Only when the reform period

encouraged different development speeds among regions and individuals, luxury could be publicly pursued and became the synonym of cash value and economic success. All declinations of luxury fill in the advertisements of new residential areas and the banners of under construction high-rise buildings. The first urban house, the house for the future of a young family, the family's investment for the son who will come back after a foreign education... obviously they have different target of luxury. The market is a good supplier of dreams “to walk into pure luxury”. The market can provide a luxury urbanity according to each diverse social expectation. In the beginning of these race for a luxury appeal, new projects focussed on higher standards of communitarian facilities, improving the traditional typologies of 8 storeys condominiums which before characterized the centralized plans. Nevertheless, quite soon, the idea of modern and fashionable dwelling was copied and pasted from Hong Kong: high-rise buildings, dense residences, club services for housing compounds. This typology and this urban morphology allow quite a fast urbanization on the edges of the consolidated city, and house communities of several tens of thousand people. The idea of luxury is more and more restricted to a personal space, either a furnished apartment, or exclusive urban amenities, or a well defined owned space...

The cost to access this luxury urbanity is that of mono-functional residential areas, usually inhabited by quite homogeneous households, and built spaces that are no longer the one of a compact city, neither the rural environments into which they have usually grown. Although the names of these compounds and some decorative details call back European historic towns or scenic spots, “most housing on the urban fringe consists of mid- and high-rise condominium estates—much denser than anything in suburban America” (Campanella.). The current “urban” luxury for middle and upper class is located into these controlled compounds which introduce innovative urban fabric, or similar and simpler places for lower income households (public policies actually try to limit the economic segregation, asking for a minimum amount of affordable housing also within more luxury estates). If it is true that in the US, by 2000, 60 percent of the nation's population lived in suburbs, sharing an universal aspiration to own a piece of land for a single-family house (Kotkin 2006), the dwelling model here is different and still uncertain; there is no time for manifestos or big statements, either by the commercial professionals or public urban planners about the ongoing city construction. There is only a common anxiety for a certain better future and a shared commitment to growth.

More concerns might be related with the differentiated rights (property or users rights), or the large standards adopted for public infrastructures within the compounds, that require a large land waste: roads within these residential areas are usually wider than international standards, the green spaces are proportionate to huge buildings shadows, even if these dimensions are not the ones recommended by neighbourhood design. With these facts clearly in mind, we can understand the troubling educational work into Chinese planning schools. The new citizens look for these dwellings; the market provide them; the public administration can get some benefit from this urbanization. Any spatial or architectural research seems too precarious for citizens that have just been assembled and want an image of “urbanity” to mirror their unprecedented luxury

achievements. On considering planning as a social process, we should be aware that the inputs and solution to one problem prepare for another one. It is thus quite limiting to educate students only on coping with existing demands and supplies.

***Planning Education reacts: when collective minimum shelters switch to market property***

It is thus quite interesting to examine the educational program of the courses of planning and architecture. In fact, as well as the society, planning schools are trying to find their way in conceptualizing the role of the profession, and of the city, vis-a-vis national development strategies (see Leaf, Huo 2006). Courses of planning have a clear task when dealing with regulation: they need to provide students with all the needed knowledge to understand and apply existing standards. At the same time it is part of the educational role the attitude to questioning existing rules on coping with undergoing transformations. What is the current value of mono-functional residential areas? How to actualize the new city-making with tools other than super-blocks or isolated high-rise building? Is it acceptable a regulation avoiding mix uses, when all around the new developments mixture is appreciated? The Schools of Planning in China are one among few places in which it is possible to debate the Chinese urban future, although most part of the teachers are also directly involved as professionals in the city growth. All other spaces are contracted to solve immediate objectives and to fulfil the demand of the market. So far, it is quite a crucial point all over planning schools to understand whether the main educational goals is to simply fulfil the market's request of technicians able to apply planning rules, or to develop an attitude towards utopia. In a nutshell, schools are responsible to “produce” students who can easily find employments in the existing market and thus make their bread&butter, or to enhance their personal critical approach to the existing context visualizing alternatives, while being prepared for possible future changes. It is easily answered that it is necessary to set up a system of values with the students; how to do that, right now, is not so clear either among the society or the educators at schools.

However, teaching urban planning, we propose to our students in grade 4 the plan and design for a housing compound of up to 5,000 households. As usual, the exercise on dwelling models and units is a crucial phase in the career of our students. They think they know the problem, housing being familiar to them. They know the market, they know the individual needs, they know egalitarian or harmonic public efforts. At the same time, they have few chances in imagining a different context or a different space designed by them. It is quite a challenge, while educating people who will draw tomorrow cities, to introduce the willings to understand the present and eventual future society. We are actually about asking them to balance individuals' and public's expectations, while everything around is changing fast and with great contradictions. So far, they are the ones orienting future professional public choice and markets. The debate within the school bring us back to issues that are the basis of urban planners' profession, in imagining a better world pursuing or regenerating urban spatial and ecological values.



*The courses of Urban Planning at SCUT*

To explore the present and the future luxury urbanity, both physically as well as intellectually, we have examined the experience of Urban Design courses at South China University of Technology (Guangzhou) in grade 4, from 2002 to 2008. The course starts analysing the “adequate” housing projects which are familiar to our students, and we focus on the stereotyped dwelling patterns coming from Europe and USA that developers are currently adapting to the Chinese context. Doing this, we try to highlight the challenges in designing new neighbourhoods and places in current China. These premises would like to enhance the students' understanding of places qualities and the capacity of mixing a fair distribution of urban amenities with market targets, within a liveable urban space. Although these urban spatial concerns may be considered too luxurious in the present times of fast urban growth in China, some higher “ambitions to change the world” are cultivated in the initial stages and offer possible alternative methodology to approach the classical exercises.

A multitude of students approaches urban design as a method for creating an economic value (i.e. higher prices), nevertheless we try to define with them some values for their design. This is a constraint coming from the real situation: a paradox of the fast urban growth in China is that, having an overwhelming market's demand and being quite fast in decision making and construction, there is little room for planning to analyse the medium-term demand by the market itself. Most part of the transformations in the urban realm are actually incrementing transitional stages, and generally speaking to transform or rearrange quite new projects is a common practice. The intellectual space to think about the reason of planning and design decisions has become a luxury in itself, both in education as well as in the practice.

Ideological issues of existing regulation and students' creativeness mix to house a growing population into Chinese cities. While the public is less engrossed in the provision of housing stocks over time, the success of new urban areas or dwelling models is legitimated through the buyers choices. Students' works set how far this model as the urban future.

Finally, they all face a common task:

- They are requested to visualize the space they are drawing. Because of the dimension of the residential compounds, birds view and relational spaces are both relevant.
- They need to define their way for sustainability, either social, market, or ecologically oriented.
- They hopefully improve the capacity to evaluate different stakeholders' need (investors, inhabitants, developers, government).

*A tentative taxonomy of students' works*

On looking at seven years of students' exercises (2002-2008), we have an idea of the changes in their approaches, in their references, in their methodology. The students have reached an adequate competence about the existing dwelling models and the market, while the surrounding urban Chinese context has changed: the property market is accepted; private estates are the references of a modern urban life; the urban ideal can eventually be restricted to a selected amount of people (as an exclusive piece of city). We might expect a more careful attention to individual amenities and more market oriented projects, combined with few but original thoughts on community housing.

The exercises tell us also another story, about changes within university. In the earliest exercises the requirements were for a FAR lower than the one adopted by the market. In 2007 a higher density has been introduced (from 5,000 inhabitants to nearly 5,000 households), according to changes into the open market (FAR 2.5-2.8).

Originality is not a general target, among students dealing with this exercise. The constraints of typologies and density have the higher impact in defining the final arrangement of blocks and facilities. Particularly after 2004, students find quite traditional obediences to the set of rules that copes with a controlled space. High-rise buildings float into green areas with some ideas of neighbourhood units (WANG Jiayin, BAO Xinting, ZHOU Baiping). Only one student among these best evaluated had introduced a "big thing", establish a long medium-rise building as the border of his design (LIU Lixiong). It is quite interesting to mention that after 2004 none uses the historic patterns or the traditional spaces as references in building a modern Chinese space: in general, the modern housing model is not negotiable with usually low-rise local styles. Research of a Chinese space (TAO Jin, LIU Sijin).

Several students propose an actualized version of the superblok/siedlung, blended with some British-American design for residential communities (ZHOU Wei, WU Tingting, Zhou Kebin; ZHANG Tianyao). These exercises are usually more oriented to set up communities, according to the classical principles of urban planning and urban models (combination of different density, distribution of the traffic system). There are no influences by recent international examples, the main reference being the Chinese property market for students. On the one hand, it is the context they experience directly and into which they are asked to set up their ideas. On the other hand, it is quite rare in other country to face similar professional tasks. It is thus quite challenging to imagine something different with the students, without reasonable references; the idea of past, present and future urbanity seems to be quite specific and in some continuity with the recent urban past. The educational concern is that with the present market as the main reference, these students will difficulty address the market and the tastes of common people. A general market-oriented approach (LIN Yuming,

TAN Yusheng, ZHANG Guojiun, YE Fangfang) and a more defined targeted-market in which everyone can find the illusion of his own space (YE Buyun, LI Jue, Qinglin) combine one another. We can group these project through the distribution of amenities, the attention to public open spaces and facilities... Recent exercises provide more individual spaces: single buildings float in the green spaces, not into an organized space for community (CAO Yuan, LI Luying), almost secluded neighbourhood parks are arranged (LI Ziming). All people can find here an individual satisfaction, combining a privatized accessibility to amenities, a clear definition of a safe individual space, a careful proposal of different built typologies, and less attention to the public facilities.

When high FAR and regulation combine together, the exercise functionality offers small room for design. The organization of car traffic has a stronger impact than natural amenities in the sites (topography, canals/streams within the area or nearby). Bird views done by the students display dense compounds, and a stock of space for roads that eventually will be changed into something different. Working in a course of planning, students do not develop original building typologies, but visualize the rules they want to set up in the urbanization of the study-area. To avoid the gridlock of monumental axes and standard references, discussions on the urban space for housing are introduced. Quite often, students seem to follow the available technical tools, the easiest examples and the regulation they have. It thus seems that both the idea of space and the idea of what is valuable and what is luxury is coming from a mainstream that offers gated communities as the most appreciated habitat. To escape this simplification, discussions and alternatives need to be explored by professors, instructors (quite often the ones getting money or actually living in such kind of housing) and students.

Students are finally quite able to sell their products, according to the common rules for evaluation of their exercises. Innovative combinations of density-volumes-spaces, questioning the city's growth model, are rare. Nevertheless the drawing ability is usually convincing in proposing reasonable quality improvements, not really the possible “paradigm shift” for the future making of the city, on looking both at the typology (where the people and functions have room) and the urban morphology (how that new city is shaped).

### **An almost innovative market.**

While the School is puzzled by market compliance and impracticable utopia, luxury is marketized into real estate advertisement and public policies have little concerns for the luxury seekers as potential aggregators of gated enclaves. Even if there is still a slightly negative public judgement on exhibited luxury, the structure of the city growth is not questioned. Interests in this soil consuming growth are enormous. There are immediate returns to the local governments through land right use taxes and a massive increasing in the urban employment. This is a Chinese model that can reasonably efficiently work at this stage of development: it

fuels urban development thus increasing the local finance for infrastructure provision (through land use rights and public land leasing, Ding 2007); the construction sector can offer lot of works for not educated people, thus introducing a social and political values for construction and urbanization... The urbanization rate was below 20 per cent before 1978, and is nearly 50 per cent in 1990s (State Statistical Bureau), with areas of the Delta reaching 70 per cent. Actually all over 2008 and 2009 news of real estate agents' difficulties succeeded one each other. A great part of the urban growth had been fuelled by international investments, wishing rapid returns on Hong Kong stock exchange market; nevertheless, in the end of 2008, because of more restriction by the PRC government and a cooling effect on the Hong Kong stock market, the situation collapsed and most part of the foreign investors tried to move back to reduce losses. In Hong Kong, Evergrande Real Estate Group and international banks and funds which supported it first, since the beginning of 2009 lost as much as \$ 19 billion.

Housing is going too fast and too far. The prices of residential units in the main Chinese cities is higher than the actual value and are now too expensive for realistic end-users, i.e. medium-income citizens. International investors support the local developers in buying even more land for construction, than what was actually planned locally. The risk they know is to eat the real estate market, with overbuilding, getting land waste and no-quality, but confident in their capacity to substitute all their material culture. The purchase of second houses as a financial investments is more and more common in the wealthy middle class of Guangzhou. The expectations of wealthy inhabitants are converging to similar models of housing, urban amenities, premium services supply, and a recognizable distinction in the built space. This is actually pushing the developers to targeted specialization and innovation. Some of the largest investments group, like Vanke, are introducing quality and quite advanced technical and architectural.

The situation is full of spatial dilemmas: from luxury gated communities, to obsolete dense dwellings, both are urban futures which are driven by the housing market and local politics. At the same time schools are mainly teaching the benefit of the traditional compact city and are not prepared to a highly mobile and polarized society, which is progressively increasing the demand for quality, at different market prices. We need to conceptualize and visualize the emerging urban context as well as a different paradigm of housing. We can say that either European or Chinese urban contexts have similar urgency - and obviously different pace - to satisfy the demand for decent residential places and differentiated spaces which reproduce an increasing disparity. Planners work out luxury spaces, sometimes dignifying the basic needs, some others offering a physical appearance to socio-economic divides. The luxury housing projects of China, on looking at magazines of architecture/planning and real estate brochures, somehow worry about the guarantee of a great capital investment, bringing amenity value and emphasizing the role of planning as place marketing (Leaf-Huo 2006 p.559).

The new urban China never stops to produce different urban contexts or “city”, displaying its power through this urbanization element. It is not clear how far these people are allowed to mature also a cultural capital of urbanity. It is not directly questioned nor yet answered, but in the background we discuss the kind of urban society, more or less polarized, that is going to be built. Researches on how to provide innovative low cost settlements, balanced subsidized home-ownership into market units, and integrated spaces are the keys to improve the making of better urban places.



Fig.1- Example of an exercise by YE Buyun, 2003.

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## LUXURY IS.... SPACE TO WRITE: USING TABLET PC TECHNOLOGY TO ENHANCE LEARNING?

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**Keywords:** Tablet PC; student interaction, reflective practice

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### Abstract

This project reports on the use of tablet PC technology in the classroom to enhance student learning. It is based on a literature review, action research and reflective practice through the use of peer review. Research suggests that a critical feature of understanding student interaction with in-class materials is whether lecturers/students construct the lecture experience as being based on transmission and receipt of messages or a complex activity that enhances learning through relatively more active and inter-active processes. The empirical study involved two lecturers working with different undergraduate cohorts in lecture contexts within the built environment (quantity surveying and planning). The paper locates the discussion in relation to the use of PowerPoint, presents the two case studies, describes the use of tablet pc technology to increase student engagement, comments on the benefits of peer review in providing constructive feedback, and reflects on the conference theme in terms of the luxury of having pedagogical research space.

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### Introduction

This paper discusses a collaborative action research educational project concerned with examining the use of tablet PC technology for teaching in lecture contexts. There is emerging evidence in the generic educational literature that tablet PCs might variously promote a relatively more student-centred and interactive approach to learning (Weitz *et al.*, 2006). Using two different applications, this small study specifically sought to examine the potential benefits of this technology for students in two built environment professions, quantity surveying and planning.

The idea for this modest project first stemmed from the authors' experience of using traditional technologies, such as overhead projectors (OHPs), whiteboards, and flip-charts for collating data and sharing student input

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in real time in lectures and studio settings. It was informed by a concern that these tools are often cumbersome to use, generally require pre-booking and even then may be unavailable in the classroom. Moreover, it is increasingly difficult to procure and maintain OHPs, for example, as this form of equipment is becoming obsolete. In addition, there are a number of practical weaknesses with such teaching apparatus. Acetates and flip-chart paper tend to be relatively ephemeral and costly. Post-it notes are relatively fragile and their use for clustering relationships or grouping ideas, for example, are not easily transported from one session to another. As a result, student ideas and contributions may be perceived as transient, ‘one-off’ and not easily shared and reviewed by all participants beyond the classroom experience.

Second, the benefits of PowerPoint slides for effective student learning is highly contested. Whilst it is generally agreed that PowerPoint has had an important impact on teaching, with advocates of this presentational tool arguing that it offers scope for advanced preparation, organisational structure, incorporation of figures and complex data, and instantaneous visual display, for example, critics of the software point to the over-scripting and lack of adaptability of PowerPoint (Anderson, 2004). In parallel, a preoccupation within institutions of higher education to make lecture handouts available to students via university intranets risks encouraging a reliance on PowerPoint handouts. This reliance on digital media and internet access may be understood as part of the wider phenomenon of the ways in which computers are changing the way we think (Turkle, 2003). Indeed, in a general commentary, Turkle (2003) highlights the tensions that exist when PowerPoint, essentially a corporate boardroom tool, is transferred to the classroom context and student use. She summarises this as the feticisation of outline over content.

In contrast to the relative inflexibility of PowerPoint, tablet PC technology appears to offer a portable tool with the potential to save, archive, reuse and distribute materials, therefore providing relatively more inclusive opportunities for feedback and critical reflection over space and time. In addition, the interactive potential of the technology suggested that it might offer new ways of actively engaging students in a spontaneous and mutually responsive construction of learning objects. The aim of the project was therefore to integrate tablet PC technology into the teaching of a first year quantity surveying module and a third year research methods planning module and to examine its use in practice and its impact on student learning.

The project adopted an action research approach and incorporated the institution’s peer review process. In this way, the project is illustrative of a pragmatic approach to using peer observation in a developmental way to support critical reflection in the classroom. The initiative involved two colleagues from different professional backgrounds in quantity surveying and planning working together with technical support provided by the Project Coordinator of the University’s ICT Services Department.

This conference paper purposefully uses the conference theme *Space is Luxury* in two ways: first, it examines the use of the technology to create openings (spaces) for students to engage in the creation of learning objects; second, and promoted by the 2010 AESOP focus, it reflects on the space (time) to critically

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reflect on one's teaching practice and to engage in pedagogical research. The paper is structured as follows. The first section provides a literature review of the use of communication and presentational technology in educational contexts which provides the background to the discussion. This focuses on the use of tablet PCs and PowerPoint. This section is followed by an account of the conceptual framework for action research used in the project and the use of peer review of teaching in the two case studies. Following a discussion of the use of tablet PC for teaching construction measurement to undergraduate students, and the use of the same technology for teaching research methods to planning students, the paper then makes some general remarks about the practicalities and benefits of teaching with tablet PCs which are intended to be of wider relevance. The paper concludes with some reflections on practical ways to engage in research-informed scholarship and to create the 'space to write'.

### **Literature Review: The Tablet as Communication Tool**

In Antiquity and during the Middle Ages, reusable and portable coloured waxed tablets were used as notebooks and for various writing and drawing purposes. In practice, small wooden frames were filled with beeswax – tablets – which could be written on with a stylus. The stylus had a sharp side and a flat side so that with one side incisions could be made in the wax, whilst the flat side could smooth over the marks, providing the answer to an early fourth or fifth century riddle: "The one part revokes what the other has done" (Scheller, 1995: 3). A number of wax tablets could also be linked together to create "books". Frequently transient in purpose, archaeological digs have uncovered a number of tablets which provide useful insights into the nature of communications over the centuries. Indeed, these precursors to tablet PC technology represent an important legacy as to the exchange and recording of pictorial and written materials.

As a visual communication device, tablets serve to raise important questions with respect to how humans communicate, the relationships between reading and writing, how the oral is converted to the written form, how each mode of communication informs the other, whether artifacts are considered worth preserving, and how ideas are stored for posterity (Small, 1997). In terms of the use of tablet technology in the ancient classroom, Small (1997: 146) quoted Lucian writing in the second century AD who commented: "I had played with wax [as a child]; for whenever my teachers dismissed me I would scrape the wax from my tablets and model cattle or horses or even men....I used to get thrashings from my teachers on account of them". Not only does this indicate the tablet's ephemeral nature and re-usability, it also points to the evolving use of teaching technologies and students' relationships with such tools and use of their content.

Centuries later, and from an instructional presentational perspective, May's (1855) account of encountering a new teaching device during the winter of 1813/14, is equally worthy of mention, when he observed: "on entering the room, we were struck at the appearance of an ample Black Board suspended on the wall, with lumps of chalk on a ledge below, and cloths hanging at either side..... the process of analytical and inductive

teaching” (cited in Anderson, 2004: 31). Such stories of the evolving educational environment are salutary and serve to highlight how inventive technologies eventually become commonplace.

In the contemporary classroom, tablet PCs are effectively a notebook computer with a liquid crystal display screen, upon which the user can write, using a special pen or stylus. Annotations or handwriting are digitised, enabling text to be converted using handwriting recognition, or remain as drawing objects. The particular model used in this project was a Toshiba Portégé comprising both a keyboard and swivel screen, meaning that the screen can be laid flat. This portable *board* then provides a convenient writing surface for manipulating teaching materials in a dynamic and responsive way whilst projecting them onto a screen using a data-projector. Tablet laptops facilitate a number of uses, such as annotation of PowerPoint slides with the use of a stylus pen. Different thicknesses and colours can be used and writing, shading and editing drawings or comments may each add a different layer to the development of an argument or explanation. In effect, the stylus and tablet act in similar ways to an interactive whiteboard, enabling real-time annotations to be incorporated into classroom teaching. This real time interaction with students in sharing oral, written or drawn ideas then provides an opportunity to exchange information for the duration of the classroom episode or to save the markings for dissemination via institutional course intranets. Taken together, this repertoire of options suggested the potential of the technology in providing clarity, supporting explanation and adjusting materials during the live lecture or workshop environment.

A review of the relatively scarce published scholarly literature shows that there are limited insights on the use of tablet PCs in the built environment, although there are examples in relation to the use of this technology in the context of engineering (Frolic and Zurn, 2004; Theys *et al.*, 2005; Huettel, 2006) and in computer science (Anderson, 2004). The lack of attention in the built environment is surprising, given the use of on-site data collection, and reliance on drawings and plans in a number of the professions. Moreover, in terms of teaching, researchers such as Ooms *et al.* (2008) have identified that mobile technologies, including tablet PCs, enhance teaching, learning, assessment and feedback. Yet, any blanket use of a particular communication tool must be questioned; it is critical to be clear about the pedagogical rationale for the use of any technology in the support of student learning.

### **Background to the Project: Communication Technologies**

It is generally accepted that lectures form a core learning space for students, even though their effectiveness in supporting student learning is highly questionable (Laurillard, 1993; Race, 1999). Research undertaken as part of an earlier (2008) study (Peel *et al.*, 2010) used an open-ended questionnaire survey to identify contemporary student perceptions about what makes for an effective lecture. Students noted that the principal value of lectures stems from what they “learn about a topic”. Nevertheless, many said that they did not “feel involved”, wanted “more interaction with the lecturer and other students” and liked “question and answer sessions”. Several mentioned that they disliked “being singled out by a lecturer” or “put on the spot”. Several

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students commented on the need for lecturers to be “dynamic”, do “more than read the information on the PowerPoint slides”, and to have “more visual” stimulants. The students’ observations from this small, though informative, survey confirmed Gallagher and Reder’s (2004/5) concerns that lecturers and presenters *assume* that PowerPoint is visually attractive, engages students and enhances understanding, whilst in practice, the preparation of a structured and detailed outline of a lecture which is then simply spoken by the lecturer is, they contend, an abdication of the teacher’s responsibility to engage and interact with students in acts of learning.

Notwithstanding the ubiquitous use of the commercial application PowerPoint as a presentational tool in classroom, business and conference settings, there is certainly no consensus about the benefits of this visual aid. Indeed, Cyphert (2004: 80), for example, notes how PowerPoint is “denounced by CEOs and academics as intellectual reductionism”. Gallagher and Reder (2004/5) provide a succinct summary of the literature on the benefits and weaknesses of PowerPoint, providing three groupings of the available literature which: (i) provides tips and tricks on giving *better* presentations or creating *better* slides and (ii) offers practical ways for using PowerPoint in teaching. A flavour of some of this literature is captured in a provocative article in *Fortune* magazine entitled – ‘Killing me Microsoftly: Almost nobody speaks in public anymore without using PowerPoint. But some liken the program to a cognitive Veg-O-Matic that slices and dices human thought’ (Keller, 2003). Pointing to the ways in which the software functions, Keller (2003) contended that the preconceived format and mode of organising material not only condenses ideas on the slide but also constrains critical thinking about those ideas. The merits of the software is also severely challenged by Tufte (2003) who coins what he terms the PowerPoint cognitive style which reduces and impairs thinking by trivialising content and conflating sentence construction with bullet points. Indeed, some commentators emphasise that students are sceptical that their learning is enhanced by the use of PowerPoint and feel ignored in classrooms when lecturers appear to focus on their PowerPoint presentations (Voss, 2004).

Significantly, Gallagher and Reder (2004/5) highlight a third body of critical pedagogical literature which questions the use of PowerPoint in teaching. A comprehensive article by Levasseur and Sawyer (2006) seeks to provide a balanced account of the evidence, suggesting that whilst PowerPoint can offer an engaging sensory experience, over-use of the technology can dampen learning. At one level, the success of the technology may turn on avoiding what has been called “PowerPointlessness”. This term (coined by Jamie McKenzie) refers to the misuse of the associated PowerPoint gadgetary which risks emphasising visual seduction over sophistication of content, resulting in slides which serve as an intellectual “crutch” rather than a visual aid (McDonald, 2004). Here, critics highlight the software’s rigid structure, tendency to result in being podium-fixated and presenting in the dark, and general lack of flexibility and creativity in real time teaching contexts. Indeed, Anderson (2004: 32) notes the comment made by one lecturer that “PowerPoint sucks the life out of a class”. In similar vein, Cyphert (2004) summarises that, notwithstanding the promise and allure of colour, design and animation, the results are monotony, tedium and lack of engagement. The

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risk of preparing a comprehensive set of PowerPoint slides is that one makes assumptions about what the students already know and what they will understand during the lecture. Such an approach potentially focuses on the materials at the expense of student or audience engagement and understanding.

Whilst clearly not advocating that all lectures and presentations involve on-going audience participation, this body of evidence supported the case for exploring whether tablet PCs might enhance and expand the potential for the use of visual media, such as PowerPoint. The prerequisite was that there needed to be a pedagogical justification for this type of interaction in the modules selected for testing the technology.

### **Context for the Two Case Studies: Action Research and Peer Review of Teaching**

The action research approach adopted for this study follows an established methodology which is based on critical reflective professional practice. The C.R.A.S.P. model (Zuber-Skerritt, 1996) comprises five iterative and mutually reinforcing elements. These are: (1) a **C**ritical attitude to one's teaching practice; (2) a commitment to **R**esearch into teaching (through action research); (3) a desire to retain personal **A**ccountability through self-directed reflection and study; (4) **S**elf-evaluation (including control of input into appraisals, and publication); and (5) **P**rofessionalism, demonstrated by systematic involvement in educational research, theory, practice, and dissemination. In practice, even small projects require resourcing.

The purchase cost of a Toshiba Portégé is approximately £1200 (2009 prices). In bidding for funding, it was evident that there were advantages to be gained from a joint study that specifically used the institutional peer review of teaching process as an integral component of the data collection and evaluation. During the University of Ulster's Centre for Higher Education Practice 2009 funding round, an application was made for £5600 to acquire four tablet PCs to enable groups of students to use the equipment and to include conference attendance to disseminate the research. In the event, the project was only awarded £1500 which scaled down the ambitions of the project. The peer review process at the University of Ulster is intentionally developmental and allows lecturers to select a partner, to identify an aspect of their teaching practice to examine and review during an academic year, and to record the process on-line. Embedding this procedure into the methodological approach built on a collaborative learning reflective model (Peel and Shortland, 2004) which encourages reflective dialogue. In practice, it meant that both lecturers were able to use the peer observation element of peer review to study the use of tablet PC technology in two very different contexts. Both lecturers were given active encouragement by the institution's project technology support team, since the initial impetus for testing this technology was based on earlier feedback from informal peer observation on the researchers' use of acetates and PowerPoint for teaching purposes.

The first case study *Student Participation, Interaction and Reflection via Interactive Tablet* (SPIRIT) involved a lecturer using a tablet PC to help quantify surveying undergraduates to understand the relatively complex diagrams used in construction measurement. Here, the lecturer had previously experimented with

improving student engagement in the subject of measurements through teamwork and presentations using acetates and OHPs. This was relatively cumbersome and time-consuming since acetates had to be prepared and then scanned for subsequent uploading onto the intranet. The SPIRIT project offered the potential to consider the use of tablet PC technology to assist student understanding of standard construction two dimensional drawings and the art of measurement, and to facilitate the handling and dissemination of annotated materials. In practice, the delivery of the materials involved using prepared PowerPoint slides incorporating text and plans and the use of dimension paper.

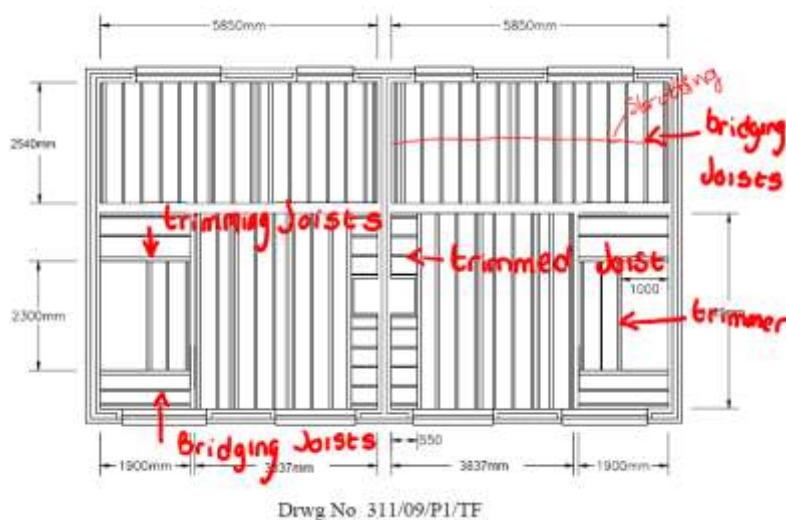
The second case study examined the use of tablet PC technology to enhance student interaction and note-taking (*Nota Bene*). This project grew out of the lecturer's on-going attempts to enhance the use of student handouts and personalised note-taking in class. This teaching strategy had previously relied on a relatively time-consuming process of animating slides to complete partially filled slides on a step by step basis in response to individual mouse clicks. The *Nota Bene* project offered the potential of in-class annotation in primarily text-based contexts through real time student input. PowerPoint slides were partially prepared with spaces to enable students to complete the gaps; spider diagrams were used to encourage students to use thought shower or word storm techniques to complete the slides and develop the content, and Word documents were displayed using the tablet PC and annotated during the class. In both cases materials were subsequently uploaded onto the University intranet. In the case of *Nota Bene* this also involved an accompanying podcast element. The next section provides some practical insights and examples from the two case studies, using peer review and lecturer reflections.

### **Case Study 1 SPIRIT**

Measurement of building works is a core subject in the BSc (Hons) Quantity Surveying course at the University of Ulster. The programme attracts approximately 100 full-time students every year, mostly after completion of advanced level examinations from secondary school. Most of these students have very limited understanding of how the construction industry operates, or how buildings are constructed on site. Thus, the subject of 'measurements' is relatively challenging for Level 4 (Year 1) students.

The process of describing and quantifying building items is commonly referred to as 'measurements' within the construction industry. In order to describe and quantify building items students need to have some understanding of the following: construction drawings, visualisation of buildings to be measured, and abstracting the dimensions of an item from 2-dimensional drawing(s). For example, this might include identifying the width and depth of a concrete foundation from cross-sectional drawings, and calculating foundation lengths from plans. This requires that students are able to visualise a 3-dimensional object from 2-dimensional drawings.

In construction management the skill of measurement requires practitioners, such as quantity surveyors, to present measurements appropriately using specially ruled paper; to understand the nature of construction items and their specifications; to calculate building item dimensions, such as the centre-line girth; to write descriptions and quantify items; and to understand the use this information to cost or ‘estimate’ individual construction items. In short, undergraduate students need to appreciate the importance of accuracy and clarity in presenting and interpreting measurements to avoid potentially costly mistakes in contractual and financial ways. Moreover, it is very clear that students need verbal, numerical and graphical understanding both to interpret and annotate drawings and associated schedules. The teaching and learning strategy for this class involved a one-hour lecture and two-hour studio each week with accompanying directed reading. Handouts, including a copy of the lecture PowerPoint slides, were made available for each lecture prior to the class. Students were encouraged to bring these materials to the relevant face-to-face session. During the class, the lecturer used different pen nibs and colours to highlight different aspects of the drawings and to solicit student answers to guide the annotation (Figure 1). The lecturer was able to model the measurement process in a dynamic way which was then copied by students during the class. The full annotated presentation was then uploaded. There was no evidence that the availability of the completed slides affected student attendance adversely.



**Figure 1 In-Class Tablet PC Annotations of Plan Drawing**

A short student feedback survey was conducted after the class where the tablet PC technology was used. Students were also asked to provide copies of the notes that they had made during the session. This complemented the reflections from the peer review. The student feedback was overwhelmingly supportive of the lecturer's use of the tablet PC. Students commented positively on: the use of different coloured pens, the

visual clarity and appeal of the slides, and the intelligibility of the annotations of the diagrams through the highlighting of individual components. From a peer reviewer perspective, the lecturer-student interactions were dynamic with student input forthcoming in order to annotate the slides during a plenary lecture. The act of the lecturer highlighting and annotating various aspects of the drawings prompted the majority of the students to annotate their own handouts. The level of concentration appeared to be high and maintained during the course of the lecture and review of the student notes showed that the students had accurately annotated their own handouts using numerical, verbal and graphical methods. Whilst there were some concerns around legibility of some of the annotations, overall the innovation seemed to improve verbal interaction and active in-class note-taking. Finally, saving the work completed during the class and uploading it onto WebCT meant that the interaction and input into the class became a shared act of learning and co-production of a learning resource.

### **Case Study 2 *Nota Bene***

In terms of using a time-tabled lecture series to teach research methods, there appeared to be a strong case for an enhanced use of the PowerPoint presentational tool and other text-based objects with tablet PC technology in order to encourage greater student engagement and input into the lectures. In addition, by integrating the use of the technology as an example of a small research project, this further legitimated and modelled aspects of the research process. The relatively more qualitative use of the technology complemented the measurement application of the SPIRIT project.

A short literature review of student note-taking habits informed the *Nota Bene* project. This reaffirmed that if lectures are to be less didactic in delivery, then the nature of the communication style needs to be clear whether students are required to be engaged in *note-taking* or *note-making* (Badger *et al.*, 2001). Here, an important distinction must be drawn between writing down what the lecturer says (transmission) and contributing to the development of understanding (transformation). In terms of technical advice with respect to how students (should) use notes, there are a number of study guides available. These include Cottrell's (2003) nuclear, linear, and pattern notes and Buzan's (1995) radiant thinking (mind-mapping) techniques, for example. It is to be expected that students construct the purpose and value of notes in very different ways.

Critical debates around the use of PowerPoint slides and the lecturer's concern that the existence of PowerPoint handouts potentially results in some students adopting a reductionist approach to acquiring course content rather than engaging in a participative co-construction of knowledge and understanding led to the use of tablet PC to devise learning objects that could be created jointly in class. This included two different applications. First, it involved seeking student input around specific prompts, such as the nature of research (Figure 2) and, second, it deployed a marking up of documents to highlight the structure of a scholarly research paper (Figure 3). The results are illustrative then of a lecturer at work and a teaching and learning dynamic rather than the production of a perfect slide.

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Figure 2 In-Class Annotation of a PowerPoint slide

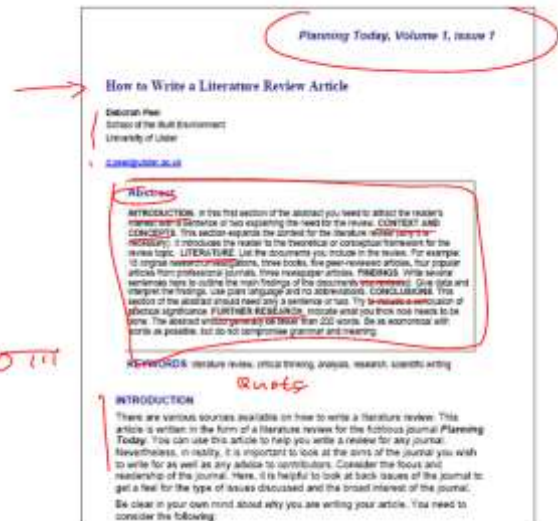


Figure 3 In-Class Annotation of a Research Article

Peer observation of the use of the tablet PC was favourable in that the tool appeared to add an interactive dynamic to the class. The feedback from students as to the benefits from the tablet PC was inconclusive, however, as attendance at the class was sporadic. The lectures were time-tabled over eleven consecutive weeks for one hour (11-12) on a Thursday and it was the only time-tabled class for the cohort for that day; many students have part-time jobs which compete for space. The classes were complemented by small group supervision time-tabled in liaison with the relevant lecturer. This arrangement appeared to reduce the incentive to attend the lecture class. The lack of attendance militated against over-emphasising the action research project. No time during the student lectures was therefore used to discuss the impact of the tablet PC on student learning.

From the perspective of using the technology, preparing PowerPoint slides with an eye to annotating them during a lecture requires thought as to the prospective use to be made of engaging students and the intended learning outcomes. This design stage demands confidence that the resulting material will be complete and accurate and *better* than 'ready-made' slides. Figures 3 and 4 are illustrative of the 'rough and ready' quality of the live lecture. Given the timing and relatively short contact time involved, the particular module selected for investigating the use of tablet PC technology might have been ill-chosen. For example, the technology does require some additional set-up time, and a 50 minute lecture curtails this. In practical terms, and in contrast to a white board or flip chart which are at shoulder height for writing, there is a risk that students end up watching the lecturer's head as they bend over to write on the screen. The level of the podium or desk can therefore severely minimise eye-contact. Moreover, writing legibly requires practice. It is worth noting that the technology was used in another module involving students in small (six persons) workshops. Here, the technology was able to be more carefully integrated as the discussion involved a round table, seated



discussion, and specifically highlighted the collation of student inputs as part of a stakeholder engagement exercise.

### **Practicalities and Benefits of Using a Tablet PC in Lectures**

There are a number of practical dimensions that potential users of this technology would need to consider before implementing this approach which arise from the findings of the two projects discussed. Whilst some of the points would apply to the use of any visual aid, consideration needs to be given to:

- familiarising one's self with the tools (eg colours, tips, eraser);
- practising with the technology in the classroom to be used;
- practising saving files for potential dissemination via an intranet;
- allowing enough time to connect/disconnect the laptop to the projecting equipment;
- being alert to the novelty factor;
- retaining eye-contact with the students when writing on the tablet; and
- making clear annotations.

In contrast to the annotation of acetates on an overhead projector, however, tablet PC technology appears to offer:

- enhanced clarity of image (diagrams can be enlarged without much detriment to quality);
- ease of annotation (different coloured pen tips are available to differentiate objects at a single click);
- a sympathetic screen to write on (rather than looking directly into an OHP light);
- editability (through an eraser tool);
- transferability (by saving annotations and uploading onto WebCT); and
- sustainability (easy re-use and not having to use several acetates or flip-chart paper).

With respect to the use of PowerPoint slides and Word documents, the ability to annotate slides during a class by underlining, circling or stressing relationships, suggests that tablet PCs certainly offer a dynamic and responsive attribute to what might otherwise be static and inflexible slides. By offering the space and opportunity to complete the learning object in real time, tablet PCs do offer an additional teaching resource, and combine the advantages of traditional 'chalk and talk' with portable, digital and reusable learning objects.

## Conclusions

The tentative findings from the overall project, and the case studies discussed, are that the visual and dynamic facilities afforded by tablet PC technology provide an additional teaching aid for use in lectures. In *Nota Bene*, the example discussed used PowerPoint slides and Word documents which were then annotated in real time, saved and disseminated to the class using the institution's intranet. The act of physically modelling annotation in the class appeared to encourage students to add their own notes and emphases to their physical handouts. The student feedback from the SPIRIT project was positive, suggesting that the students felt able to engage in working with the lecturer and considered that it helped them to understand the concepts being introduced during the lecture. Both initiatives were based on a pedagogical approach that sought to encourage student engagement with in-class materials so that the lecturers could be sure that the basic concepts had been understood. Visualising and representing this shared understanding on the screen helped to close a diagnostic feedback loop. In addition, with the research methods module, an emphasis was placed on, for example, asserting that learning and understanding is a complex activity that involves interactive processes of negotiating meaning, and looking for patterns in data collection.

There remain a number of methodological challenges in evaluating teaching projects such as this as ultimately the 'proof of the technology' will be in the demonstration of student learning. Without a control group and without being able to isolate the impact of such relatively small initiatives it is hard to state with any certainty that this technology made a significant contribution to the cohorts as a whole. What using an arsenal of tools does do, however, is to add another dimension to an overall teaching strategy that seeks to accommodate a range of learning styles. By using partially prepared PowerPoint slides that leave space to write in student responses and contributions there is clearly the potential to generate student-lecturer interaction, student interaction with the learning content, and a shared learning experience.

Looking to the ways in which student input within digital learning environments is developing puts this small project into perspective. In discussing the University of Washington's lecturing system, for example, Wilkerson *et al.* (2005) explain how the use of a Ubiquitous Presenter system enables both the instructor and students to interact and annotate slides using a range of internet-enabled computer devices, notably tablets. The Classroom Presenter approach provides a specific space adjacent to a prepared slide to serve as a dedicated annotation area. The luxury of such a space for integrating students' comments, adding additional 'heat of the moment' insights, expanding on the topic and incorporating students' annotated slides which are sent from their own tablet PCs from the back of the lecture theatre in real time illustrate the dynamics ways in which the digital learning and teaching environment is waxing rather than waning.

**Epilogue: Luxury is.... Space to Write**

This final section speaks directly to the conference theme and reflects on the experience of the case studies discussed for planning education. A recent article in the *Times Higher Education* observed that "space touches on just about all the tension points within universities" (Reisz, 2010: 13). Whilst specifically relating to facilities management and moves towards open-planned offices, the tone of the article emphasises the importance of appropriate and private space in which to think, contemplate and critically reflect. The importance of space in which to research planning education is equally important. Three remarks arising from the project are therefore pertinent in closing this paper.

First, there remains a strained relationship between research and teaching in institutions of higher education. Quality assurance mechanisms, such as the UK's emerging Research Excellence Framework, emphasise the importance of quality research and the need for curricula to be research-led. This means that substantive disciplinary research needs to inform the design and content of planning curricula. An overemphasis on disciplinary research, however, risks squeezing out time and resources for research into planning education and the new pedagogies that exist. If the measure of quality of educational research is a scholarly publication in a journal with an appropriate impact factor, then the type of small-scale research discussed here risks being perceived at best as a *diversion* or, at worst, a luxury research departments can ill afford. Yet, *how* we teach affects *what* we teach.

Second, one can adopt a pragmatic approach to the scarcity of time and resources in contemporary academic life and seek to find creative ways in which to carve out the space to undertake pedagogical action research. Here, peer review, a variant of quality assurance with respect to teaching practice, might productively serve to offer critical and developmental feedback in relation to new technology adoption. Working in collaboration and acquiring 'eyes in the back of one's head' is a constructive way to receive and offer peer support and feedback. In an often solitary activity, this is a luxury to be actively enjoyed. Interweaving this institutional requirement into an action research space then serves two purposes.

Finally, the luxury of writing a conference paper provides an opportune space to critically reflect on planning educators' and planning researchers' use of communication technologies, and to put forward some questions for future research. How many lecturers use PowerPoint slides for teaching and conference presentations for simply outlining lecture or research paper content, and then simply read the words on the slide? Does such an approach effectively communicate and resonate with the audience or learners? Does a tendency towards sharing PowerPoint handouts with students reduce their ability to construct sentences and arguments? Will such learned behaviours affect how they engage with their local communities and stakeholders? How many planning courses incorporate learning outcomes relating to oral communication skills that focus on the technical use of effective PowerPoint slides rather than the qualities of effective communication using a visual aid? And, critically, are models of two-way communication actively modelled in the classroom? In

mediating ideas, planners surely need to be able to interact, listen and incorporate in order to transform understanding rather than simply transmit information using presentational effects.

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## **Track 4: Planning and Complexity**

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Complexity theories have been inspiring to various disciplines related to planning – social studies, economy, geography, architecture etc. – searching for emerging, open ended and evolutionary paths of development. Also within the discipline of planning the interest for complexity theories is growing. Seen from a complexity perspective, space is not the sole creation of planners. Space however is a luxury, as it is the basis upon which various interacting autonomous and induced processes, socially and physically, emerge, to which planners respond in an adaptive way. Spatial planning is dealing with non-linear, emerging processes. For example the rapid growth in scale of urban phenomena is not well manageable in terms of simple or sectoral conceptualizations. Managing these kind of phenomena asks for adaptive behaviour (adaptive planning) which can be supported by both complex thinking and complex methods. These two develop in interaction so that complex thinking conquers new areas by newly developed methods, and these methods again have their critical reflection in advanced complex thinking. In planning practice there are plenty of problems gaining from complex systems, complex modelling and other complex methods. Sustainability approaches can use complex models of local and global metabolisms. The demographic balance of areas can be expounded against flows of people and material resources. Traffic and transport can utilize models of flows and nodes, accessibility and centrality. Land use issues can be modelled as well diachronically as synchronically to see the dynamics of patterns. Land use planning can be liberated from its sectoral stagnation toward emergent impulses. This track invites papers from both theoreticians and practitioners to meet and share ideas, understandings and conceptualizations build upon complexity thinking, to enhance the planning theoretical debate and to support planning practice.

## COGNITIVE SKILLS TO DEAL WITH THE CHALLENGE OF COMPLEXITY IN PLANNING

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### **Abstract**

*Complex problems represent a serious challenge in planning. Planners must make use of incomplete and potentially contradictory information to reach diverse, at times conflicting goals. Nobody can apprehend all of the different variables involved at a glance. Nor is it possible to predict with certainty how they are likely to change in the future. The mental models (i.e. representations of our environment) with which planners operate are therefore prone to errors that inhere in the very process of cognition itself, which only compounds the difficulty that planners face when dealing with complexity. Drawing on foundational insights from planning theory and practice, as well as from cognitive psychology and the interdisciplinary field of complexity theory, this paper seeks to develop and define some key cognitive skills designed to make dealing with complex planning problems easier.*

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Planning in a complex world with an unpredictable future forces us to confront the limits of our ability to control socio-spatial systems. Yet we still make plans, not with the mistaken hope to fully determine the future, but rather with the intention to influence the development of complex socio-spatial systems, remaining attentive to their evolution over time. That said, how can we ensure that our modest ambitions are grounded in substantive knowledge about the planning situation at hand?

In order to comprehend a situation and to come up with proposals for how to act, planners use so-called 'mental models'. Being mental representations of our environment and the range of options available to change it, mental models consist of concepts (or terms, such as 'city' or 'traffic') that are connected by way of relations to form propositions. They depict our understanding of a given system's various causal relationships, which determine a planning situation. If a system is to be modified by the intervention of

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planners, then mental models are used to predict the behaviour of the system and to suggest possible procedures (see, for example, Eyssenck and Keane 1998; Gentner and Stevens 1983; Johnson-Laird 1983; Reason 1994).

It stands to reason that the more well founded our mental models (that is to say our concepts and propositions) are, the more secure the knowledge that underlies our plans will be. It is with this goal in mind that this paper outlines some key cognitive skills on which planners can rely to help them generate the substantive and coherent knowledge (couched in mental models) required to design plans and make strategic recommendations in the face of complexity.

The cognitive skills in this paper have been developed for planners who work on tasks such as complex, strategic problems in the field of planning, especially in spatial planning. As a general rule, complex problems can be characterized as follows: i) they consist of many parts that are ii) mutually imbricated and iii) co-dynamic (which is to say they are interconnected and are able to change absent any influences from outside the system itself), as well as being iv) both novel and obscure from the planner's perspective, and v) characterized by a plurality of possible goals and courses of action (see, for example, Doerner 1989/2009, 58f; von der Weth 2001, 10ff).

Empirical findings from cognitive psychology show that planning, just like any other cognitive task, is infused with a whole range of unconscious, innate cognitive tendencies (i.e., fallacies or biases), especially when dealing with complexity. For example, we tend to assign a single cause to a multiplicity of effects rather than looking for a complex network of causal relations. Or, we tend to assume that current trends will extend into the future in a more or less linear fashion without proof this is indeed the case. These and other cognitive traps are mirrored in the errors we make when planning (see, for example, Doerner 1989/2009; Reason 1994; Schoenwandt 2008 and 1986; Strohschneider and von der Weth 2002; von der Weth 2001). The cognitive skills that are discussed below are intended to counteract the negative effects of these cognitive traps.

This paper will focus on the process by which new knowledge is acquired about a complex planning problem: how we go about constructing and transforming mental models for planning purposes. As such, the scope of this paper excludes decision-making processes as well as many of the overtly communicative

aspects of planning (Who s should be included? How is the process of communication to be organized? How is it to be moderated? According to what rules are decisions to be reached? What role do the power dynamics of the various participants play?, etc.). However, this should not be taken to imply that we view these aspects of the planning process and the skills they require to be of only of minor importance.

### **3-Phase Model (after Lewin)**

People exhibit a general tendency to employ cognitive strategies that make it difficult to deal with complex situations. The question thus naturally arises: what kinds of key cognitive skills do planners require to reliably construct adequate mental models of their environment and predict the effect of their own actions in that environment as precisely as possible? For one thing, it is clear that when faced with novel, complex challenges planners must be willing to abandon or in the very least modify well worn thought patterns and routine procedures. Established mental models must be subject to change if new epistemic structures are to be generated and appropriate planning processes established.

The early 20<sup>th</sup> century psychologist Kurt Lewin identified stages of change that are still the basis of many approaches today (see, for example, Lewin 1953/1975). Inspired by Lewin's approach, we distinguish three phases in the evolution of mental models:

#### *1. Unfreezing*

It is always the case that people only alter their mental models when they are perplexed either by some new and obscure phenomenon or by information that is inconsistent with a previous theory or expectation. This is certainly true in the case of complex planning problems. However, obscure phenomena or information that challenges our preconceptions do not suffice to force a change in mental models, as they can be ignored or dismissed as irrelevant. Moreover, when a plan meets with undesired results, these can be blamed on the mistakes of other people, on fate, or simply denied really to have taken place. Although it may appear irrational, this kind of behaviour is widespread and common, perhaps because people prefer it to a leap into the unknown or the loss of self-confidence that comes with admitting a mistake or a gap in our understanding (see also Doerner 1989/2009). However, if we ignore new information we only maintain worn out routines and oversimplify complex situations in ways that tend to be unreliable. To allow for the possibility of genuine change, which is essential to be able to cope with complex problems, we must face obscure phenomena and perplexing information head on, realizing that by refusing to alter our thinking we make it

impossible to solve many problems or reach goals we have set (see Schein 2010). For this reason, we must be willing to ‘unfreeze’ cherished assumptions or risk being unable to deal adequately with novel complex problems.

## *2. Change (Transition)*

Once we have ‘unfrozen’ our cherished assumptions and are motivated to change, it becomes possible to re-define and rework old mental models. This process usually begins by broadening our cognitive horizon and opening ourselves up to take in new information. For example, we might consider if an established concept can be interpreted much more broadly than we had previously thought; or, we might find that the set of presuppositions we use when making judgements and drawing comparisons are not appropriate or helpful, and that if we adopt different presuppositions the scope of our judgements and the nature of our planning will shift (see Schein 2010).

## *3. Refreezing*

The aim and purpose of broadening our horizon to take in new information is that doing so allows us to modify existing mental models or build up new ones. These aim to represent the many, mutually imbricated elements of our environment in a way that is both relatively simple but essentially accurate, thus making it possible to take the relevant variables of a planning process into account. Once we are truly satisfied this task has been accomplished, we can, so to speak, ‘refreeze’ our new mental models and gain a new perspective on our environment.

## **Lewins’ 3-Phase Model and the Key Cognitive Skills in Planning**

Each of Lewins’ three phases of change roughly correspond to one of the basic steps in planning. As a rule, they generally cannot be completely divorced from one another, and we tend to cycle through them repeatedly as we engage in complex cognitive processes such as planners often face. Despite the fact that each step in the process cannot be neatly separated out from the rest, Lewins’ schema nonetheless provides the underlying structure for what we have termed key cognitive skills in planning. In what follows we will outline a rough sketch of these skills (see also fig. 1). The rest of the paper will then provide a more detailed and precise elaboration of each in turn.

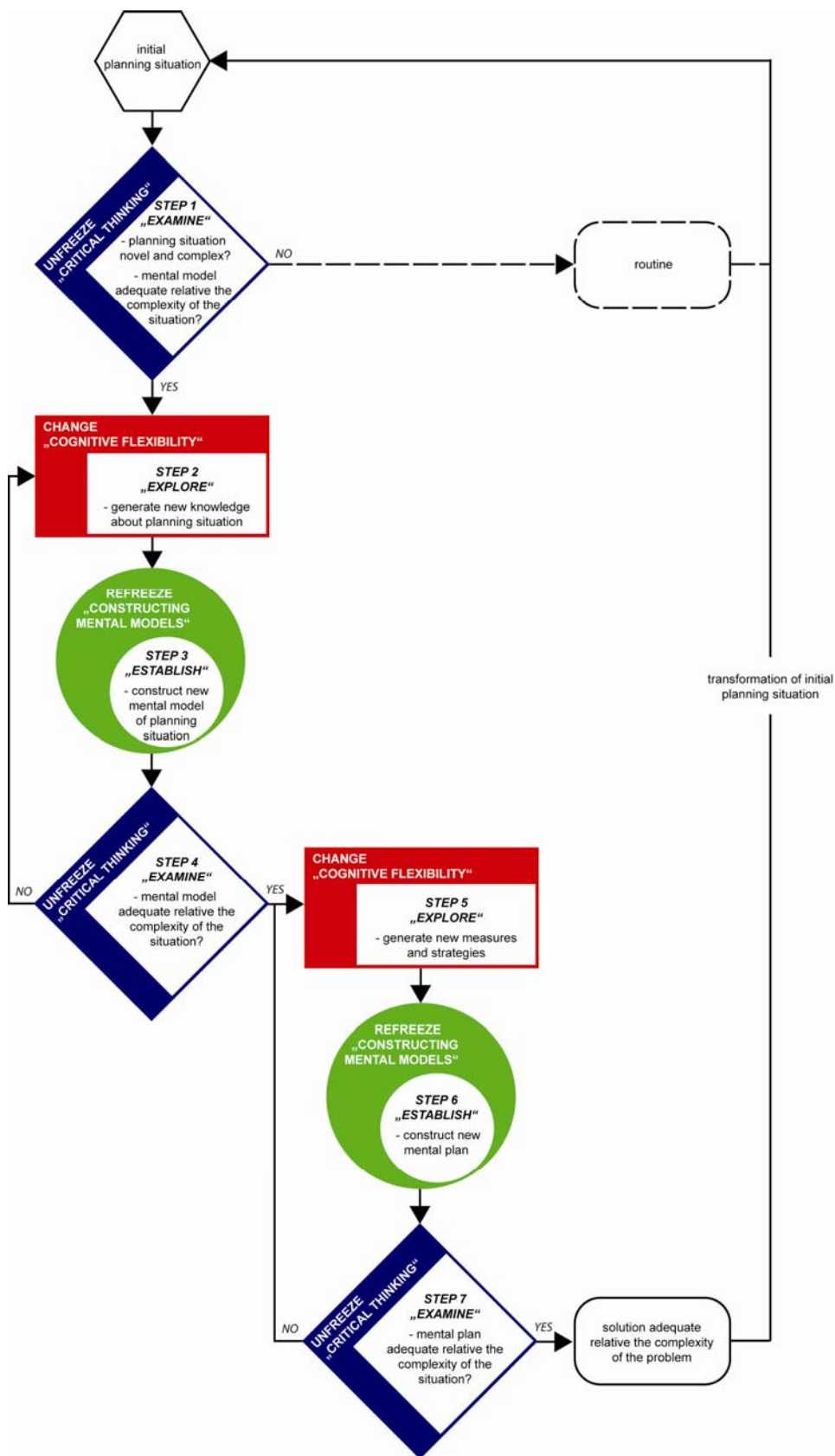


Figure 1: The 3-Phase Model (after Lewin), Key Cognitive Skills and some Basic Steps in Planning (by the authors)

*Step 1 (in fig. 1)*

Planners face a complex set of initial conditions when solving a problem. If they recognize that the situation is novel, opaque, and generally complex, they depart from the basic assumption that they should initiate an appropriate and open-ended planning process. In contrast, if they do not recognize the complexity of the problem, or if they wish to maintain an erroneous sense of mastery over it, they will rely on well worn thought patterns: instead of an active, critical mental representation, they will call upon procedures, methods, and instruments that have been proven to work for routine assignments in the past but that do not necessarily fit the specific problem at hand. The ability to question established patterns of thought and actions, to abandon old mental models and recognize novel situations for what they are corresponds to the Lewin's 'unfreezing' phase. In the context of planning, we can describe this skill as *Critical thinking* because doing so necessitates a capacity for self-reflection (on which more below).

*Step 2 (in fig. 1)*

Once the complexity of the planning situation and the limited utility of existing mental models (or patterns of thought) have been recognized, planners must acquire new knowledge that will allow them to modify their old models. The ability to generate new knowledge—e.g., to recognize new connections between elements (or variables) of a system—corresponds to Lewin's 'change' phase. In what follows, we will describe this skill as *Cognitive flexibility* in accommodating mental models (on which more below).

*Step 3 (in fig. 1)*

Based on the knowledge acquired in step 2, new mental models (i.e., simplified representations of situation designed to guide our actions) can be generated. The ability to integrate new information and construct new representations corresponds to Lewin's 'refreezing' phase and constitutes our third key cognitive skill, which we can designate as *Constructing mental models* (on which more below).

It is important to recognize that the each phase of planning process need not necessarily follow one from another precisely; rather, planners tend to cycle through all of the phases in an iterative fashion.

*Steps 4-7 (in fig. 1)*

The usefulness and adequacy of new mental models must continuously be tested anew (step 4, a renewed ‘unfreeze’ phase, which again requires the cognitive skill of *critical thinking*). Should the new mental model prove inadequate to the task at hand, we proceed again to step 2. Otherwise, a range of possible measures are developed based on the mental model in question, each of which seeks to eliminate the problem or achieve a predetermined goal. As a rule, planners will propose a variety of possible measures and compare their predicted outcomes (step 5, a renewed ‘change’ phase, which draws on the key skill of *cognitive flexibility*). Finally, the planner then selects the measures he judges to be the most appropriate. As a mental plan, these will then constitute the proposed real plan or, more generally, recommended action (step 6, a renewed ‘refreezing’ phase, which requires *constructing mental models* (respectively constructing mental plans to guide our actions). Should the mental plan be judged insufficient for tackling the problem at hand the planner will return once again to step 5.

**Key Cognitive Skills for Dealing with Complex Planning Problems**

In what follows, we decompose the still somewhat vague notions of *critical thinking*, *cognitive flexibility*, and *constructing mental models* into their constituent elements, thus defining the key cognitive skills required in planning more precisely. By invoking series of real-world examples we can demonstrate how these key skills are operationalized to be of use in concrete planning tasks. In addition, examples show how the key skills contribute to a planner’s ability to deal with the aforementioned features of complex problems as well as the cognitive traps into which we so often fall when attempting to solve a complex problem. Table 1 provides an overview of the key cognitive skills (see below).

**1. Critical thinking (the capacity for self-reflection)**

The key skill of *Critical thinking* can be decomposed into three sub-components:

*Subcomponent 1a): Reflecting on Information*

By *Reflecting on information* we mean the skill of taking statements about what a plan entails and critically questioning their underlying assumptions as well as their empirical validity. This requires recognizing the fact that seemingly ‘objective’ or ‘factual’ statements and/or assumptions are never true in themselves and only have meaning relative to the context in which they are expressed. For example, we might question the

validity or applicability of forecasts about a problem. At the same time, it is important to cultivate a critical approach not only in relation to externally generated information but also in relation to statements we have generated ourselves. For example, planners are well advised to question their own basic assumptions about, e.g., the causal connections that obtain in a complex system or what the likely outcomes of their proposed measures will be. Among other things, doing so requires confronting the negative downstream or side effects of any measures we may propose. Thus Maurer (2005, 761) admonishes us that “... opinions about causal mechanisms should not be taken as truths.”

Strengthening this key skill can help alleviate the impact of a cognitive trap that planners typically face, the so called ‘Affirmative behaviour’. This is a trap into which planners fall when they refuse to acknowledge information that is not consistent with their own expectations (see also Bazerman and Watkins 2004; Schoenwandt 2008 and 1986).

#### *Subcomponent 1b): Reflecting on methods*

By *Reflecting on methods* we mean the skill of always reflecting on and questioning the adequacy of the methods and procedures we use: are the methods, theories and approaches we apply appropriate for the problem at hand or would it be better to choose another, different set of procedures and methods?

This key skill is applicable to another cognitive trap into which planners commonly fall, which is perhaps best described as the excessive allegiance to a particular methodology (see, for example, Doerner 2008). This happens when planners apply some method uncritically because it has proven itself to work well in the past but which need not be adequate to the new, complex problem at hand.

#### *Subcomponent 1c): Reflecting on one’s own point of view*

Paradigmatic patterns of thought (see, for example Kuhn 1962/1981 and Bunge 1996) or initial planning approaches that underlie the basic foundation of all planning play an important role in the planning process. Initial planning approaches include everything from how we frame a problem and how we articulate our goals to the methods and background knowledge we bring to each new task. Each of these four components influence and interact with one another to determine a planner’s basic approach. They are like a pair of glasses in that they determine how a planner will see a problem, which has direct implications for the kinds of solutions he is likely to propose. For this reason, the way in which we initially approach a problem is not dictated by the nature of things ‘in themselves’. Rather, there are always a variety of remarkably different approaches from which a planner could, in theory, choose (see also Schoenwandt and Voigt 2005).

By *Reflecting on one's own point of view* we thus mean the capacity to critically examine our own basic assumptions and ethical values, questioning their adequacy to the problem at hand and asking if they do not unduly restrict range of possible solutions available to us. As such, this key cognitive skill presupposes that we recognize the situatedness of our own knowledge, understanding that our basic assumptions are always provisional and up for discussion. For example, our values play a role in planning because they form a standard against which a given situation can be judged deficient in some respect. Hence, it is only relative to our values that some aspect of a situation can be treated as a problem in need of a solution to begin with. In fact, one or more people involved in the planning process tend to regard at least some aspects of the same situation as positive because they are working with their own, different set of values and ethical commitments. Self-reflective planners must therefore be capable of acknowledging and recognizing the positive aspects of a given situation even though they may have deemed it to be problematic in some other respects. As such, they can accommodate information even though it may conflict with their own view, which requires being able to question their basic assumptions.

All of the three sub-components discussed above primarily emphasize the ability to *acknowledge* the relative, situated nature of information, points of view, methods, and ways of proceeding.

The ability to *generate* and *ascertain* new, alternative information, methods, or ways of proceeding all belong to the key skill of *Cognitive flexibility*.

## **2. Cognitive flexibility in accommodating mental models**

The key skill of *Cognitive flexibility* can be decomposed into four sub-components.

### *Subcomponent 2a): Flexibility in exploring relations*

By *Flexibility in exploring relations* we mean the skill of being able to think through relational chains or networks in order to recognize the causal, temporal, or spatial relations that may obtain between a number of individual variables of complex systems (for a sampling of different kinds of relations, see Schoenwandt 2008, 77f). This is important because planners, for example, must ascertain causes of a given problem before they can generate reliable measures to solve it effectively. Doing so allows planners to generate new



knowledge about some problematic situation. Other avenues to achieve this latter goal include various aids to creative thinking, such as brainstorming, etc.

Planners who can think creatively and flexibly in this way are less liable to fall into the so-called cognitive trap of ‘Reductionism’, in which a variety of effects are all thought to follow from a very few causes (see, for example, Doerner 2008, Schoenwandt 2008 and 1986). (Note that reductive, monocausal hypotheses need not always be erroneous, but they are almost always incomplete and therefore misleading.)

#### *Subcomponent 2b): Varying levels of abstraction*

By *Varying levels of abstraction* we mean the ability to regulate how fine-grained the information we take in, work with, or use to generate, e.g., new measures to solve some problem, is. We thus vary or ‘calibrate’ the scope of our concepts (general or specific concepts, i.e., individual features) as well as the background knowledge they presuppose depending on the problem at hand. (By which we do not mean an actual calibration, but rather just the ability to work with variables at diverse levels of abstraction.) For example, suppose an infrastructure planner surveys a region to determine whether it contains enough schools to guarantee a given level of education. In this context, the planner can safely assume that ‘learning’ is the primary educational mechanism of schools. However, if a planner has been commissioned to build an individual school, he will want to distinguish between various ways in which learning can take place, e.g., lectures, individual projects, group work, etc. This is important because each distinct kind of learning requires different demands to be placed upon the space of the school. Alternatively, a psychologist who investigates the various degrees of retention that can be achieved different kinds of learning will want to distinguish between different forms of learning in an even more detailed way. He may, for example, distinguish classical conditioning, operant conditioning, visual learning, linguistic learning, concept formation, problem solving, etc. That said, it is important to recognize that from the point of view of an infrastructure planner who wants to assess how many schools to build in some region, the resolution of the psychologists’ different concepts of learning is too fine-grained to be of any use in his work (see Bredenkamp and Bredenkamp 1974,610; Schoenwandt 2008,85).

#### *Subcomponent 2c): Flexibility with regard to diverse points of view*

By *Flexibility with regard to diverse points of view* we mean the ability to provisionally adopt a variety of different viewpoints and values to see what kinds of actions each would dictate in the planning process. This kind of flexibility ensures planners avoid tunnel vision, and it helps them to integrate new perspectives as well as to explore new, previously hidden areas of the solution space. In addition, by including different

approaches and points of view in the planning process, we are better able to understand, moderate, and account for the ideas and actions of stakeholders who will be effected by the plan. This, in turn, increases the likelihood that the final plan is widely accepted and seen to be legitimate.

*Subcomponent 2d): Variable executions of methods and procedures*

By *Variable executions of methods and procedures* we mean flexibility in our behaviour as planners. Maurer (2005, 763) has written, “It will not do to count on the false sense of security provided by familiar forms, methods, or even narrow ideologies.” Variable executions of planning procedures might include not forcing ourselves to work out each individual phase of a planning process—define a problem, elaborate a goal, predict the outcome of an action, etc.—in a strictly ordered way. Rather, we might cycle through each phase of the process several times in an iterative fashion. Flexibility of this kind is especially important if new and relevant information continually comes to light in the middle of a planning process. A willingness to vary our planning methods and the sequential ordering of planning steps is also necessary because people have a limited capacity to process information and thus never really have complete oversight of a complex system’s many relevant features (see, for example, Fodor 1979). As a rule, it is only by actually working through the planning process that people acquire the necessary knowledge and understanding required to execute the parts of the planning process successfully.

### **3. Constructing Mental Models to Guide our Actions (Mental Plan Construction)**

The key skill of *Constructing mental models* can be decomposed into three sub-components.

*Subcomponent 3a): Systemic thinking*

Planners need to think systemically, that is, they need to integrate the relevant features of a complex situation in their mental models and then decide on a course of actions that takes into account the context of that situation (e.g., the long-term effect of their actions). In order to produce genuine understanding, a mental model must abstract away from and thus simplify the complexity of the system it represents. However, if the model is to guide our actions effectively, it must also capture all the essential features of that system, such as, for example, the causal connections that obtain therein. As Maurer (2005, 762) wrote: “Representations of reality should build bridges between abstractions, which are required for strategic contemplation, and concrete actions.” Since complex planning problems usually contain a large number of diverse elements, each of which must be taken into account, planners should have the capacity to incorporate as many different

relevant variables into their mental models as possible. For example, these may include downstream and side effects of their actions, financial and technical aspects of planning, or, whether other people involved in the planning process are likely to accept a planner's recommendations. (Of course, it is only in the context of a concrete planning assignment that we can say which variables are relevant and must be taken into account.)

#### *Subcomponent 3b): Rigorous thinking*

The subcomponent *Rigorous thinking* subsumes both the ability to use formal logic and the more general capacity for thinking through a problem systematically, such as, for example, when we are in a position in which we must relate the different stages of a planning process to one another, or when we infer which measures are likely to solve a problem from its root causes. This is especially true in spatial planning, which tends to present a long temporal horizon because the effects of our planning measures can only be evaluated far down the line ('A Breakdown of Control', see Doerner 2008). Given the complexity of so many planning tasks, Maurer (2005, 760) wrote, "Ignorance and risks are unavoidable. We must deal with credible information in a consequential way. We can do so using the logic of decision making and the mathematical theory of estimation as a foundation."

#### *Subcomponent 3c): Flexibility of mental plans*

An important skill in planning and problem solving is the ability to build mental plans that can handle the dynamic evolution of complex systems, which cannot be accurately predicted in advance. Planners must design flexible models that can react to unexpected events or previously unrecognized features of a complex system. As such, planners must be able to fashion their plans in a way that makes it possible to modify, adapt, or overhaul them entirely. This can be accomplished in a number of ways, such as by building resource reserves (e.g., space, money, time, personnel, etc.) into the plans, by developing alternative plans early, or by planning measures that can be altered or even abandoned should the situation change at some point future (see, for example, Grapengiesser 2009). In general, it is important to react to changes in a system and do justice to the shifting requirements that placed upon it. An example of such shifting requirements is the extreme changes in how much traffic occupies a city's arterial roads in the morning and evening. A correspondingly adaptive plan would be, for example, to have three lanes on a four-lane highway feed into a city during the morning hours and then switching two of the lanes such that three lanes feed out of the city in the evening (see, for example, Ackoff 1999, 108 and 110). Flexible mental models and plans allow us to avoid the cognitive trap of 'Ballistic action', which Doerner (2008, 110) describes in the following way: "Actors ... shoot their measures off like so many cannon balls, which cannot be controlled once they have been fired."

<b>CRITICAL THINKING</b> (the capacity for self-reflection)  // Reflecting on information // Reflecting on methods // Reflecting on one`s own point of view
<b>COGNITIVE FLEXIBILITY</b> in accommodating mental models  // Flexibility in exploring relations // Varying levels of abstraction // Flexibility with regard to diverse points of view // Variable executions of methods and procedures
<b>CONSTRUCTING MENTAL MODELS</b> to guide our actions (mental plan construction)  // Systemic thinking // Rigorous thinking // Flexibility of mental plans

Table 1: Key Cognitive Skills in Planning

## Outlook

The key skills discussed in this paper are intended, among other things, to help steer the future course of educational curricula for planners. For example, on the basis of these key skills, targeted methods can be developed that will not only strengthen the skills themselves but will help advance the search for solutions to complex problems. The development of precise criteria to build on these key skills can furthermore be of use as a preliminary evaluation of future research into how well certain basic skills have been transmitted that are needed to work out complex planning problems.

## Note

This paper, especially the development and description of the key cognitive skills in planning, is primarily based on the as yet unpublished dissertations of Christoph Hemberger and Rinat Saifoulline (see Hemberger (forthcoming) and Saifoulline (forthcoming)).

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## **Track 5: European Territorial Cooperation and Policies**

### **Track Co-Chairs**

Andreas Faludi, Delft University of Technology

Heikki Eskelinen, University of Eastern Finland

"Space is Luxury" being the theme of the congress, this session will focus on how territorial integration and co-operation can help to turn the diversity, in a spatial or territorial sense, of Europe into an asset. The territorial dimension of European policy, and with it territorial co-operation within a system of multi-level governance, are gaining increasing attention. The inclusion of 'territorial cohesion' as an objective in the Lisbon Treaty, the 'mainstreaming' of territorial co-operation as one of the three objectives of Cohesion Policy and the growing interest in territorially focused macroregional strategies, such as the EU Strategy for the Baltic Sea Region, are evidence for this. This strategy is not only innovative as regards the way it tackles the problems of the Baltic Sea, it also presents a novel institutional architecture that may be indicative for how territorial cohesion policy could and should be conducted in future. However, the future of territorial cohesion policy is intimately related to the future of Cohesion Policy post-2013. In this respect we can take heart from the Barca Report for future Cohesion Policy to be 'place-based'. If adopted, this would move territory and territorial cohesion to centre stage.

We thus invite contributions, also and in particular concerning the future of territorial cohesion policy in the light of these developments and we encourage papers, not only on the internal dimension of the EU but also on the external links with the southern and eastern neighbours. In addition, we hope for reflections on what 'place-based' could and should mean in the context of cohesion policy, whether it is the same as territorial cohesion, or whether there is a substantive difference.

A separate session of the track will be designated to present and discuss the Baltic Sea Region strategy.

## **TERRITORIAL COHESION POST-2013: TO WHOMSOEVER IT MAY CONCERN**

ANDREAS FALUDI<sup>1</sup>

Keywords: territorial cohesion, EU Strategy for the Baltic Sea Region, soft planning

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**Abstract:** Conceived as a motion for resolution, the paper considers territorial cohesion now being on the statute book, the Green Paper on Territorial Cohesion, Barca making the case for integrated, place-based strategies, the EU Strategy for the Baltic Sea Region and the future of Cohesion policy. The recommendations reaffirm that ‘geography matters’, requiring integrated, place-based strategies, making territorial cohesion into an integral part of Cohesion policy. What is required is more intensive cooperation, with the EU Strategy for the Baltic Sea Region a model. Territorial strategies must be a self-evident part of the architecture of Cohesion policy. For this there is a need for requisite provisions at all levels. None of this requires new competences, legislation or institutions. The aim is merely to improve on policy formulation and delivery through more focused attention for territory. For this the shared competence under the Lisbon Treaty and the existing institutional settings are sufficient.

**Note:** This paper represents the author’s unsolicited advice as a committed academic observer of policies articulating the territorial dimension of Cohesion policy. Addressed to policy makers and taking account of the constellation of forces in which they operate, the statement has two parts: A ‘Motion for Resolution’, and an ‘Explanatory Statement’. The author has benefited immeasurably from exchanges with Jean Peyrony. Indeed, over the past decade the author and Jean have jointly explored European planning and in particular French thinking on the matter. The interaction was so close that whole parts of this paper – in particular the Explanatory Statement – could easily come under our joint names

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*All elements of this integration triangle: common market, common currency, cohesion are mutually strengthening and interdependent. They are our common European public good.*

(Professor Danuta Hübner PhD., MEP, Chairwoman of The Committee on Regional Development in a speech before the European Parliament, 17 December 2009)

**‘Motion for Resolution’**

**Considering:**

- that territorial cohesion is an **objective** of the Union and a **competence shared** between it and the Member States
- that Cohesion policy, including its territorial dimension, is under review
- that all cards are on the table, including the position – often referred to as its ‘**renationalisation**’ – that ‘**richer regions**’ should no longer benefit
- that Cohesion policy **for all regions** is not only about the areas where funds go to but about European integration as such
- that abolishing funding for ‘richer regions’ is therefore a **challenge**, not only to Cohesion policy, but **to European integration** as such
- that this puts Cohesion policy, including its territorial dimension, at the **heart of discussions** about the **future of the EU**
- that addressing territorial cohesion may improve the **consistency, effectiveness and continuity of EU policies and actions** as required under Art. 13(1) of the Lisbon Treaty
- that the **Green Paper on Territorial Cohesion** and the consultations on it reflect the wish to pursue territorial cohesion through related policies
- that in reference to territorial cohesion the Community Strategic Guidelines for Cohesion 2007-2013 (CSG) declare that ‘**geography matters**’
- that geography – territorial cohesion – likewise matters in pursuing **smart, sustainable and inclusive growth** as postulated in ‘**Europe 2020**’
- that the Barca Report argues for **policies to be place-based**, making territorial cohesion relevant for all developmental policies

- that territorial cohesion is **not only** about ‘**hardware**’ – funding development – but also about improving territorial governance: ‘**software**’
- that this software is about paying regard to **where interventions take place** and to which effect
- that **evaluation** needs to take better account of difference between investing in the hardware and software of cohesion
- that territorial cohesion requires an **open architecture** involving all co-producers of policy: ‘**soft planning**’
- that this open architecture – soft planning – does **not** necessarily **require new competences, legislation or institutions**
- that who the co-producers – public authorities, as well as other stakeholders – are **depends on the problems at hand**
- that, without prejudice to existing jurisdictions and their competences, the territories concerned often **overlap jurisdictional boundaries**
- that the **EU Strategy for the Baltic Sea Region** provides a model of an **open architecture** – soft planning – for pursuing territorial cohesion in such territories
- that, in suitably adapted form, an open architecture is recommendable, also at **transnational or cross-border level**
- that operating within this architecture – soft planning – requires **capacity building** throughout Europe: at the level of the EU, of Member States as well as at sub-national level
- that, the priority on poorer regions notwithstanding, **funding for ‘hardware’** is needed, **also in ‘richer regions’** to encourage them to fall in line with EU strategies
- that, in conclusion, the challenge is to improve **policy formulation, delivery** and common **accountability** of all policies

#### **Recommendations:**

- that policies take account of the, often overlapping, **territories where citizens live and work**, in other words, of the fact that ‘**geography matters**’
  - that integrated **territorial** (‘place-based’) **strategies** giving expression to this dictum form **part of Cohesion policy**, indeed of all developmental policies
  - that the common reference at all territorial levels remains **sustainable development**:
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- on **European** level because of ongoing integration and the dialogue with other global regions
- on **national** level because this remains the main framework for policies to sustain cohesion
- on **regional and local** levels because there coherent public policies can meet the needs of citizens and businesses
- that **multilevel territorial governance** of Cohesion policy links these levels to each other
- that the successor to the CSG must present a broad **Territorial Strategy**, paying regard also to policies other than Cohesion policy and spelling out the territorial dimension of ‘Europe 2020’
- that EU institutions develop their capacity – the software – for **preparing, discussing** with Member States, regional and local stakeholders and for **monitoring** this Territorial Strategy
- that there should be within the Commission services a **strong anchor** for the Territorial Strategy and for giving a territorial dimension to General Impact Assessments
- that the next generation of National Strategic Reference Frameworks (NSRFs) and Operational Programmes must:
  - create **synergies**, based on strategies for **sustainable development**, between EU policies
  - identify **territorial assets** and **challenges**: urban pattern, access to services, territorial capital
  - where appropriate relate to **functional areas**, possibly cross-cutting administrative borders and thus requiring **cooperation** (e.g. metropolitan or urban/rural partnerships), also with neighbouring territories
- that within national territories, according to the subsidiarity principle, Member States **remain responsible** for delineating jurisdictions and their competences
- that Member States be invited to formulate **joint strategic reference frameworks**, from the cross-border to the macro-regional level, applying the **open architecture** of the EU Strategy for the Baltic Sea Region, with the **Commission as facilitator**, as and when needed
- that the next CSG and the NSRFs **incorporate** strategies for enhanced **European Territorial Cooperation**, and that cross-border and transnational programmes must, in a multilevel governance framework, include territorial strategies coordinating national regulations, strategies and funding
- that the **shared competence** for territorial cohesion be only invoked to require Member States to
  - **produce national territorial strategies**
  - **assess territorial impacts** of all policies, their own as well as those of the EU
  - actively **participate in the multi-level territorial governance** of Cohesion policy
  - actively **involve local and regional authorities**

- that there be **joint strategic monitoring** of Cohesion policy, involving local and regional authorities, making sure that the territorial dimension is taken into account at every stage: analysis, setting of priorities, identifying measures, implementation and evaluation
- that this should include monitoring of the **coordination with sector policies** at EU and national level
- that funding of EU networks focusing on **improving territorial knowledge, capitalisation of good practices and transfer of experience** in the field of territorial cohesion continues.

### **Explanatory Statement**

Without going into excessive detail, this statement outlines the present and emergent future context of the policy discourse on territorial cohesion, beginning with EU Cohesion policy. Next the explanatory statement discusses the concept of territorial cohesion as such. Finally, it reflects on the fluid nature of the territories concerned.

### **The Context**

This future of EU Cohesion policy will be shaped by its past and the ever more prominent concern for Europe's competitiveness. Already since the turn of the millennium Cohesion policy is thus in the service of the Lisbon Strategy articulating this concern for competitiveness. As the recent Fifth Cohesion Report confirms, Cohesion policy will likewise want to be seen to contribute to the follow-up of the Lisbon Strategy, 'Europe 2020', in so doing highlighting amongst others the territorial dimension of this new broad policy. The budget debate, concerning the Financial Framework post-2013, will however raise challenging questions as regards Cohesion policy. Cohesion policy as such, 'Europe 2020' and the budget debate are thus the three dimensions of the context to be discussed.

Cohesion policy as originally conceived relates to the overall purpose of European integration: to work towards, in the high-minded words of the treaties, "an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe". To this end, the EU "promotes economic and social progress and a high level of employment" and pursues "balanced and sustainable development, in particular through the creation of an area without internal frontiers, the strengthening of cohesion and the establishment of economic and monetary union". It seeks to do all this in such a way as to ensure the consistency, effectiveness and continuity of EU policies and actions, in other words through applying principles of good governance.

There is one major and one subsidiary story-line in EU Cohesion policy. Under the flag of economic and social cohesion, the main story-line combines two further strands. Under the first, it confronts regional and social imbalances based on the strength of the argument that the Single Market tends to exacerbate them. The

main objective, in terms as used now, is ‘Convergence’. Under the relevant policies acted out over more than twenty years, so-called NUTS2 regions created originally for the different purpose of collecting Europe-wide statistics thus receive EU support, with eligibility defined mainly on the basis of GDP per capita adjusted for purchasing power and of unemployment rates. In the regions concerned, EU funds represent a substantial share of investments but in total never more than four percent of the GDP of the respective Member State.

Jacques Delors' vision went beyond this. According to him, the triptych of competition, cooperation and solidarity was at the heart of the Single European Act. In his memoirs Delors (2003) talks about competition stimulating, co-operation strengthening and solidarity uniting Europe. He thus clearly saw that Europe had to improve its competitive position across the board. Cohesion policy needed to stimulate investments in ‘hardware’ in Member States and regions, with priority on those lagging behind, whilst also and in particular – this being the second strand within the main story-line – putting emphasis on ‘software development’: coordination, cooperation and capacity building throughout the EU. Arguably, although not always recognised as such, this is an important contribution, beyond hard investments, of Cohesion policy to European integration as such.

Invoking quantitative indicators such as an increase in GDP, the macroeconomic effects of investments in hardware are measurable, but under the second strand, other objectives have been added. Because of the much smaller amounts of aid involved, this is particularly true for the NUTS2 regions ineligible under Convergence – the ‘richer regions’ – under the ‘Regional Competitiveness and Employment’ objective, as well as for ‘European Territorial Cooperation’. In terms of the two strands identified, we thus observe a sliding scale, with investments in ‘hardware’ dominating under Convergence on the one hand and the funding of ‘software development’ the key issue under ‘European Territorial Cooperation’ on the other. Already for the previous programming period (2000/2006), in regions eligible under Objective 2, evaluation has found that the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) could act as a catalyst to stimulate the formulation of long-term strategies for restructuring. This is why, in taking account of both strands, any assessment of Cohesion policy as a whole must include qualitative, alongside with quantitative considerations.

The Barca Report articulates the main story-line as described, paying due attention to both of its strands. In addition, whilst invoking economic thinking like the OECD, Barca refers to ‘economic geography’, ‘place-based policies’ and ‘territorial public goods’. This is where the subsidiary Cohesion policy story-line, articulated well before Barca, but dovetailing with his arguments, comes into its own: the ‘spatial planning’ story line. The result of an initiative by spatial planners from the Member States taken almost as soon as Cohesion policy received its present shape under Jacques Delors, this story-line highlights the, sometimes unintended effects of EU policies on Member States, regions and localities, arguing on this basis for a spatial or territorial framework for these policies to fit into. Due to the alleged absence of an EU competence in the

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matter, planners stipulated though that this framework should come about through intergovernmental cooperation. The active support from elements within the Commission was nonetheless essential and led to the formulation of common spatial development guidelines like polycentric development and urban-rural partnership, parity of access to infrastructure and knowledge and the responsible management of the natural and cultural heritage.

With their message of enriching developmental policies by factoring aspects other than economic growth into the equation, and by aiming for more coherence, in a spatial or territorial sense, planners thus sought to attach themselves to the main Cohesion policy story-line. The European Spatial Development Perspective of 1999 and the Leipzig Charter of Sustainable Cities and the Territorial Agenda of the European Union, both of 2007, articulated this message, but all-too-often the protagonists of Cohesion policy as the single-minded pursuit of quantitative growth – the first strand within the main Cohesion policy story-line – turned a deaf ear. The fact that the national planners concerned were emphatic about the EU having no competence in spatial planning did not help.

By adding territorial cohesion to economic and social cohesion, the Lisbon Treaty now makes explicit that space, or territory, is relevant to promoting competitiveness and to addressing regional and social inequities, issues which EU policy seeks to address in the balanced way which is the essence of the ‘European model of society’ advocated by Jacques Delors. (Faludi ed. 2007) The message is that, inevitably, relevant policies take shape in territories: cities and regions; that success is conditional upon active participation of public and private stakeholders there; and that the configuration of assets in these territories and their governance – what Barca calls ‘integrated bundles of public goods’ – play an essential role. However, the wider context of EU Cohesion policy is changing, with global challenges receiving increasing attention.

*‘Europe 2020’* is the title of the follow-up of the Lisbon Strategy. As is well known, the latter had been adopted at the European Council at Lisbon in 2000 with the aim of turning Europe by 2010 into the most competitive knowledge-economy globally. By the mid-2000s it had become clear that the Lisbon Strategy was not going to achieve its ambitious targets with, according to the Sapir Report (Sapir et al. 2004) and the Kok Report (High Level Group 2004), the governance of the Lisbon Strategy and more in general EU economic governance, including Cohesion policy, getting some of the blame.

Upon his appointment as Commission President in the mid-2000s, José Manuel Barroso set his sights on reinvigorating the Lisbon Strategy with a Communication ‘Growth and Jobs’. DG REGIO scrambled to refocus EU Cohesion policy, one of the few instruments available to the Commission for this purpose, on the Lisbon Strategy as, indeed, it is scrambling to do the same with ‘Europe 2020’. The Lisbon Strategy as such depended on voluntary compliance. All that Member States were committed to was reporting on progress. Finding themselves at the bottom of the league table, one idea underlying was that underperformers would be

shamed into improving their ways. More generally speaking, the idea was one of mutual learning. The term often used for this is ‘Open Method of Coordination’ (OMC).

By way of contrast, under what is called the Community method, in Cohesion policy the Commission is responsible for making proposals to the Council of Ministers. This the Commission did in the ‘Community Strategic Guidelines on Cohesion 2007-2013’ (CSG). Amongst others, the guidelines invoked the up-and-coming concept of territorial cohesion, saying the famous words that ‘geography matters’. With the Lisbon Treaty in the offing, and encouraged by the Territorial Agenda of the European Union formulated by the Member States, the Commission decided to publish the Green Paper on Territorial Cohesion.

The successor document to the CSG in which amongst others the discussion on territorial cohesion will crystallise will as indicated focus EU Cohesion policy on the medium-term strategy enunciated in ‘Europe 2020’. Hopefully, the next guidelines will thus address, amongst others of course, the territorial dimension of ‘smart, sustainable and inclusive growth’ which ‘Europe 2020’ stipulates as the objective for the next decade. This is anything but straightforward, though. There are bound to be tough negotiations in the wake of ‘Europe 2020’ before the next Financial Framework takes shape. Indeed, soon due to start in earnest, this so-called budget debate, to be discussed next, is already casting a long shadow and will no doubt affect the way territorial cohesion will be handled.

*The Budget Debate.* Since ratification of the Lisbon Treaty, at long last under a shared competence the Union may assume responsibility for the territorial dimension of its policies. In other words, under the Community method the Commission may initiate what is now called the ‘ordinary legislative process’. The aim would be to articulate at the European level the territorial dimension of Cohesion policy. Had it not been for the fact that the main story-line of Cohesion policy as described is itself under discussion, this would have provided a stable platform for fully integrating the subsidiary ‘spatial planning’ story-line of Cohesion policy into the primary one.

As things are, the budget debate, certain to be difficult, the more so because of the economic downturn, is expected to question the very rationale of the comprehensive EU Cohesion policy as practiced. The realities of EU politics are such that support for lagging Member States and regions under the Convergence objective will continue. The issue is whether under ‘Competitiveness and Regional Employment’, what are called ‘richer regions’ by virtue of the fact that they are not amongst the ‘least favoured’ ones eligible under Convergence, should continue to receive funds. If not, then these ‘richer regions’, in practice mostly in the Member States who are net-contributors, would no longer have to abide by EU regulations so as to recoup a fraction of the money their countries pay into the Community coffers. In the jargon used, the ‘pumping around of money’ would thus come to an end.

It has also been suggested to let the Member States concerned, rather than the Commission, administer the funds under the, financially speaking much more important Convergence objectives, hence the label ‘renationalisation’ given to this radical line of thought. In terms of the sums involved a minor issue, the ‘European Territorial Cooperation’ objective is not generally discussed but it is clear that, by rescinding EU Cohesion policy for ‘richer regions’, there will be less incentive to cooperate. Thus, rather than its present comprehensive coverage, EU Cohesion policy would become selective: the opposite of what Jacques Delors and lately also Danuta Hübner in the quote at the beginning of this manifesto proposed. As a consequence, the strand aimed at ‘software’ development, capacity building and learning – and with it the ‘spatial planning’ story-line that has attached itself to this strand – would be weakened. The reaction to the Green Paper on Territorial Cohesion coming from the leading proponent of radical changes to EU Cohesion policy, the UK, already intimated that territorial cohesion was mainly, if not exclusively, for the Member States to be concerned about.

On the face of it, there is logic in focusing increasingly scarce resources on Member States and regions lagging behind and to let others look after themselves. Member States carry the primary responsibility for the social and economic fabric of their territories. They pursue multiple sectoral and territorial policies, depending on their spatial characteristics and politico-administrative organisation. However, EU policies like agriculture, research, environment, transport, energy, too, have direct or indirect implications for territories. To reiterate, the subsidiary ‘spatial planning’ story-line addresses the need for coherence and coordination between policies at all levels, including that of the EU. As is well known, to ensure consistency of all public policies, from the local to the European level so as to serve European citizens, it advocates the integrated territorial approach.

Iain Begg (2009) has explored arguments in favour of and against Cohesion Policy in ‘richer regions’. Accordingly, the main arguments are constitutional: the Treaty makes it compulsory; economic: support of Lisbon Strategy aims; political: there is value in maintaining a policy resonating with so many stakeholders everywhere in EU; and administrative: like others, ‘richer regions’, continue to need EU incentives to define appropriate development policies and improve their governance. The issue at stake is: in order to give strategic stimulus, in order to promote the strand of ‘software development’ in Cohesion policy, are, albeit modest financial incentives needed, or would an intergovernmental approach supported by EU networking aiming at the transfer of experiences and benchmarking, like under the OMC, but without EU regional programmes suffice? Iain Begg does not answer this question, but the answer is likely to be negative and, in any case, there is advantage in a mixed approach involving some EU funding alongside with national policies.



Indeed, the NSRFs and OPs should articulate integrated strategies for projects funded by the EU as well as by others. For projects funded by the EU, under the regulations Commission approval would be required, thus offering the opportunity for injecting common concerns. The EU would of course focus on demonstration projects, the experiences of which could be relevant for others. This knowledge transfer should be a condition of funding. EU added value would rest on the catalytic effect to be achieved through dialogue with the Commission, capitalisation at EU level and transfer of experiences from other regions. Evaluation should rely on classical project assessment, but also take more account of qualitative aspects such as capacity building in the regions. For policies and projects not funded by the EU, Commission approval cannot, of course, be a requirement. However, Member States and regions could engage in dialogue with each other and the Commission in a manner similar to what is happening under the OMC.

The long and the short of it is thus: EU Cohesion policy engenders dialogue between Member States and regions and with the Commission concerning competitiveness, cohesion and sustainability and the way they are implemented and how and why they benefit European citizens and territories. With its multi-level system of governance, it allows to promote the coherence of policies with territorial impacts. However, as this section has shown, the cards are being reshuffled with a view to a new overall policy designed to render the EU fit for the next decade with its challenges. With a view to the coming debates, it is necessary to present a clearer view of what territorial cohesion in this context would mean.

### **Territorial Cohesion**

EU Cohesion policy is by now routine, but beyond the operational definitions as laid down in the regulations, what is economic and social cohesion, and what is territorial cohesion, the main issue discussed here? And, what does ‘territory’ in territorial cohesion refer to? These are the issues discussed in the remaining sections of this Explanatory Statement, starting with territorial cohesion. First, the concept as such will be discussed, followed by the philosophy underlying.

*Economic and social cohesion, under the umbrella concept of sustainable development.* In the EU, there is common agreement that policies at whatever level should rest on the three pillars of sustainable development. They are: efficiency (the economic pillar); equity (the social pillar); preservation of the environment. The real debate is about trade-offs between these pillars, the aim being long-term progress as regards all three. John Rawls (1972), much appreciated in the relevant literature, links sustainability with intergenerational equity. Originally, EU Cohesion policy has focused on the first two pillars: economic cohesion aims to improve competitiveness and to create a better balance between Member States and NUTS2 regions throughout Europe, and social cohesion seeks to achieve more labour market participation and equity. Under the ‘European model of society’, the issue is one of the proper balance between economic and social cohesion. Cohesion policy has progressively taken on board the third pillar: as already said, during the

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last ten years, Cohesion policy has been progressively earmarked to serve the Lisbon strategy (economic and social aspects), completed by the Gothenburg strategy (environmental aspects).

*The Concept of Territorial Cohesion.* A contemporary French sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu (1984), has extended the economic notion of capital, articulating its social, symbolic and cultural dimensions. Now, the valorisation of capital in all its various dimensions depends on where agents live. In other words, place itself also represents capital in terms of access to social relations, services, jobs and so forth, which is why the geographer Jacques Levy (1994) has proposed the notion of ‘spatial capital’. Similarly, the OECD (2001) has invoked that of ‘territorial capital’, a concept emulated in the Territorial Agenda of the European Union. It is thus that geography enters into the equation, calling for attention to the territorial dimension of EU Cohesion policy. In the pursuit of competitiveness, territorial capital is simply a factor. Likewise, efficiency requires territorial integration.

Territory is also important in pursuing equity and, as Fabrizio Barca argues, this is equally true for social exclusion and social policies. Lastly, where the environment is concerned, the natural heritage addressed amongst others in the European Spatial Development Perspective is clearly rooted in territory.

Thus, the concept of territorial cohesion articulates what has always been implicit: that geography matters for the effectiveness and efficiency of policies. Both may crucially depend on where policies take effect and which other policies may have a, positive or negative, as the case may be, cross-impact upon them.

Taking stock of the debate, also and in particular around the Green Paper on Territorial Cohesion, the most common, even if not universally agreed understanding is, indeed, that territorial cohesion addresses territorial interdependency, for instance between urban and rural areas, between areas with a predominantly productive and those with a predominantly residential economies, and so forth.

In the theoretical case of an individual territory, such as a small island with no relation to other territories, the notion would not have much added value. However, territorial cohesion is not only about the development of individual territories; it is also and in particular about territorial integration. Daily flows of commuters, of people going on leisure trips and to their vacation destinations or to other places for study or retirement, stimulating the local economy at their points of destination in the process, the flows of goods and services developed by the opening of economies, the flows of funds linked with welfare and public policies generating employment and safeguarding services, they all add up to territorial interdependency. Territorial cohesion means assuring a balanced – not to be equated with equal – spatial distribution of activities and people, promoting this interdependency between regions and in so doing also the overall coherence of policies addressing these issues.

Interdependency requires solidarity between territories. The issue is addressed implicitly by way of welfare, unemployment and other policies that are space-blind but nevertheless have territorial impacts (Davezies, 2008), or explicitly by means of territorial budget equalisation across jurisdictions and/or transfers to finance specific projects.

Addressing the territorial dimension of EU Cohesion policy more in particular, the institutional specificities of EU multi-level governance come into play. Here, different levels, from the EU to the national and the infra-national coexist. Territorial cohesion can thus be understood as addressing the multi-level dimension of sustainable development, in fact a generalisation of the famous exhortation: "Think globally, act locally"!

To summarise, territorial cohesion thus articulates solidarity between territories at all levels. In this, the EU represents a new dimension, always keeping in mind that solidarity is mainly a national issue. The above suggests the following, synthetic definition of territorial cohesion:

*Territorial cohesion is about enabling citizens and enterprises, wherever they happen to live or operate, to benefit from, and contribute to, European integration and the functioning of the Single Market and to make the most of the territorial capital of that place, in so doing observing the sustainability principle.*

This has consequences for territorial governance. They were addressed during the consultation on the Green Paper on Territorial Cohesion. Thus, an integrated approach is required, firstly at each territorial level between sectors: horizontal coordination. The reason is that places combine all dimensions of life. Secondly integration is required between levels: vertical coordination. The reason is that we live at different scales simultaneously. Thirdly cooperation is needed between different territorial entities with the aim of identifying possible synergies resulting from the interdependency as discussed.

*The Philosophy Underlying.* Cohesion policy, and with it territorial cohesion, relates to core issues like whether integration is, or is not, exclusively about the Single Market. Now, in French social philosophy ever since Émile Durkheim cohesion has social and political dimensions. This classic sociologist wondered how, increasing autonomy and differences between individuals notwithstanding, to maintain social cohesion in modern societies. According to him the division of labour in society (Durkheim 1933) creates interdependency, the benefits of which are not only economic, but mainly moral: It is a source of an 'organic solidarity' between social agents, like with different parts of the human body. However, for Durkheim, division of labour in itself is insufficient. Solidarity cannot be sustained solely on basis of contractual relations. Rather, it also requires non-contractual relations by way of developing civic morality, laws, administrative and governmental functions. This thesis is considered to be the source of 'solidarism': the ideological basis of the French social State, which has been institutionalized after the Second World War (Peyrony, 2007). Though Durkheim himself did not extend this to territorial aspects, interdependency and

solidarity between territories can be seen as reflecting a ‘territorial division of labour’. With many of the initiators of cohesion policy, including its territorial dimension, Jacques Delors and Michel Barnier amongst them, having been French, the body of thought discussed here is important.

Cohesion in society thus depends on the existence of manifold economic, social and political links which all need to be taken into account. In a bold attempt to systematise them, Luc Boltanski and Laurent Thévenot (2006) discern as many as six reference systems, which they call ‘cities’, city being a metaphor for societal configurations. As applied to Europe, we may say that the economic ‘city’ – the Single Market – is highly developed, but the civic ‘city’: democratic European institutions; the ‘city’ of fame: Europe in the media and public opinion; the industrial ‘city’: the investments in European hardware such as infrastructure; the domestic ‘city’: links between individuals across borders; and the ‘city’ of inspiration: the emergence of a common European vision or culture are all lagging behind. In making Europe a success, in developing policies visible to citizens in their territories, in encouraging them to deliberate with their political representatives on all matters relating to their lives and in so doing to contribute to EU integration, all these reference systems are relevant.

It is here where EU Cohesion policy can contribute. This is true for its classic strand contributing to the industrial ‘city’, but also for the stimulation of networks of stakeholders across borders which contribute to the emergence of a European domestic ‘city’. Likewise, peer reviews and the dissemination of ideas help to build the ‘city’ of fame; discussions between levels through multilevel governance relate to the European civic ‘city’; territorial visions contribute to the ‘city’ of inspiration. Cohesion policy is potentially a powerful, multi-dimensional ‘learning machine’ (Faludi 2008), and territorial cohesion is part of this. The opposite, restricting the EU to the Single Market, environmental regulations and macro-economic policy, whilst reserving matters relating to social and territorial cohesion to Member States can only widen the rift between Europe and its citizens, thus diluting the European project to the point where it might implode.

## **Territory**

Among the issues raised in the debate on the Green Paper for Territorial Cohesion is the extent to which the territorial scale of policy intervention should vary according to the nature of the problem or problems at stake. This assumes that problems can be identified and matched to territorial scales, but can they?

The ‘Dictionnaire de la géographie et de l'espace des sociétés’ (Levy, Lussault, 2003) distinguishes a local and a regional scale. Accordingly, ‘local’ refers to the scale of daily life: housing, commuting, working, accessing basic services. In the absence of comprehensive statistics for the whole of Europe, daily commuter sheds are a good proxy. ‘Regional’, as against this, refers to the smallest spatial scale able to contain activities of a whole lifetime: areas where one can be born, grow up, study, work and retire. This means the

availability of services such as airports, HST stations, universities, hospitals, key cultural establishments, natural and recreational areas.

It is important to realise what the above implies: Neither the local nor the regional scale as described – the scales where the problems which policy needs to address occur – necessarily coincides with the jurisdictions of local respectively regional authorities. In other words, there can be and – the more so since the scale of human activities increases – there regularly is a mismatch. The mismatch is between territorial governments, each responsible for a circumscribed space with its inhabitants and each endowed with a set of formal institutions to deal with any issues arising on the one hand and the real interaction criss-crossing jurisdictional boundaries in such a way that problems and solutions regularly escape the control of any one of them on the other. What has been said of the nation-state – that the ‘Westphalian nexus’ between national territory and sovereignty has been subject to ‘unbundling’ – is in fact true for all levels of government. In their daily lives, people commuting to their places of work or accessing services and leisure facilities and firms pursuing their day-to-day business define new local geographies, such as urban-rural or metropolitan areas, criss-crossing administrative boundaries. Wider challenges appear at multi-regional scales within which there is access to specialised services like universities, research centres or airports; environmental management of river basins or mountain ranges. In short, new geographies appear, because the world changes, because of globalisation, migratory movements, climate change, none of which respects borders.

So citizens, let alone enterprises producing for a wider market, are no longer locked into territories, as most – but never all! – were in the past. To cater to their needs, to facilitate their far-flung relations, many new services are needed. This whereas democratic representation is inexorably linked to the idea of politicians being accountable to their territorially defined constituencies; that the territories concerned are clearly delimited; and that the institutions responsible have the appropriate powers and resources for handling any problems on that level.

As the World Development Report 2009 (World Bank 2009) and the Green Paper on Territorial Cohesion quoting it have argued, existing political and administrative divisions are thus major obstacles to development. The challenge is to overcome discrepancies between the functional areas defined by the real interactions taking place on the one hand and the institutions representing territorial units on the other. This does not mean changing their competences, nor can the relevant areas for cooperation be defined from the top down. What it means is that the upper levels, including the EU, should raise awareness, provide strategic guidance and incentives to policies taking account of functional realities.

This leads into a consideration of the role of European Territorial Cooperation, the third objective of EU Cohesion policy. Cooperation within national territories being naturally a matter for the Member States,

actions under this objective involve partners from at least two Member States because the mitigation, specifically of the effects of national borders is at the core of the European project.

As a result, new European territories and networks emerge: cross-border agglomerations or urban systems; ‘cross-border regions’, as the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union says in article 174; macro-regions, where the issue at stake is territorial development with a wider focus, such as development corridors along major European infrastructure; transnational mountain ranges; maritime or river basins relevant for managing the environment; potential economic integration zones like the Baltic Sea, the Danube Basin or the Alpine Space.

Thus it transpires that in the context of addressing the territorial dimension of EU cohesion policy, the very concept of territory changes its meaning. It is no longer the exclusive locus where people and the legitimate exercise of power come together to form a privileged, indeed the only relevant unit of collective action. It is rather a fleeting constellation in space in which issues are identified and addressed, ideally jointly by all relevant actors, but without the presumption of in any sense covering the totality of life. Invoking a term coined by Haughton, Allmendinger, Counsell and Vigar (2010) one can describe these as ‘soft spaces’. The approach to these can never be the same as for territorial jurisdictions. Rather, the approach must reflect the reality of powers and responsibilities being dispersed. Thus, ‘soft spaces’ require ‘soft planning’, and this is true for all efforts to address the territorial dimension of EU Cohesion policy.

## Conclusions

The EU Strategy for the Baltic Sea Region is emblematic for the approach to territory as described. It does not refer to any one clearly delineated space or territory called ‘the Baltic’ but to a series of overlapping functional spaces. It is a ‘soft space’. Nor does it aim for the creation of a ‘Baltic Sea Authority’ to tackle the issues identified. What it does is to create an arena for articulating relevant issues in which relevant actors, importantly including all Directorates-General of the Commission concerned, invoke their resources and powers. The EU Strategy for the Baltic Sea Region is thus a good example of ‘soft planning’.

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## **Repositioning the EU's Northernmost Regions in a European Territorial Context**

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Keywords: EU regional policy, northernmost regions, territorial capital

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The growing perception of the European Union as an increasingly single and integrated territory requires specific regions to position themselves and highlight their specificities vis-à-vis the European space. This is amplified by an apparent re-orientation of EU regional policy towards a more spatial approach that takes the territorial diversity existing into account.

The Swedish, Norwegian and Finnish northernmost regions have a long tradition in collective action within the framework of Nordic co-operation. Recently, they presented themselves as the so-called Northern Sparsely Populated Areas (NSPA) and engaged in inter-regional co-operation in order to position themselves on the regional policy map of Europe. Within this setting this paper aims to investigate how actors (regional and national level, EU) attempt to position the northernmost regions within a European territorial context and to examine how European spatial policy concepts are recognized, rejected or adapted during this process.

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### **1. Introduction**

Increasing attention is being paid in Europe to territorial issues of development at a variety of geographic scales. Of particular interest and importance in this respect are developments at the EU level. Here, approximately two decades of an emerging European spatial planning discourse (see Böhme 2006, Böhme & Waterhout 2008) have resulted in transnational spatial visioning and strategy-building exercises, of which the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP) and the Territorial Agenda of the European Union have been important elements. This has also resulted in the increasing realization of the fact that EU policies have certain territorial impacts, which, in turn, results in a need for these policies to be spatialized or territorialized (Evers 2009). An important inroad into this issue has been the inclusion of the policy objective of territorial cohesion into the Lisbon Treaty, adding a third dimension to the already existing objectives of social and economic cohesion. In addition, the Interreg Community Initiative has contributed to transnational

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territorial action and co-operation on the ground. Also the ESPON programme, launched in 2002, has initiated large-scale research activities into the territorial shape and development of the European space.

This increasing debate and policy initiatives regarding European Union territorial development and, as a result, territorial governance obviously is of particular relevance to European regions that in some way deviate from European averages in terms of territorial composition and territorial development. These territorial ‘deviations’ could relate to, for example, lagging economic development, geographic or relational peripherality, or low endowment of spatial structures in terms of population, employment and infrastructure. In the northernmost regions of Europe, many of these territorial deviations and challenges indeed converge. Over time, this has resulted on an above average reliance on fiscal and regional development support from the national levels and, later, from the European Union Structural Funds. It should therefore not come as a surprise that especially regional as well as national actors from the extreme North pay particular attention to the European Union debate and policy development on territorial governance. It can be expected, and will be shown in later parts of this paper, that of particular interest and concern to northern European actors is the way in which the European debate on territorial development continues to oscillate between the somewhat conflicting ideas of cohesion and competitiveness. In this respect, EU territorial governance often finds itself between notions such as, on the one hand, solidarity, spatial justice and ‘the European Model of Society’ (see Faludi 2007) and, on the other hand, notions such as territorial capital and the goal of turning territorial diversity into strengths or territorial assets. This oscillation presents regional actors with the challenge to position themselves in a way that contributes to the luring in of both public and private resources for the benefit of their regional constituency.

Based on these considerations, this paper attempts to investigate the conceptualization of northernmost Europe in the manifold processes of European territorial governance. These regions – comprising northern and eastern Finland, northern Sweden and their adjacent areas in Norway – account for a major share of the EU’s sparsely populated regions, are far removed from the so-called core regions of Europe and have long struggled to find socio-economic activities and sectors that are suitable for their territorial specificities. Although Norway is not an EU member state, its northernmost regions form an integral part of Europe’s High North and has a long-standing tradition of institutional and collaborative links with its neighbouring regions in Sweden and Finland.

## **2. European territoriality, territorial cohesion and territorial governance**

The wider territoriality and territorial development of the European Union is an intricate subject. The uniqueness of the European Union project renders its territoriality different from traditional state-territoriality that is signified by clearly defined boundaries and power relations. It can indeed be questioned whether the

European Union has a territory – or territoriality - at all. There is however no doubt that European Union policy has territorial effects and contributes to some form of intentional or unintentional, conscious or unconscious process of territorialisation. The link between territoriality and the European project is highlighted by Gualini (2006: 114) who emphasises that “there is a direct, albeit not always explicit, connection between how we conceive of democratization in Europe and how we conceive of the territorial dimension of European governance”.

Bialasiewicz et al. (2005) provide us with a useful overall frame for the analysis of European territoriality and territorial governance and conceptualise an emerging European territoriality by distinguishing between the two dimensions of ‘hard’ and ‘aspirational’ territoriality. The former (hard territoriality) refers to external bordering of the European Union as a functionally integrated entity, which revolves around ‘conventional’ contexts grouped around issues such as “border controls, jurisdictional limits, and a concern for territorial integrity and sovereign rights” (Bialasiewicz et al. 2005: 335). In this traditional context that focuses on boundaries and power relationships, the EU, to some extent, overlaps with and blurs the member states’ conventional territoriality whilst simultaneously raising its own territorial profile as a mega-region and becoming a functionally integrated territorial entity with sharp external edges. Thus, hard territoriality pertains mainly to notions such as geopolitics and geoeconomics. The notion of ‘aspirational’ territoriality, on the other hand, revolves around “Europe as a putative space of values and area of solidarity” (Bialasiewicz et al. 2005: 335) and to a significant extent pertains to patterns of interaction across borders – barrier effects of which are to be removed - and the conceptualisation of the EU as an internally integrated space. This includes the co-ordination of EU policies and their territorial effects as well as the development of strategic planning frameworks and visioning exercises. As has been indicated earlier, this increasingly takes place in the form of European Union territorial governance and spatial policy-making including the policy objective of territorial cohesion. Indeed, Bialasiewicz et al. (2005) argue in their work that the idea of territorial cohesion forms an integral part of how European territoriality is inscribed into the Reform Treaty of the European Union.

Despite the fact that it represents one of the most important recent elements in the implicit territorial agenda that the European Union always had (Faludi 2009), there is still no established understanding of what the policy objective of territorial cohesion actually means and entails (Waterhout 2008). To further the concept, the European Commission launched a consultation round by publishing a Green Paper on the topic (CEC 2008a) and a significant number of stakeholders have taken up the challenge and expressed their views on understanding of the concept, including important inputs from the European North (see, for example, Damsgaard et al. 2008). The title of the Green Paper - “Turning territorial diversity into strength” (CEC 2008a) - illustrates well the acknowledgment at the Commission of the diversity that exists within the EU territory; a way of thinking that is deeply rooted in earlier planning initiatives such as the ESPD, which opens with the statement that “the characteristic territorial feature of the European Union (EU) is its cultural

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variety, concentrated in a small area” (CEC 1999, 7). However, it is acknowledged that the territorial diversity of the European Union also involves a variety of problems or challenges. In this context, the Green Paper identifies three specific types of areas that deviate from European averages and face particular development challenges that necessitate and justify the policy objective of territorial cohesion:

1. mountain regions, which are often border regions and in which more than a third of the people live in rural region;
2. island regions, which in many cases are mountainous and more than half of the population also live in a border region; islands include 6 of the 7 outermost regions;
3. 18 sparsely populated regions, all rural and almost all border regions.

These “territorially challenged” regions also receive attention in Article 158 of the Lisbon Treaty, where it is stated that

“...particular attention shall be paid to rural areas, areas affected by industrial transition, and regions which suffer from severe and permanent natural or demographic handicaps such as the northernmost regions with very low population density and island, cross-border and mountain regions.”

However, the Commission’s slogan of “turning territorial diversity into strength” explicitly suggests that the above-mentioned problems or challenges can be turned into strengths by transforming diversity into competitive assets. This understanding is indeed covered by the numerous interpretations that float around in both the academic and policy-making circles. In a report by the Netherlands Environmental Assessment Agency (Evers 2009, 12), five discrete interpretations of territorial cohesion are presented:

1. socio-economic convergence, focussing on the reduction of disparities
2. economic competitiveness, focussing on the competitive position of regions and their territorial capital
3. rural perspectives, focussing on rural challenges
4. spatial planning, focussing on unbalanced spatial development and cross-sectoral integration
5. policy co-ordination, focussing on more coherent EU policies

The first interpretation is in line with the regional policy initiatives, fiscal transfers and support through tax incentives carried out as part of the development of the welfare state projects in the Nordic countries and earlier interpretations of EU cohesion policy. It is in line with Molle’s view of EU Cohesion Policy “... as the degree to which social and economic welfare between the different regions or groups within the EU are politically and socially tolerable” (Molle 2007, 5).

However, it appears to be the case that currently the European Commission’s interpretation has shifted towards the second interpretation. Recently, competitiveness and territorial capital have been operationalised and championed as the key argumentative thrust behind the debate on territorial cohesion. The notion of territorial capital can be traced back to the OECD’s report *Territorial Outlook 2001* and has found application in the *Third Cohesion Report* (see Waterhout & Zonneveld 2005, OECD 2001). According to

Waterhout & Zonneveld (2005, 19), the OECD's report argued that each region has its own specific and endogenous territorial capital that renders "investments in one region more effective than in another". Various factors influence the territorial capital endowment of a region and include tangible and quantifiable aspects such as geographic location, demographic development, accessibility, institutional and governance-related issues, as well as intangible aspects that are difficult to pinpoint and are generally summarised under the 'quality of the milieu' heading (Ibid., 19).

As such, the increasing focus on territorial capital invokes and is a reflection of a wider paradigm shift in terms of what cohesion policy in general, and territorial cohesion policy in particular, actually entails. This manifests itself in an increasing emphasis on the competitiveness of European territorial structures (regions) rather than a focus on balance and cohesion, echoing the findings and recommendations from the Sapir Report (Sapir et al. 2003) and the Lisbon Strategy. Indeed, in a speech from the year 2009, former Commissioner Hübner of DG Regio underlined that in her view

"territorial cohesion is first of all about mobilising development potential, not compensating for handicaps. Regional policy is a development policy and not merely a redistributive tool. I firmly believe that EU policies help most if they help citizens and enterprises unlock the inherent potentials of their territories" (Hübner 2009)

However, it should be emphasised that disadvantaged and lagging regions are still of central concern in these policy cognitions, since territorial capital does not refer to the strengthening of the competitiveness of already strong territorial entities, but involves elements that relate to the reduction of disparities by strengthening the territorial capital of areas that are lagging or perform weakly in terms of socio-economic development, exhibit geographical handicaps or are disadvantaged by sparsity, peripherality and structural weaknesses. In addition, the debate on territorial capital is informed by and linked to sustainability as emphasised by the EU in the Gothenburg Strategy. The acknowledgment of territorial problems and challenges on part of the EU is illustrated by their inclusion in important policy documents and even the Lisbon Treaty as described above. Nevertheless, the crucial aspect of the notion of territorial capital is a departure from an orientation away from fiscal redistribution, instead encouraging regional actors and policy-makers to make use and build on their diversity and existing and evolving areas of strength and expertise in order to become socio-economically more competitive both in a European and global context (see Zonneveld & Waterhout 2005). This, of course, has implications for the northernmost regions in Europe and for the way in which they contextualise themselves in the European territory and position themselves on the European regional policy map.

### **3. Territorial capital and the Northernmost European Regions**

The northernmost regions have typically been conceptualized as frontier-regions that have become part of nation-building processes at relatively late points in time. Nation-building processes in the high north generally included resettlement of population and the demarcation of territories, which obviously impacted on the situation of the aboriginal Sami population. Events that had significant effects in the northernmost regions were the independence of Norway and Finland in 1905 and 1917 respectively and the founding of the Soviet Union, which resulted in the formation of a closed border in the northernmost regions in Europe. As a consequence of World War II and subsequent cession of Finnish territory – the areas of Salla and Pechenga – to the Soviet Union, this border between eastern and western Europe shifted towards the West.

After several post-war decades that were signified by the building of the Nordic welfare states and concomitant inter-governmental co-operation in form of the Nordic Council, the geopolitical setting in the North was reshuffled by the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. This altered setting ultimately provided the ground for Finland and Sweden's accession to the European Union in 1995 by which the EU has, to a significant extent, replaced the so-called Nordic balance – i.e. co-operation between the Nordic countries in form of the Nordic Council – and has now become the entity towards which the national as well as regional actors and organizations look for policy guidance and towards which regional policy and economic activity is increasingly geared to (Aalto 2006). This, in turn, implies that sub-national and national actors have to position their regions not only in a regional or national but increasingly in a European and even global context and requires them to identify, understand, and contextualise EU policy notions and initiatives, such as territorial cohesion and territorial capital, for their purposes.

This wider process of Europeanization, i.e. the institutionalisation of the EU in the northernmost areas and concomitant adoption of EU practices and systems of governance, including the utilisation of EU funding schemes, in Finland, Sweden and, to a lesser extent Norway, and their northernmost regions has left its imprint on territorial governance practices and initiatives in these areas. These internal, aspirational forms of European Union territorialisation were, to a much more limited extent, also echoed at that external border of the European Union in the North. The steadily increasing permeability of the border with Russia and processes of regionalization within Russia provided for increased socio-economic interaction and opportunities of sub-national co-operation between the northernmost Nordic regions and their Russian counterparts particularly during the 1990s; mainly Murmansk Oblast and the Karelian Republic. Due to this sea change, the location at the external border of the EU of many of the northernmost regions was reinterpreted as a source of opportunity and development potential rather than attaching to it negative connotations of peripherality and perceiving it as a source of potential conflict. However, in line with Bialasiewicz et al.'s (2005) interpretation, developments in terms of the external, hard dimension of European territoriality are also reflected in the North. In this context, concerns about exclusionary European

Union practices at the external border have been raised particularly during the 2004 enlargement round that mainly relate to the effects of the Schengen Agreement. The Schengen Agreement controls and regulates access to the European ‘territory’ on its external borders according to standards commonly agreed upon between the Schengen countries. In practice and comparison to the situation on the more southern external borders of the European Union, however, the exclusionary effects of the agreement are of a lesser concern in the northern European context where it has not significantly changed the border regime between Finland and Russia. In relation to the process of European territorialisation, the territorial positioning of the northernmost regions vis-à-vis their non-EU neighbours is a crucial point. The northernmost regions have an intrinsic interest in diminishing the separation of hard and aspirational dimensions of territoriality and position themselves as bridgeheads between internal EU processes of territorialisation and its external dimension vis-à-vis the wider European neighbourhood, conditioned, however, by aspects such as the prevalent border regime and geopolitical/geoeconomic relations between Russia and the EU as well as its individual members states.

Returning to the intra-European Union context, the traditional conceptualization of challenges that exist in the northernmost areas, which also find expression, as described above, in the Lisbon Treaty and the Green Paper on Territorial Cohesion, generally rest on the assumption that low population densities, and more explicitly, the *sparsity* of population, employment and infrastructure creates problems for socio-economic development in affected regions. Indeed, in combination with other negative factors, such as remoteness from the European core economic areas as well as the cold climate, sparsity contributes to what has been termed the “syndrome of disadvantage” indicating a situation that is characterised by a number of associated symptoms of disadvantage (Gløersen et al. 2005). The perception of sparsity as an integral development challenge in the northernmost areas is sustained by theories of regional development, which, from a static perspective, argue that sparsity, i.e. the absence of population potential, inhibits the development of agglomerative effects and, combined with long distances and remoteness, results in higher transportation and transaction costs. From a dynamic and relational perspective, sparsity reduces the potential for interaction between key actors, which, in turn, reduces the potential for socio-economic innovation and development.

The above-described limiting effects of northern spatial structures can be interpreted in two ways. Firstly, the competitiveness in the regions affected by sparsity can be deemed as persistently weak in all sectors of socio-economic development, which would provide a rationale for continued redistributive support. Secondly, sparsity can be perceived to reduce the (potential utilization of) territorial capital of a region to such an extent that only certain, specialized economic activities are possible. These economic activities can either function independently of spatial location, profit from the particular spatial location or spatial features of the region (or the physical environment connected to it), or have developed innovative and competitive solutions for overcoming drawbacks of their location in space. In line with territorial capital thinking, this would imply that resources would be focussed on those activities that can be carried out competitively or the ones that

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promise potential success in European and global competition despite the challenges posed by sparsity, remoteness and cold climate. Naturally, the different options in terms of selecting the appropriate economic activities are an integral element in the discussion on the territorial positioning of the northernmost space in Europe. This discussion and policy elaboration is set within the wider European debate on territorial governance and at the same time influences and is influenced European territorial governance and its wider process of territorialisation.

#### **4. Territorial governance in the northernmost European regions**

##### *Pre-EU accession*

The territorial challenges prevalent in northernmost Europe have long been subject to national attention in the Nordic countries as part of the larger welfare state project, and continue to do so, albeit within the different policy environment of today. At national levels, the regional development challenges in the northernmost regions were already recognised during the 1950s, as part of which they received their status as priority areas for national redistributive support. The northernmost regions were considered to suffer from socio-economic disadvantage due to their reliance on the primary sector, their remoteness from the more southerly located economic centres (particularly the capital regions), their problematic physical geography as well as out-migration. The aim of national policy was to diversify the regions' economic structure via, for example, investment support and low interest rate loans. At the same time, these region-specific measures were accompanied by the simultaneous construction of the Nordic welfare states, which entailed the development and organisation of educational, social and health care systems within the municipalities according to national criteria in the unitary states. From the 1960s onwards (in the Finnish case from ca. 1970 onwards), the latter policy, so-called 'large regional policy', cushioned and balanced the development in the northernmost areas, as compared to the southern, less challenged areas, to a significant extent.

From a co-operation point of view, the northernmost regions' early engagement in aspirational territorial governance in a trans-regional context has a rather long history and has resulted in a number of cross-border co-operation instruments, despite the fact that the northernmost European regions are, despite a tradition of strong institutional links, neither an economically nor a politically integrated area. Co-operation within the context of the North Calotte framework was officially initiated between Finland, Sweden and Norway in 1967. The regions represented in the North Calotte Committee were Norrbotten in Sweden, Lapland in Finland as well as Nordland, Troms and Finnmark in Norway. This specific type of co-operation was supported by the Nordic national governments and was inter-regional in nature, rather than cross-border co-operation on a local level. This was due to the specific geographical features of the region – few urban

centres that are located far away from each other – and the strong institutionalisation of multi-lateral co-operation between the Nordic states (Perkman 2003).

As already mentioned, the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 had immediate and direct effects on the geopolitical status of the northernmost European regions and also redefined its position in the European territory. Cross-border interaction and co-operation across the border between the East and the West became possible, which resulted in the creation of networks between individual actors but also the establishment of institutional structures. The Barents Euro-Arctic Council (BEAC), formed in 1993, provided a platform for a variety of actors, ranging from the regional to the supranational (EU) level, to engage in co-operation. In addition, the northernmost areas are integrated into large-scale, global collaboration structures, the most important of which were the Arctic Council (est. 1996) and the Northern Forum (est. 1991).

### *The European Union Enters the Scene*

The European Union can be said to have a somewhat ambiguous relationship with the northernmost regions and the Arctic dimension. Although the EU has been lacking the institutional frameworks and policy instruments to deal with Arctic issues, it had been involved in case-specific issues due to Greenland's joint membership with Denmark until 1985 (Airolti 2008). Although northern Sweden and northern Finland can be seen as semi-arctic, the states themselves are generally not recognised as being part of the Arctic Regions. More recently, the Arctic was put more firmly on the EU's agenda through the Northern Dimension providing an "Arctic Window" (Ibid 2008, 13). The accession of Sweden and Finland to the EU in 1995, however, signalled a watershed in the inter-relationship between the EU and the North. Despite the fact that the EU's influence manifested itself in a variety of ways in the northernmost regions, the northern characteristics were almost exclusively addressed in the context regional policy. First, the territorial development challenges and territorial specificities encountered in the northernmost regions of Europe were recognized at the EU level. In the accession Treaty of Austria, Finland and Sweden, as part of Protocol 6, it was agreed to give the peripheral regions of Finland and Sweden a special status (Objective 6) in the framework of the Structural Funds during the time period from 1995 to 1999. The aim of the Objective 6 programme was to "promote the development and structural adjustment of regions with an extremely low population density" (Accession Treaty, Article 52). Identification of these areas was based on a population density of 8 persons per square kilometre or less. Secondly, the Interreg Community Initiative started to be implemented at the northern internal as well as external borders, in combination with TACIS funding for Russian project partners, and provided additional resources for sub-national authorities to engage with partners from neighbouring regions. At the internal borders, the already existing co-operation within the North Calotte was strengthened and cross-border co-operation at the external border between Finland and Russia, particularly Murmansk oblast and the Karelian Republic was made possible after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Although Norway did not join the EU in 1995, in practice it co-operated also within the



Interreg framework and other collaborative activities with its own resources. In fact, the Interreg IIA (1995-99) programming was equal to the area covered by the North Calotte Committee. Thirdly, in anticipation of EU membership the northern sparsely populated regions initiated strategic co-operative action with Scotland (Highlands & Islands), which itself has rather similar spatial characteristics. This co-operation and the pooling of resources represented a first inroad into and, thus, piloted co-operation between European sparsely populated regions. Formal co-operation at the governmental level was established in 1994, with the initiative coming from Scotland. The main areas of co-operation were information technology, forestry, university networking and the development small and medium-sized businesses. From 1997 to 1999, this pilot project was implemented under Objective 6/Article 10 using the “Northern Rim Area of Europe” designation. The Northern periphery programme (NPP) under Article 10 (pilot programme on trans-national spatial planning) was accepted by the EC in 1997. The programming area included the Highlands and Islands Objective 1 and adjacent Objective 5 areas in Scotland, the Objective 6 areas and some adjacent areas in Finland and Sweden and the four northernmost counties in Norway (for a review of the complex processes involved, see Malinen 2009)

As a result of the discontinuation of the Objective 6 programme at the beginning of the 2000 to 2006 programming period, the northernmost sparsely populated areas became part of the Objective 1 programme. This choice by the European Commission resulted in a heated discussion in the Nordic countries, even if the special status of the sparsely populated areas remained officially recognised by equating them to the mountain, island and outermost regions in the EU territory (see, for example, Hedegaard 1998).

On national levels, an evident paradigm shift away from an emphasis on redistribution towards competitiveness, which occurred earlier than the one experienced at the EU-level, impacted on regional policy making for the northernmost areas already during the 1990s. In Finland, for example, this was signified a lessening emphasis and focus on the compensation for territorial handicaps and an increasing interest in the development of strategic action to improve preconditions for better competitiveness in these regions. This was accompanied by shifting focus in regional policy towards urban centres as engines of growth rather than cohesion between the regions (Antikainen & Vartiainen 2005). As such, the inter-relation between the concepts of territorial cohesion and territorial capital is not something entirely new in relation to the northernmost areas, but only represents a re-conceptualization of territorial development in the European context.

In addition to change of content and direction in regional policy, its governance has changed considerably, which is to a significant extent due to Finland’s and Sweden’s accession to the EU and resulted in a stronger role of sub-national governments. Of particular importance in this respect were projects carried out within the Northern Periphery Programme (NPP, Interreg IIIB) that brought together sub-national authorities as well as NGOs and research institutes from the Sweden, Norway, Finland, Scotland and Iceland. For

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example, the NPP-funded Spatial North project “aimed to identify and develop best practice techniques and processes for effective strategic spatial plan making and implementation in the northern peripheral regions of Europe” ([www.spatialnorth.org](http://www.spatialnorth.org)). In 2005, the northernmost regions also engaged in joint supervision of the interests, which initially included the commissioning of a series of reports from Nordregio – the Nordic Center for Spatial Development - that had the aim to identify their specificities in terms of spatial structures.

As a result, Nordregio published two reports (Gløersen et al. 2005, 2006) - the latter one included Norway that provided its own funding to be included in the report - that particularly looked at the already mentioned issue of sparsity, which is considered to be the main challenge in these areas. Sparsity, based on a calculation of population potential within a certain commuting distance, represents a more refined indicator than average regional population density, since it takes into account the settlement structure for a given area and is not affected by administrative delimitations. This is important in the respect that economic development and the provision of services poses a challenge in dispersed settlement patterns, and as such highlights the spatial challenges that exist in the northern sparsely populated areas as a specific category that goes beyond the traditional emphasis on population density.

This process took place at the same time as the European Union was reformulating its regional policy for the period 2007 to 2013, which included, as has been argued afore, an increasing interest on part of the EU in territorial development matters and a paradigm shift towards competitiveness instead of the compensation for handicaps.

#### *New Approaches - NSPA Foresight 2020 and beyond*

On the basis of the above-mentioned research into the spatial specificities in the northernmost regions, the NSPA Foresight 2020 –exercise was initiated in 2008. The NSPA (Northern Sparsely Populated Areas) covers 565310 sq. kilometres in Sweden, Finland and Norway (roughly the same size as France), but only contains about 2,8 million inhabitants resulting in a population density of only 4,9 inhabitants per sq. km. From an administrative viewpoint, the area is formed by four Swedish counties (Norrbotten, Västerbotten, Jämtland, Västernorrland), seven Finnish regions (Lapland, Northern Ostrobothnia, Central Ostrobothnia, Kainuu, North Karelia, Northern Savo, Southern Savo) and 4 counties in Norway (Finnmark, Troms, Nordland, Nord-Tondelag).

The NSPA foresight and visioning exercise was initiated jointly by the Brussels offices of East-Finland, North Finland, North Norway, Mid Sweden and North Sweden and led by Nordregio, and comprised of two successive workshops and an document called “Strong, Specific, Promising – Towards a Vision for the Northern Sparsely Populated Areas in 2020”. The title already indicates that the ad-hoc NSPA initiative brought together regional authorities from the NSPA, reflecting the increasing role in sub-national governments’ role in influencing policy-making at the supranational level, in order to create a joint vision

and strategy towards the forthcoming structural fund/cohesion policy period and to contribute to the discussion on territorial cohesion. This macro-regional concern for the effects of EU policy on the NSPA is an apt example of collective action carried out by sub-national government grouped around the territorial challenges prevalent in the NSPA, aiming at influencing supranational policy-making without direct involvement of national government.

In relation to concepts such as territorial cohesion and territorial capital, an early decision was made in the Foresight process to present the northern sparsely populated regions as a source of competitiveness and 'opportunity' for territorial development in the EU rather than a 'problem'. In this respect the NSPA-report emphasises that "[c]onsidering the major foreseen global challenges in the 2020 horizon, the ambition is to ensure that NSPA regions shall be part of the solution rather than the problem (Gløersen 2009). As such, the NSPA exercise is a manifestation of the diffused pressure that sub-national governments are under to position their regions in the best possible way with regard to current and future regional policy-making at the EU level. It can thus be expected that northern stakeholders in regional policy adapt the way they conceptualize their regions and present them to the outside (mainly the European Commission) according to the prevalent "regional policy philosophy" of the European Union, particularly as representatives from the European Commission were actively involved in the NSPA foresight process.

A watershed concerning European Union regional policy doctrines and their relation to the northern sparsely populated areas was certainly the accession round in 2004, which put the socio-economic situation of the northernmost regions into a new perspective by weakening the rationale for redistributive support for these areas. This was mainly due to the fact that the majority of regions in the recently acceded countries in Central and Eastern Europe fared far worse in terms of economic development indicators than the NSPA. More recently, the Regions 2020 –report produced in 2008 (CEC 2008b), in which the European Commission provides an analysis of the likely regional impact of four of the biggest challenges facing on the European territory and, consequently, regional policy-making, represents an important and influential background document to territorial development policy in the European Union. The Regions 2020 analysis is naturally based on existing regional disparities and examines to what extent the above-mentioned territorial challenges potentially intensifies the existing disparities or even creates completely new ones. The key challenges identified in the report are globalisation, demographic change, climate change, and energy supply. These challenges are expected to lead to very diversified regional impacts due to the fact that, except for energy supply, there are large internal territorial disparities in the EU member states. Of significant importance for the NSPA stakeholders and their lobbying strategies is the report's conclusion that there exist considerably fewer territorial risks and challenges in the NSPA areas (excluding Norway, which was not part of the analysis) as compared to other European macro-regions. Of the four key challenges, only demographic change is identified as a real territorial challenge in the NSPA. The remaining three challenges are deemed to have a comparatively low impact on the northernmost European areas in a time horizon until 2020. However,

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it has to be borne in mind that the analysis in Regions 2020 is based on NUTS 2 areas, which obscures the significant disparities that exist in the northern regions. For instance, the City of Oulu, which in essence is 500km away from the northern boundary of its statistical region and is often presented as an epitome of successful economic and, consequently, demographic development, pulls a number of indicator averages into the positive for the northernmost NUTS 2 region in Finland.

In any case, the findings from the Regions 2020 report deprived the northern stakeholders to a considerable extent of their ability to claim an exceptional status for their region, at least in terms of traditional, often territorially rather insensitive indicators (see, for example, the shift from ‘population density’ to ‘sparsity’ that is part and parcel of the northern stakeholders regional policy lobbying). This, in turn, would make the case for a re-conceptualization of the North as an area of untapped potentials, i.e. to focus on development potential rather than the obstacles to positive development. Strengths that are identified in the NSPA Foresight Exercise are, for example, mineral production and great experience in the provision of high-quality services for a sparse and continuously decreasing population. Nevertheless, the Foresight exercise does not completely sideline the structural challenges that undeniably exist in the northernmost areas, but reinterprets them as ‘specificities’ that can, under the right conditions, be turned into opportunities. This is also illustrated by the use of the word “specific” in the title of its core document. The focus of the NSPA Foresight and Visioning exercise appears also to be on the solving of the territorial challenges rather than balancing out the negative effects. Here we find the crucial link to the concept of territorial capital, which we have earlier identified as being an integral element of a wider paradigm shift in European regional and territorial policy thinking. Another clear manifestation of this can be found in the fact that the NSPA Foresight Exercise takes the four key territorial challenges identified in the Region 2020 report as “inspiration” and uses them as starting points for their joint supervision of the interest as regarding European Union regional policy. Interestingly, the sub-national concern for the development of the northern sparsely populated and otherwise territorially challenged areas vis-à-vis European regional and territorial policy-making has been taken up by national actors in form of the Ministries of several European Union Member as well as non-Member States. As part of Priority 2 of the ESPON research programme central government stakeholders of Finland, Sweden, Norway, Cyprus, Switzerland and other countries have initiated the ESPON TeDi (Territorial Diversity) Targeted Analysis, which is an “applied and exploratory project addressing the issues of economic and social development in regions with geographic specificities...” (ESPON 2010). Also in this initiative, the focus on “specificities” rather than “handicaps” is telling of the paradigm shift that has been the focus of the foregoing analysis.

In terms of the external dimension of territorial development, it is interesting to note that the NSPA Foresight Exercise pays some attention to the co-operation and interaction with Russia, but this remains at a rather superficial level. It is of course in the interest of the northern stakeholders to economically, socially and ultimately territorially integrate the northern regions of Northwest Russia into a common northernmost

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Europe that transcends internal and external divisions within the confines of the existing EU-Russian geopolitical framework. Ways to achieve this in practice, however, are difficult to identify and this is also visible in the NSPA exercise.

## 5. Conclusions

Due to the fact that European Union territorial governance and regional policy-making has an increasing effect on the socio-economic development of, especially lagging, European regions, macro-regions such as northernmost Europe increasingly feel the need to conceptualise and position themselves on the “regional policy map” (Gløersen 2009) of the European Union. The way in which they position themselves is obviously influenced by the prevailing “regional policy philosophy” at the European Commission. In this respect, a significant paradigm shift away from a cohesion-based, redistributive philosophy towards a focus on competitiveness and endogenous development potential (territorial capital) is clearly discernible. This is accompanied by a less clear case for the granting of an exceptional status for the northernmost regions based on the handicap of low population density, which has, so far, been acknowledged in a number of European treaties and policy documents. Northern claims to a special status, and subsequent regional policy support, have been particularly thrown into doubt since the accession of much more socio-economically challenged countries and their regions in 2004 as well as by the findings of reports such as *Regions 2020*. As a reaction, researchers and policy-makers in this region have refined their conceptualisation of their main territorial challenge, i.e. sparsity coupled with negative demographic development, and have engaged in joint supervision of interest. A prime example of this is the NSPA Foresight Exercise, and more recently the ESPON Territorial Diversity Target Analysis (TeDi), which indeed follow the “territorial capital” approach by emphasising development potential and regional strengths rather than making a case for redistributive support by presenting the northernmost regions as a problem. This collective action is also a manifestation of the impact of European modes of governance, which emphasised the role of sub-national (regional) governments in the European North via the availability of funding through instruments such as Interreg. It also illustrates the departure from the traditional system of governance for the northernmost areas pertaining to the strong involvement of the national level, despite the recent involvement of national stakeholders in the TeDi project. In this respect, we can conceptualise the initiatives to position these areas in regard to European regional policy as an integral part of the internal, aspirational territorialization of the European space. In terms of its external, hard dimension, the wider geopolitical and geoeconomic relations with Russia are of great importance to the northernmost areas of the EU. In practice, however, the territorial positioning of the northernmost areas remains rather inward-looking and geared towards internal European Union issues.

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## **MACRO-REGIONS AS CONCEPT FOR EUROPEAN SPATIAL INTEGRATION? – DISCUSSING CO-OPERATION STRATEGIES IN THE BALTIC SEA REGIONS**

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**Keywords:** macro-region, metropolitan region, meta-region, supra-regional partnership, integrated spatial development, spatial positioning, spatial up-scaling

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[Abstract, 150 words]

The Baltic Sea Region has a long tradition of integrated regional development. For decades economic, social, cultural and ecological concerns have been tackled in a way that serves well as basis for a sustainable future. Nevertheless, global economic competition has become a challenge for the area. Strengthening a region's global competitiveness requires stronger links as well as synchronised and coordinated action between neighbouring regions and countries (transnational arena). This links 'globalisation' with the concept of 'macro-regions' which recently has been introduced by the European Commission adopting the Baltic Sea Region as the first model. The macro-region approach is intended to allow both European Union and its Member States to identify common needs and to allocate available resources to strengthen economic and social development and to enable sustainable development. The paper discusses potentials and restrictions of the Baltic Sea Region as a European macro-region.

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### **Introduction**

During the Swedish presidency of the EU the EU Strategy for the Baltic Sea Region (EUSBSR) was endorsed by the European Council in October 2009. In the presidency's conclusions it is said: "This Strategy constitutes an integrated framework to address common challenges, i.a. the urgent environmental challenges related to the Baltic Sea, and to contribute to the economic success of the region and to its social and territorial cohesion, as well as to the competitiveness of the EU. The European Council calls upon all relevant actors to act speedily and ensure full implementation of the Strategy, which could constitute an example of a macro regional strategy. It invites the Commission to present a progress report to the Council by June 2011" (CEC 2009).

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Against this background this article explores the co-operation landscape of the Baltic Sea Region and discusses the perspectives of macro-region in the context of parallel forms of co-operation. Can macro-regions become a concept contributing to future European spatial integration? In this context it also specifies requirements to be fulfilled if aiming at an integrated and sustainable regional development of the area. The article starts with defining relevant framework conditions, then describes co-operation in the Baltic Sea Region, as well on the macro-regional as on other levels, takes a closer look into a reference region in Northern America and, finally, draws conclusions with reference to the research question.

## **1. Globalisation and Regional Development in the Baltic Sea Region**

Globalisation is expected to cause significant structural changes concerning spatial structures and spatial development (Castells 1996, Sassen 1991). For regions competing as locations on the global scale offering the most productive environment and being ‘attractive’ for investments and enterprises as well as for high-skilled work forces have become touchstones of ‘success’ (Sassen 2007). Consequently, the ‘competitive region’ has gained some sort of sovereign interpretative power as new orientation of regional development going along with a restricted understanding of urban and regional development that subordinates activities and expenditures to economic success factors.

Simultaneously, with regard to the question of a location’s appropriate scale in the newly arranged global area a shift towards spatial extension respectively upscaling can be observed (Ásgrímsson 2008).

Metropolitan regions, supra-regional partnerships, meta- or mega-regions as well as macro-regions represent the idea that larger areas have better chances of getting recognition and being competitive in a globalised world. For the U.S.A. Lang, Nelson & Dawkins (2010) describe this as a process of continuity starting from the modern integrated metropolis (1930-1970), via the post-modern, quasi-integrated metropolis (1970-2010) and reaching towards the megapolitan form of networking metropolises including wider territories of the participating metropolises, the area in-between and associated micropolitan areas. In many regions similar ambitions can be identified bringing together neighbouring regions or states to form new cross-border areas of co-operation. As they are driven mainly by economic motivation these co-operations concentrate on topics of international accessibility, joint economic clustering or place-making respectively marketing. Besides, some of these re-scaling activities also include objectives of territorial cohesion.

Both aspects – approaching the challenges of globalisation for ‘competitive regions’ as well as the spatial upscaling – have far reaching consequences for urban and regional development as well as further on, as some examples indicate:

- Selective approach: Cities and regions are characterised by a high complexity of development factors, including economic as well as social, cultural and ecological aspects. Some regions, like

many of the Scandinavian regions, have become prominent for their high standards regarding quality of life and for their far reaching concepts of integrated spatial development addressing a wide range of this complexity. In contrary, the ‘competitive region’ stands for an reduced view on urban and regional development threatening those fragile relationships.

- Actor exclusion: Furthermore, reducing the complexity by highlighting an hegemonic economic orientation results in an exclusion of actors. Whereas earlier concepts of cooperative regional development integrated stakeholders representing a broad field of societal interests the ‘competitive region’ favours stakeholder from the business sector and related research, at best including labour representatives or sciences. Thus, the power of definition in informal but agenda setting processes is allocated very selective and discriminates relevant social interests.
- Negation of decentral approaches: Another topic is the extension of scale. Against the background of sustainability concerns and climate change local and regional economy has recently gained increasing attention for minimizing energy demand and transportation. Thus, the extension of scale appears as a competing concept negating those new forms of decentralised economy. The “bigger is better”-device, favouring place-making on upper spatial levels, contributes to an overall and exclusive transformation towards a globalised economy and society.

In summary, against the background of globalisation a sort of brainwashing-process seems to have been taking place aiming at implementing a hegemonic concept of economically oriented globalisation and ignoring achievements of integrated and sustainable spatial development by pushing forward an economic dominance in society and politics.

However, the described concerns concerning scale do not mean that inter-regional co-operation is the problem, but the way it is treated respectively its often one-sided orientation. Co-operation has proven as a suitable concept for achieving better solutions in various fields, for an exchange of knowledge or for joint lobbying against superior political institutions, and has the potential to be used for achieving a sustainable regional development.

How do this considerations concern co-operation in the Baltic Sea Region? – When closer looking into the Baltic Sea Region a number of related processes can be identified there, as the following examples show:

- as example for up-scaling approaches stands the BSR Macro-Region that has been adopted bei the EU recently,
- vision documents for transregional co-operation have been elaborated in the context of the INTERREG programme,

- in some of the member states metropolitan regions have been introduced as new tool of spatial policies aiming at international positioning and competing with former integrated development strategies,
- there are discussions of developing meta-regions in-between the macro regional and the metropolitan level, and
- Germany has been experimenting with supra-regional partnerships bringing together metropolitan regions and their further hinterland for developing stronger ties for regional development and contributing to territorial cohesion.

This article discusses potentials as well as restrictions of such spatial innovations in the Baltic Sea Region and includes a critical reflection of the implications of macro-regions against the background of the described parallel approaches.

## **2. Baltic Sea Macro-Region**

The Baltic Sea Region includes eleven countries, eight of them being EU member states. It encompasses whole territories of Poland, Belarus, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Finland, Norway, Sweden and Denmark; parts of Russia and of Germany. The total land area of the BSR is approx. 2.4 million km<sup>2</sup>, which is more than half of the total area of the EU 27 (ca. 4.2 million km<sup>2</sup>). The total population living in the Baltic Sea Region is approx. 105 million (EU 27: ca. 500 million). Saint Petersburg and Berlin are the largest metropolises with 4-5 million inhabitants each.

In recent years The Baltic Sea Region has become a prominent area of co-operation. This is based on a long tradition of various constellations and forms of co-operations, e.g. the Hanseatic League or the Scandinavian co-operation. Since the 1990s co-operation has strongly been supported by the EU INTERREG-initiative fostering transnational co-operation in different parts of Europe (see fig. 1).

Figure 1: Baltic Sea Region



## INTERREG Baltic Sea Region

In contrary to international co-operation which focuses on states and their governments as formal actor transnational co-operation also includes private stakeholders and non-governmental organizations. The EU started INTERREG in 1991 to motivate cross-border co-operation between neighbor countries inside Europe, in 1994 with INTERREG IIC the transnational orientation was added creating larger areas of co-operation and also integrating non-EU countries. Besides the Baltic Sea Region other areas were the Western Mediterranean and Latin Alps, South-Western Europe, the Atlantic Area, the North Western Metropolitan Area and Centre, Adriatic, Danube and Southeast Europe (CADSES) (see fig. 2). In 2000 the transnational co-operation was shifted into INTERREG IIIC and some of the program areas were newly arranged, for the

program period 2007 to 2013 INTERREG IVC has followed, again with changes in the program areas (see table 1).

Figure 2: INTERREG co-operation areas

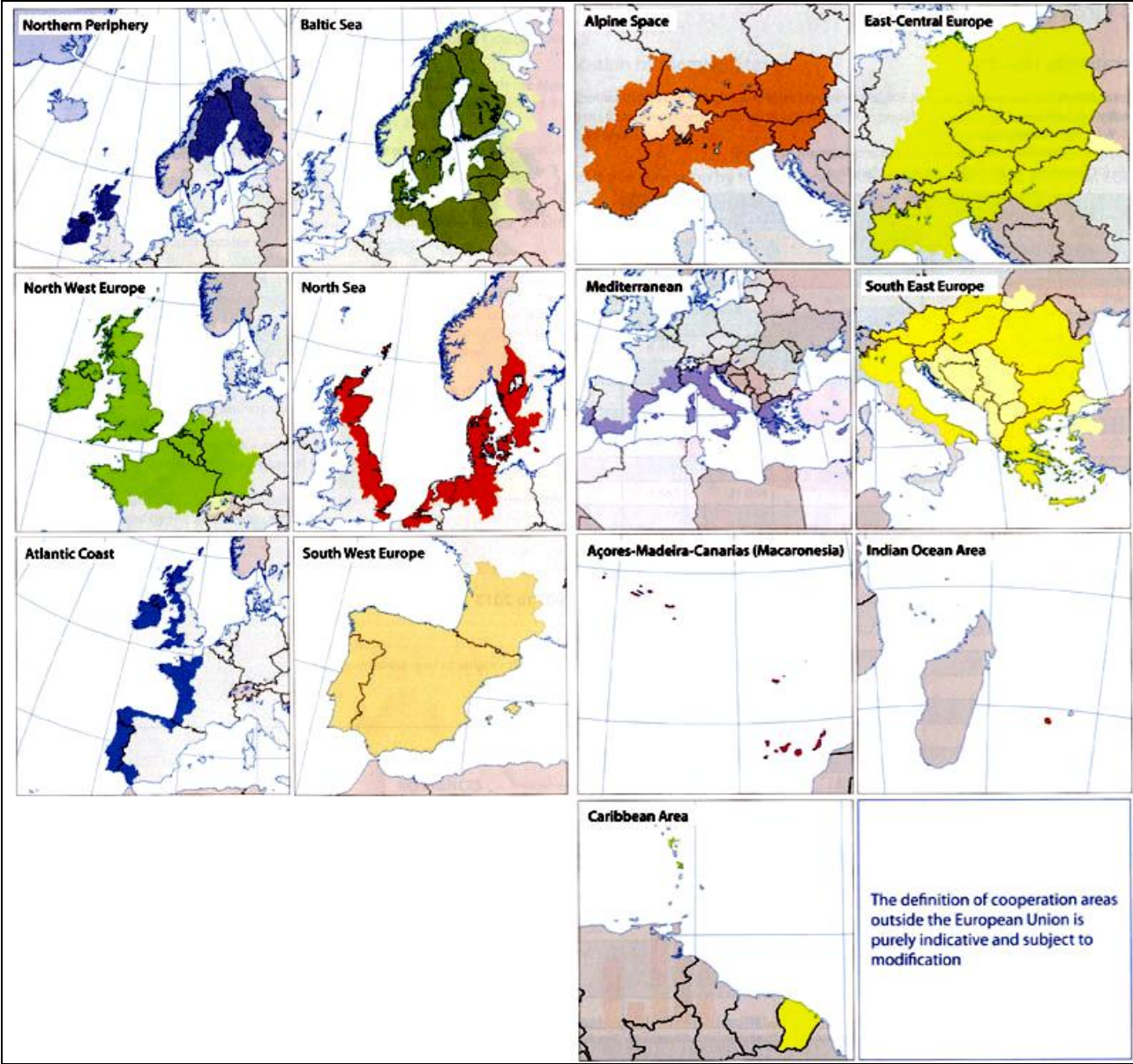


Table 1: Program areas of transnational co-operation in the INTERREG phases II, III and IV

<b>INTERREG IIB</b>	<b>INTERREG IIIC</b>	<b>INTERREG IVC</b>
Baltic Sea Region	Baltic Sea Region	Baltic Sea Region
	Northern Periphery	Northern Periphery
North Sea Region	North Sea Region	North Sea Region
Atlantic Area	Atlantic Area	Atlantic Coast
North Western Metropolitan Area	North West Europe	North West Europe
South-Western Europe	South West Europe	South West Europe
Western Mediterranean and Latin Alps	Western Mediterranean	Mediterranean
	Alpine Space	Alpine Space
Centre, Adriatic, Danube and Southeast Europe (CADSES)	CADSES	Central Europe
	Archimed	South East Europe

Till 2006 INTERREG was organized as an Community Initiative Program, since 2007 it has become a proper objective – objective 3: European Territorial Cooperation – of EU’s regional policy and thus has been strengthened within the scope of the European Structural Funds.

Whereas there have been some changes in other parts of Europe, the table shows that for the Baltic Sea Region, as well as for the NSR, continuity can be stated. Nearly twenty years of INTERREG co-operation have contributed to an advanced culture of co-operation. When in 1992 only a few organizations existed on the pan-Baltic level (e.g. CBSS – Council of the Baltic Sea States, HELCOM – Helsinki Commission, UBC - Union of the Baltic Cities), many more have been initiated since then (e.g. BSSSC – Baltic Sea States Subregional Cooperation, Baltic Agenda 21, Baltic Development Forum) (Fischer / Zaucha 2009: 622).

The INTERREG program periods are structured by Operational Programs and a specific governance structure bringing together the multiple actors from different levels. Looking closer into the different INTERREG phases in the Baltic Sea Region, INTERREG II aimed foremost at supporting the development of a future-oriented spatial structure and at contributing to better living conditions for the people and the enterprises in the region. Core objectives of the Operational Program were:

- “strengthening the development potential of the Baltic Sea Region,
- increasing economic and social cohesion,

- ensuring a sustainable development for the region as a whole, and
- promoting a territorial balance by supporting weak points and building on strong points”.

The priorities and sub-programs show that there was great emphasis on spatial matters (promotion of sustainable spatial development measures, promotion of a spatial development approach in the Baltic Sea Region, further development of spatial planning strategies and exchange of experience in the field of spatial planning, management of spatial planning relations in particular to natural and cultural heritage and tourism development etc.) going back to the overall aim of early INTERREG.

In comparison to INTERREG IIC, the Community Initiative Programme for INTERREG III B grounded on continuity, but introduced some organisational changes, e.g.:

- a stronger focus of actions concerning themes and measures, priority areas, character of projects, including better integration of spatial development and regional policies,
- an extended co-operation area concerning the Barents Region and land parts in all countries except for Finland and the Baltic States which took part with the whole territory already under INTERREG IIC,
- a more active involvement of representatives of Non-EU countries even in immediate programme working groups,
- supporting stronger involvement of private actors and public-private partnerships in project funding.

In the next phase (2007-2013) INTERREG IVB has changed this spatial approach towards a stronger regional economic orientation including international positioning of the Baltic Sea Region in Europe and worldwide. In addition, the implementation of concepts was given a higher priority combined with fostering investments which explicitly had not been possible in INTERREG before. INTERREG IVB also underlined the objective of minimizing the considerable differences in the level of socio-economic development between the western and eastern parts of the region. These new orientations show a grown responsibility for the development of the Baltic Sea Region as a whole. The Baltic Sea Region as well accepts the differences between its member states as a political challenge as it takes on the role as representative of the region on the international scale. Whereas the cohesion task has always been an integrated part of the spatial development objectives the joint “foreign policy” underlines a new dimension of regional co-operation, but also posing numerous questions concerning competencies, legitimacy and organizational matters.

In the field of spatial planning INTERREG has resulted in the VASAB documents. VASAB stands for Long-Term Perspective for the territorial development of the Baltic Sea. It focuses on trends and challenges for territorial development in the Baltic Sea Region, on perspectives concerning territorial cohesion and on

policy guidelines and specific actions to achieve these goals (e.g. promoting urban networking and urban-rural cooperation, improving internal and external accessibility or enhancing maritime spatial planning and management) (Dutkowski/ Görmar/ Palmowski 2009; Fischer/ Zaucha 2009).

### **Baltic Sea Macro-Region**

Against the background of long-ranging co-operation the concept for a macro-region has been introduced with great expectations of the member states of the BSR “as a model test for a new level of governance” (Schymik 2009: 1; see Schymik/ Krumrey 2009). During the Swedish presidency of the EU the EU Strategy for the Baltic Sea Region (EUSBSR) was endorsed by the European Council in 2009. In the context of the EUSBSR a macro-region has been defined as “an area including territory from a number of different countries or regions associated with one or more common features or challenges” (Sämecki 2009: 1). Against the EU background the number of EU member states of a macro-region “should be significantly fewer than in the Union as a whole” (Verschelde 2009). In other contexts the term marco-region has been used differently, as well for describing internationally oriented groups of nations (EU, NAFTA etc.) as for a number of regions within a country. Considering further characteristics, macro-regions can be described as “place-based, inclusive and, in principle, prepared and implemented on t multi-level basis” (Sämecki 2009: 2).

These characteristics raise various questions concerning political, institutional and further organizational implications of macro-regions, some of them are:

- What is the added value of macro-regions with regard to regional development? What are suitable instruments and structures that produce the expected impact? How can objectives be linked to strategies, programs and action?
- What is the suitable spatial context of a macro-region? Are administrative or functional boundaries more applicable or is “variable geometry” a better solution?
- If macro-regions intend to develop some sort of para-diplomacy how can private stakeholders be included?
- If macro-regions aim at a new level of governance in the EU-context what are their expectations concerning funding and legislation from the EU level?

Before further discussing these questions it seems to be worth looking at parallel developments in spatial development in the BSR that might have a relation to macro-regions.



### 3. Metropolitan Regions – Supra-regional Partnerships – Meta-Regions as spatial innovations

When considering the Baltic Sea Macro-Region further spatial co-operations become of interest that can be found in the same Baltic Sea Area but act on different territorial scales and follow different objectives respectively orientations:

- metropolitan regions have become a new instrument of spatial politics of city-regions and national policies,
- supra-regional partnerships have been explored as a new approach towards territorial cohesion bringing together metropolitan regions and their further hinterland, and
- meta-regions are situated in between the macro regional and the metropolitan level and can be seen as in-between approach of strategic regional development.

These different co-operation forms can be seen critically because they multiply the already existing levels of co-operation, creating a maybe confusing multi-level landscape, binding additional resources or resulting in a thicket of responsibilities. Besides, they might interfere with the new level of a macro-region. To be able to evaluate the relationship of the different structures with each other and to explore their specific additional value they are described more thoroughly in the following. Table 2 gives an overview of the mentioned institutional arrangements aiming at regional co-operation in the Baltic Sea Region but situated on different spatial levels, table 3 evaluates some implications concerning main characteristics of these co-operations forms.

Table 2: Overview of selected institutional arrangements of regional co-operation in the Baltic Sea Region

Spatial entity	Spatial scale	Main goals	Example(s)
Metropolitan Region	Agglomeration(s) and functionally linked hinterland	Urban-hinterland co-operation Regional marketing	Metropolitan Region of Hamburg Öresund Region
Supra-regional Partnership	Metropolitan Region plus further reaching hinterland	Territorial cohesion of metropolitan region and further hinterland International positioning by up-scaling	Supra-regional Partnership Metropolitan Region of Hamburg/ Northern Germany Supra-regional Partnership Northeastern Germany
Meta-Region	Several metropolitan regions creating a joint territorial alliance	Co-operation in selected cluster-topics International positioning	Meta-Region Hamburg-Öresund-Oslo-Stockholm

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		by up-scaling	
Macro-Region	Area including territory from a number of different countries or regions	International political lobbying Joint development of the macro-region	BSR

The overview shows that the spatial co-operations range from city-hinterland-co-operation in major metropolitan agglomerations to international co-operation of governments in the Baltic Sea Region (see table 2). Differences become visible when analyzing the objectives of co-operation. Whereas metropolitan regions and supra-regional partnerships put strong concern on intra-regional aspects meta- and macro-regions aim more explicitly on international lobbying and positioning including representation on the European political floor. Besides, the latter also explore potentials of intra-regional co-operation. In recent years metropolitan regions have started activities on the international level as well, some establishing so called para-diplomacy with lobbying activities in Brussels or in partner-regions worldwide (e.g. Hunds 2010). One reason has been a shift of strategic orientation of larger agglomerations, that have put more emphasis on location competition and, thus, on an external orientation whereas before they had mainly been concerned with co-operation of the core city and its hinterland. – Concerning territorial cohesion a complementary can be found between supra-regional partnerships and macro-regions. The ones aim at cohesion on the supra-regional scale, the others regarding the macro-region.

Looking into chances, risks and further implications of the different forms of co-operation the picture gets more differentiated (see table 3). The chances mostly result from the co-operations objectives that are intended to contribute to some sort of positive output on each level of co-operation, ranging from city-hinterland- to macro-regional co-operation. Risks respectively problems are a result of the construction of many of these co-operations. This includes in particular the question of a restricted understanding of regional development focusing on economic and private sector-aspects as well as an exclusion of a broader set of civil society stakeholders. One reason for this narrowed stakeholder spectrum might be seen in the history of regional co-operation that has been a co-operation of public administrative bodies and their political counterparts. The challenge of including private partners was forced by EU-standards (economic and social partners) and pragmatic aspects like financing problems. Whereas economic partners were welcome to contribute social partners were hardly motivated for doing so. Furthermore, they mostly have worse conditions with regard to organizational capacity, manpower or resources.

The macro-region is confronted with the additional problem that the efforts in joint diplomacy long mainly for public organization more or less excluding private stakeholder. Thus, there is on the one hand the necessity of organizing a legitimized democratic decision making process and on the other hand the aim of including private stakeholders in the implementation phase.

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Besides these questions of legitimacy and organizational aspects a main concern stays regarding the overall orientation of all these co-operations – economically focused or following a broader integrated approach?

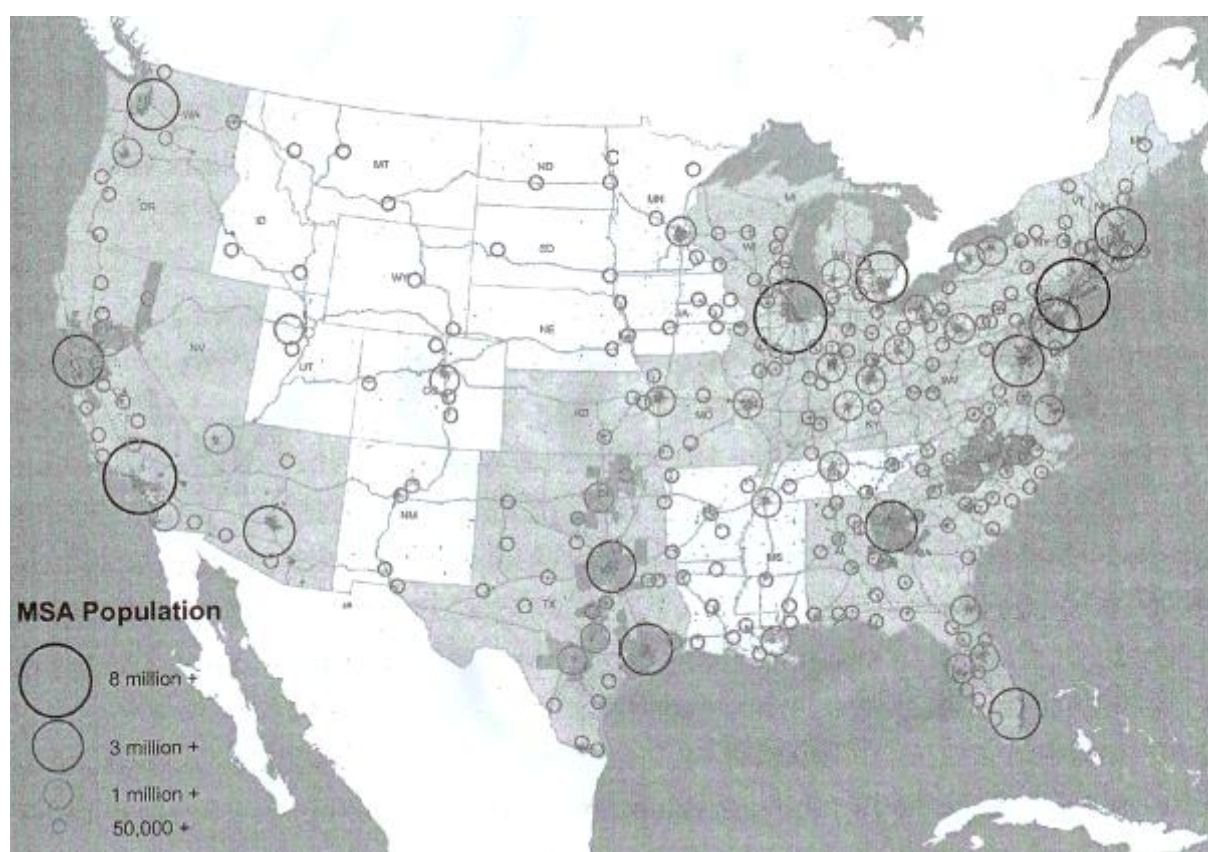
Table 3: Chances and risks of regional co-operation in the Baltic Sea Region

Spatial entity	Chances	Risks / problems	Challenges
Metropolitan Region	City-hinterland co-operation International positioning (para-diplomacy)	Restricted economic orientation Restriction on private stakeholders from the economic sector	Integration of economic and quality of life-approach (integrated development strategy) Integration of civil society-stakeholders
Supra-regional Partnership	Innovative solutions for territorial cohesion on the supra-regional level New forms of spatial partnership and solidarity Integration of private stakeholders as partners and drivers	Restricted economic orientation Restriction on private stakeholders from the economic sector	Development of strategies, instruments and tools for decentral territorial cohesion Integration of economic and quality of life-approach (integrated development strategy) Integration of civil society-stakeholders
Meta-Region	Co-operation and joint projects in specific fields promising added value for all participants International positioning (up-scaling the metropolitan-regional level)	Complicated cross-border and multi-level structures Competition with other levels of competency Restricted economic orientation Restriction on private stakeholders from the economic sector	Identification of promising fields for co-operation Integrated development strategy Integration of civil society stakeholders Creation of trust as main resource for co-operation Use of EVTZ as organizational instrument
Macro-Region	Co-operation and joint projects in specific fields promising added value for all participants International positioning (up-scaling the state level)	Complicated cross-border and multi-level structures Implications for other EU member states competing for attention on the European level Restricted economic orientation Restriction of decision making in “foreign policy” on public actors	Acceptance for a new in between-level of European co-operation Integrated development strategy Integration of private stakeholders

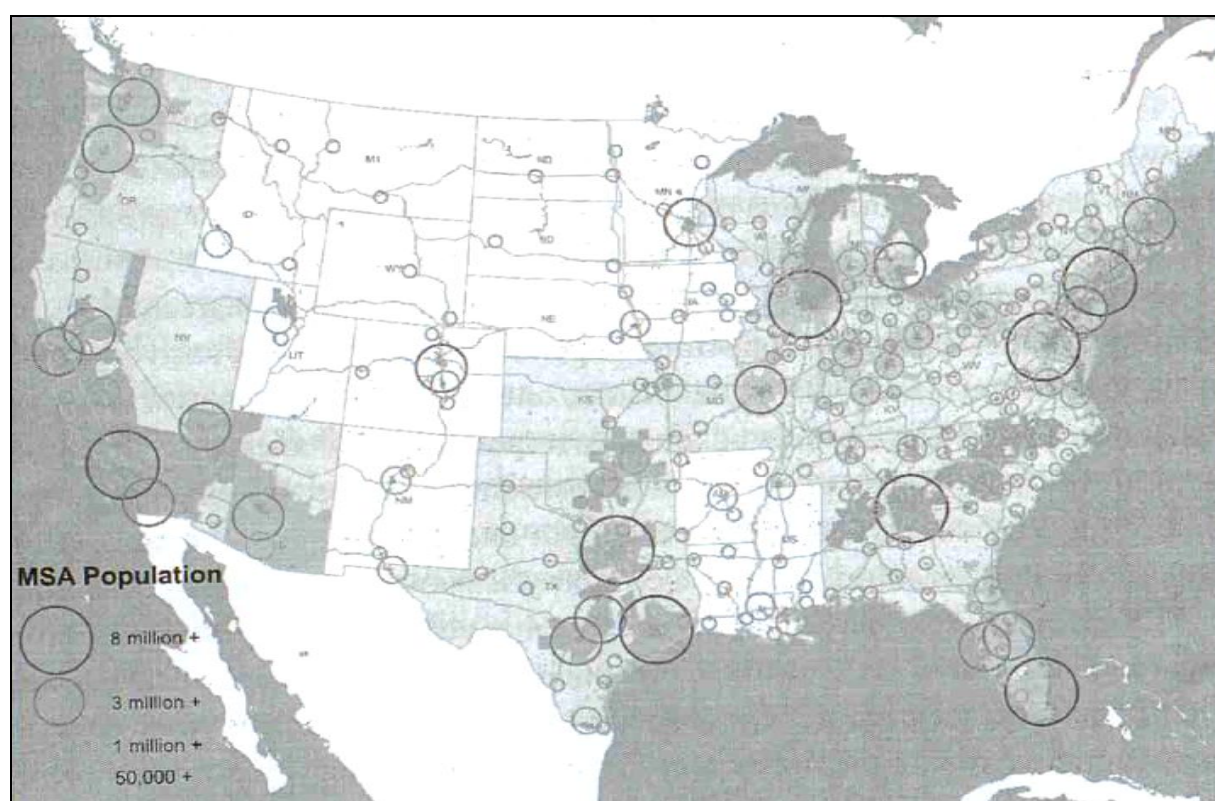
#### 4. Reference case Cascadia Corridor: between megapolitans and mega-regions<sup>3</sup>

Against the background of the European discussion in regional respectively spatial development macro-regions might appear as a new and singular issue. But are there comparable approaches in other parts of the world that could contribute to a deeper understanding of those processes of spatial re- or up-scaling? – In the U.S.A. in recent years there has been a broad discussion about neighbouring metropolitan regions cooperating in so called mega-regions or in a megapolitan form. Mega-regions are described as city-networks on a higher spatial scale with examples like Southern California, the Texas Triangle, the Great Lakes or Megalopolis at the Eastcoast (Lang/ Nelson/ Dawkins 2010). An important framework condition for these considerations is the projection that the U.S.A. are in a process of an substantial population growth. According to the U.S. census in comparison to the year 2000 with about 275 mio. inhabitants the numbers increase in 2030 to 351, in 2050 to 404 and in 2090 to 534. Thus, many of the city-regions will further expand explicitly (see fig. 3).

Figure 3: U.S. Megaregions according to population in the years 2000 and 2050 (Ross 2009: 3).



<sup>3</sup> The reference case is based on desk research as well as interviews with representatives of local and regional institutions that were conducted during a research period in the region in September 2008.



One example is the Cascadia mega-region including the U.S. states of Washington and Oregon as well as the Canadian regions of Vancouver and Victoria B.C. The Cascadian mega-region is located in the north-west of the U.S.A. and the south-west of Canada. It comprises a corridor of about 300 miles and is home of nine million people, with 88% living in Vancouver B.C., Seattle and Portland metropolitan areas (see table 4). The mega-region crosses the U.S.- Canadian border, state borders and various county and city borders.

On the U.S.-side there has been a long tradition of metropolitan regions which were installed in the 1950s. The metropolitan regions have developed differently, ranging from ambitious spatial planning, like in Portland, Seattle or the Twin Cities Minneapolis-Saint Paul, to more or less mere providing the region with data or offering an informal communication platform. In the U.S. the metropolitan level has hardly been used for stronger spatial development efforts due to the de-central political culture and organisational structure.

In the Cascadian mega-region two aspects came together that contributed to more ambitious regional efforts. On the one hand the U.S.-Canadian-border restricted economic and social development, concerning traffic infrastructure and many other fields that are known as affected by a border situation. On the other hand Vancouver as well as Seattle and Portland have developed a comparably open culture regarding engagement for public goods and quality of life. As example the ambitious planning legislation might be seen distinguishing the northwestern states from most of the U.S.A.

Table 4: Population figures of the Cascadia mega-region (Seltzer 2008)

Region	Population
Metropolitan Portland	2,265,223
Metropolitan Seattle	3,554,760
Metropolitan Vancouver B.C.	2,116,581
Other counties	1,040,700
Total	8,977,264

Figure 4: Cascadia Megaregion



The Cascadia co-operation is organized as project consisting of two main bodies (see table 5):



- Cascadia Task Force as a cross-border strategic alliance of regional planning, working together on cross-border mobility, enhancing the region's competitive position in the global marketplace, and increasing international environmental cooperation along the corridor, and
- Cascadia Economic Council encouraging greater cross-border cooperation.

Table 5: Objectives of the Cascadia co-operation (Cascadia Project n.y.)

Cascadia Task Force	Cascadia Economic Council
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Advocating regional cooperation and participation in Task Force work.</li> <li>- Promoting Cascadia as an international destination for trade, tourism and investment.</li> <li>- Advocating joint trade missions in software, biotechnology/environmental technology.</li> <li>- Eliminating government barriers to cross-border capital flow and technology.</li> <li>- Organizing and annual Cascadia Retreat of economic and political leaders.</li> <li>- Exploring a possible regional development bank for border infrastructure investment and a potential Cascadia stock exchange</li> <li>- Encouraging cooperative strategies for sustainable development.</li> <li>- Advocating increased cultural, arts, sports, and educational cooperation in the Cascadia region.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Securing broad-based support for renewed Amtrak service from Vancouver, B.C., to Eugene, OR.</li> <li>- Advocating increased investment in the development of high-speed rail and regional transit connections.</li> <li>- Improving cross-border passage of people, goods, and capital through enhanced technology, intermodal connections, and publicprivate partnerships.</li> <li>- Encouraging cross-border cooperation in the tourism, trade, and international marketing of the region.</li> <li>- Providing a forum for cross –border education and strategic planning in urbanization, sustainable development, and environmental regulation.</li> </ul>

Main activities have been in the fields of bi-national infrastructures, in particular a high-speed train connection, trade corridor (with working groups on border crossing questions, ports), bi-national tourism and a roundtable on sustainable communities. The co-operation brings main actors together and serves as a platform for strategic planning and exchange.

Compared to the Baltic Sea Region the Cascadian co-operation is quite young. This explains the very informal status of co-operation. Nevertheless, the objectives and action fields show that there is comparable motivation for joint activities. On the one hand there is a common identity created by the specific natural situation, in the Cascadia Region the coastline and the in huge parts still very natural environment. On the other hand the region suffers from its periphery and border location which can only be influenced by co-operation and joint action reaching from lobbying on the state level to joint projects. Furthermore, the Cascadia region serves as an example how to combine economic and sustainable development. Both orientations are strongly integrated in the organization and its objectives.

Looking at the scale of co-operation the Cascadia mega-region, as these co-operations are called in the U.S.A., lies in between the European metropolitan and macro-region. Its size is more like that of a meta-region (like Hamburg-Copenhagen-Oslo-Stockholm or Helsinki-St. Petersburg - Tallin). This leads to the question of the right size for mega-, meta- and macro-regions. What is the added value of a bigger sized macro-region compared to the smaller but more homogenous mega- and meta-regions?

## **5. Conclusions**

When reviewing the concept of macro-regions against the background of the Baltic Sea Macro-Region and the reference case of the Cascadian Region and thinking through challenges of globalisation and location competition on the one hand as well as of integrated spatial development on the other hand the following aspects become worth to consider:

- Economically driven up-scaling: With regard to the “bigger is better”-device macro-regions offer regions or states the opportunity of having a stronger perception on the international respectively global scale. The increase of the number of included inhabitants, cities, regions or states results in a “bigger player” easier to be found on the global map. Against this background macro-regions can be interpreted as a consequent reaction to external challenges.

Considering also the European perspective macro-regions include further strategic aspects:

- Political up-scaling: With the enlargement of the European Union each single member state has to be aware of relatively losing power respectively importance because of its decreasing share of the EU-total, e.g. in terms of population, economic output or vote. Thus, partnering of neighbouring states can be seen as a strategy of keeping a strong position in the European arena. From organisational sciences and praxis it is known that an enlargement of an institution at certain points needs internal organisational innovations to assure all necessary functions. Against the background of the EU enlargement macro-regions can be understood as such an re-organisation approach of creating a new meso-level of co-operation. But those structural changes can lead to implications – positive as well as negative – for existing structures or actors.
- Social innovations: As co-operation always does, macro-regions offer the advantage of social innovations including an exchange of innovative approaches in various fields, transfer of good practices from one partner to the other or joint projects. Although these options are always available the institutionalisation of a macro-regional facilitates and enhances their implementation by offering new forms and opportunities of co-operation.



- Bridging borders: Everywhere in the world borders and cultural differences are obstacles for co-operation and peaceful living together. The European Union has been a huge peace effort by overcoming many of the European borders and bringing its members closer to each other. In the same direction macro-regions as parts of the EU can deepen neighbouring relationships. Against this background it becomes obvious that macro-regions are obliged to include a broad range of co-operation topics reaching into everyday lives of the participating regions or countries.

Summarizing, the concept of macro-regions is ambivalent. On the one hand it offers chances for building new political alliances, innovation and bridging political and cultural barriers. On the other hand it can be used in an restricted way concentrating on economic aspects and thus excluding further social concerns and stakeholders.

Furthermore, the discussion about macro-regions refers to a context reaching beyond a mere instrumental point of view. Macro-regions can be interpreted as symbol for the “bigger is better”-device that has recently gained support in the context of globalisation and global competition. It seems worth to reflect the origins and substantiation of this argumentation more thoroughly as there remain some open questions: What is the right scale for certain tasks of regional development like quality of life, social standards or environmental aspects – the city, the metropolitan region, the meta region or the macro region? What does an up-scaling mean for existing governance structures – do lower levels lose access or power, do parliaments lose influence? etc. Spatial development should be aware of the risks resulting from trends being “en vogue” in the “planning scene”. Currently those trends are “up-scaling regions” and “the economic metropolis”. There have been good reasons for including sustainability as well as social and ecological concerns into spatial planning legislation. As a main question it should be considered how macro regions could contribute to those fundamental objectives of spatial development.

But the polarisation of economic or sustainable orientation is not a question of scale. Sustainability has always been as well a topic on international level as on the local scale. Thus, macro-regions offer good chances to contribute to an integrated development perspective and many of the aims in the Baltic Sea Region or in the Cascadian Region underline this opportunity. The more important question is who wins the definition power for agenda setting. This is on the one hand a question of modes and mainstreams but on the other hand it is a question of organisation and structures, in particular of included stakeholders and decision making processes. – With regard to the regional vision stimulating the orientation of the macro-region maybe a debate about perspectives of the “European Region” – in analogy to the “European City” – could point into an adequate direction, delivering the necessary substantial basis for future regional perspectives that could as well serve as content for European macro-regions?

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## Track 6: Global Challenges and Local Responses

### Track Co-Chairs

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Kaarin Taipale, School of Economics, Aalto University

From the 'glocal' perspective, "space is luxury" means both abject lack of space and relentless desire for more space. On the one hand there are hundreds of millions of slum dwellers with no decent space or basic services, on the other hand hundreds of millions of people are over consuming public and private space, water, energy and other natural resources.

At the same time the tension between space of flows and physical space is redesigning the meaning of places and is creating a transformative tension between global space and local places.

The questions that we would like to see addressed in this track can cover aspects of governance, sustainability and economy, wherever the local and the global become interlinked.

- How is planning challenged by phenomena which are determined at the global scale and how is planning able to strategically react to this?
- How to link local, regional, national and global governance and democracy in an age when decisions of global organizations, corporations and financing institutions have direct local implications without the local voice ever being heard at the global level?
- What are the new local responses to sustainability challenges, which by nature are global, but can only be solved at the local level? Climate change mitigation and adaptation typically mean fighting energy poverty while introducing renewable energy sources and finding means to implement more energy efficient urban solutions in buildings, infrastructure and services.
- How are transnational migrations redefining the planning agenda?
- How is planning able to manage the tension between space of flows and physical space?
- What remains to be debated and decided at the local level, if basic public services are delivered by multinational private companies (privatization of the local public sphere)?

We welcome a variety of approaches, ranging from academic papers to case studies on planning and policy practice.

## **NEW SPACES FOR THE NEW ECONOMY: New patterns for the location of advanced services in post-Fordism**

ROBERTO ROCCO<sup>1</sup>

Keywords: Globalization, urban transformation, advanced producer services, agglomeration, centralities

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### **Abstract**

Previous phases of capitalism produced specific spatial patterns of location and agglomeration of economic activity in different urban contexts around the world. This is particularly true for sophisticated service firms, which used to rely on specific and scarce technical and spatial advantages found almost exclusively in city centres. During the 20th century, the general, albeit uneven expansion and spread of urban technical networks allowed sophisticated services to locate more flexibly. In late capitalism, as Fordism gives way to Post-Fordism, the character of spatial agglomeration of economic activity is bound to change. Knowledge-intensive service industries have a different logic for agglomeration than industrial activities used to have. They still seem to need to agglomerate and cluster, but for different reasons and in completely different ways.

This paper reviews current theories on the agglomeration and location of advanced services and investigates the hypothesis that the shift towards a knowledge-based economy and the emphasis on the production, trade and diffusion of knowledge by advanced producer services is triggering specific spatial-structural transformations in cities under globalization. In order to explore this hypothesis, this paper analyses empirical evidence on the location patterns of command activities in the form of advanced producer service firms and transnational firms headquarters in São Paulo, a thriving global city in a rapid growing economy. It analyses the impact of location choices in urban structural transformation; it also explores convergences and divergences in spatial development produced by place-specific conditions. Moreover, it illustrates how governments have acted to provide the spatial conditions for the location and agglomeration of command activities by carrying out large urban projects in partnership with the private sector.

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## Introduction

This text addresses the issue of the location dynamics of knowledge-intensive firms in the context of an emergent knowledge-based economy. The central hypothesis is that the shift towards a knowledge-based economy and the emphasis on the production, trade and diffusion of knowledge is triggering spatial transformations in cities under globalization.

The main question this paper aims to answer concerns the convergence of spatial structural patterns. Are there urban spatial developments typical of the new economy? This question stems from the fact that previous phases of capitalist production have produced recognisable spatial-structural patterns of location and agglomeration of economic activity in different urban contexts. This is particularly true for sophisticated service firms, which used to rely on specific spatial advantages to be found exclusively in the centre of cities, where technical urban networks and services used to be concentrated. Previous phases in capitalism triggered convergence in form and structure of cities connected to global circuits. Following this logic, the expansion and generalisation of urban technical networks during the 20th century has allowed for an increasing flexibility in the location of sophisticated services, producing new polycentric urban structures in apparently very different urban settings. This is different from historically produced polycentricity, which is the result of the development of independent urban nodes in a given region, for instance.

Our underlying assumption is that one of the determining factors for this kind of urban polycentric structures to emerge in post-Fordisms has been the need for knowledge-intensive industries (i.e. advanced producer services) to locate closer to new nodes of multi-modality and connectivity, where conditions of accessibility and connectivity are generally much better than in traditional central business districts and where there was space for new development. This argument is closely related, and in fact complements, theories on the global city. Instead of regarding the global city (or the global city-region, for that matter) as a uniform spatial unit, we add a specific spatial component to the idea that global cities are increasingly interconnected: some parts are more connected than others and this has an impact on the emergence of new business centralities. The formulation is as follows: if global cities are increasingly interconnected by all kinds of flows running along physical and functional networks, a different nodal spatial structure must emerge because of new connectivity opportunities and requirements. This happens because the old mono-centric model does not allow for an efficient networked organisation of functions and flows. Nodes located in points of multimodality, often placed at the outskirts of globalizing cities, are more likely to function as main articulators of such flows (Flows are understood here as a very general category, referring to exchanges of all sorts among global cities: financial flows, information flows, people's flows, etc.).

Furthermore, the generalisation and expansion of urban technical networks have allowed for an increasingly networked relationship between various nodes composing what is conventionally known as city-regions. Scott (2001) defines global city-regions as dense nodes of 'human labour and communal life', a notion that

stands in opposition to the idea that the world has become a borderless space of flows. For Scott, 'global city regions are distinctive sub national (i.e. regional) social formations whose local character and dynamics are undergoing major transformations due to the impacts of globalisation'. They are also the *loci* of new experiments in local political mobilisation (Scott 2001).

### **Theoretical framework**

New flexible and dispersed modes of production have triggered an unprecedented intensification of transnational financial flows in the form of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), triggered by the incursion of large transnational companies into new markets. The dispersal of production and the increasing complexity of business operations were accompanied by the concentration of business management in nodes of command located in cities that offer comparative advantages (Porter 1998) related to their geographic position, their spatial make-up and their socio-economic composition. These 'ingredients' can be shortly explained as belonging to a path-dependence process: the dependence of the outcome of a dynamical process defined by historical events. These 'nodes of command' have been identified as 'global cities' (Hall 1984; Friedmann 1986; Sassen 1991; Sassen 1994).

But discussing 'global cities' as *loci* of command activities seems to be insufficient from the point of view of territorial management and planning, and it is certainly ineffective to understand the real implications of an emerging knowledge economy for the spatial organization of cities and regions. This happens because the intrinsic networked character of command activities and the spatial changes they trigger seem to require larger scales of spatial analysis.

The analytical emphasis has traditionally been placed on the role of cities as nodes of command and their position in a hypothetical global hierarchy of cities. Less has been said about the actual geography of economic activity, that is, the geography stemming from new forms of production and interaction, or stemming from an increasingly knowledge-based economy with specific spatial requirements. After all, the term 'nodes of command', much used in order to explain the character of global cities, implies a concentration of skills, abilities, information and knowledge that need to be spatially articulated. This articulation of command is translated in the ability to take decisions and command extended functional and production networks over larger territorial units.

In other words, the 'global city' hypothesis has initially failed to identify spatial qualities and specific spatial make-ups as important factors for the development and agglomeration of command activities in the new economy. It has also failed to identify the importance of the region as a relevant unit of analysis, and much emphasis was put on the study of cities as disconnected from complex networked regional settings. Scott (2001), points out at the recent disposition to argue this line of analyses, by insisting on the 'locational

rootedness of world capitalism in regional production complexes, combined with the continued unevenness of development across the globe' (Scott 2001).

Cooke and Piccaluga (2006), following Castells and others, have recognised that the Internet erases spatial barriers creating new kinds of proximities (i.e. cognitive proximity, relational proximity and organisational proximity), but explicitly assert that geographical proximity is still prevalent in the new economy. Hence the importance of successful regional settings that host global talent pools, large varieties of business clusters, relevant research networks and knowledge outsourcing platforms (exporting firms). Complex networked regional settings have been recognised.

Regional productive complexes are also important because of their laboratory-like institutional capabilities of policy experimentation. In this instance, regions resemble laboratories inasmuch as they offer opportunities for observation and policy implementation (Cooke and Piccaluga 2006), because they allow for extended clusters of interaction and innovation. A coherent planning framework might allow for comprehensive spatial intervention in the form of large infrastructural and renewal projects at the regional level, which might give even more coherence to this cluster. In other words, it might be possible to plan the globalizing city-region in order to facilitate the production, diffusion and production of knowledge.

## **Methodology**

Following the ideas explained above, we have sought to analyse spatial transformation in two significant, yet very distinct global city-regions: The Randstad-Holland and the Metropolitan Area of São Paulo. The choice of cases is related to their economic position respectively at the core and semi-periphery of modern capitalism. This provided us with interesting insight on how global processes related to the emergence of the knowledge economy are affecting global city regions in different economic contexts. Because of the limitation in space, this paper describes only one case (São Paulo) in detail.

São Paulo is a vast expanse of urbanised territory, with one single municipality accounting for almost 60% of the total population and an even larger amount of the total GDP of the area. The region, however, does have a polycentric structure and the patterns of distribution of economic activity and especially the pattern of location of knowledge-related firms is very uneven. Despite of all this, a large number of convergences in the locational patterns of APS could be found in both city-regions.



	Core Municipality	Metropolitan Area	Macro-metropolis	Brazil
<b>Area</b>	1.522 km <sup>2</sup>	7.943 km <sup>2</sup>	15.113 km <sup>2</sup>	8.514.876 km <sup>2</sup>
<b>Population (milions)</b>	11.450 **	22.105**	28.375**	183.383 *
<b>Population density</b>	7776/km <sup>2</sup> **	2778/km <sup>2</sup> **	1877/km <sup>2</sup>	22/km <sup>2</sup>
<b>GDP (US\$ bi)*</b>	123	180.8	226.8	882
* IBGE 2005	** IBGE 2008 prognosis			

**Table 1:** São Paulo in numbers. Source: IBGE (various years).

As a pilot approach for the analysis of location patterns of advanced producer services, a list of 100 global APS enterprises compiled by GaWC (Globalisation and World Cities Study Group and Network, Loughborough University, UK) was used. The list included firms in Advertising, Accountancy, Insurance, Finance, Law and Business Management firms (Taylor 2002). The list was dressed based upon:

1. Published lists of largest firms of each sector;
2. Availability of information on each firm;
3. Global coverage, that is, each firm must be clearly 'global' in coverage, which means offices in at least 15 cities across the world, of which there must be at least one in each of the most relevant economic global arenas, North America (the Dollar area), Western Europe (the Pound/Euro area) and the Pacific Rim (the Yen area). The sample, although small, is of special significance, because it includes the most 'globalized' advanced producer service firms. In other words, it lists global companies that are most likely to promote exchanges of human resources, knowledge, technology and investment between globalizing cities.

Subsequently, interviews with developers and agents from the public sector in both case studies were conducted in order to establish general trends and identify (often subjective) perceptions of the processes at hand. Relevant agents from the private sector (firms) were also interviewed. Subsequently, a set of spatial parameters was established in order to analyse the case studies. This set of spatial parameters was extracted from literature and complemented by the empirical analysis of locational trends. The aim of the spatial analysis on the location pattern of command functions was to unveil possible spatial advantages for the agglomeration of certain activities.

### **Advanced producer services and the knowledge-economy**

The nature of services is exceptionally varied. Services include highly sophisticated, knowledge-based activities as well as simple deeds. In economics, a service is generally conceived as the non-material

equivalent of a good, but this definition has been lately challenged by scholars who claim that it is impossible to separate the amount of services embedded in the production of goods (Edvardsson, Gustafsson et al. 2000). However, service provision has been traditionally defined as an economic activity that does not result in ownership, what differentiates it from providing physical goods (Durlauf, Blume et al. 2008). Providers of services, as opposed to the producers of goods or commodities, participate in economic activity by supplying some level of knowledge, skill, creativity, and experience that will have an impact on production or consumption.

In short, providers of services are providers of knowledge, be it explicit or tacit knowledge (the product of experience and practice). Naturally, not all services involve sophisticated knowledge and some basic services can be performed with a minimum of acquired knowledge.

A rough distinction can be made between consumer services providers and producer services providers. Producer services are those services intended to companies and organisations as opposed to services destined to household consumption. They can also be classified as ‘simple’ and ‘advanced’ services, according to the number and complexity of operations involved, as well as the level of skills, creativity and knowledge implicated. In this paper, we emphasize the high-end of knowledge production and use in service provision, that is, the highly sophisticated services provided by advanced producer services (APS).

Briefly put, advanced producer services (APS) are the services responsible for the organisation, management, distribution, and securing of production. Banking, Law, Consultancy, Accountancy, Insurance and Advertising are generally described as the main APS (Taylor, Walker et al. 2002), but the list may also include other high-level services, such as communication technology management, business management, marketing communications, to cite but a few. Activities included in this sector are connected to the organisation and management of corporations at the highest level, but they do not always rely on explicit knowledge.

APS might be considered the most dynamic sector of the economy today, because they are responsible for the organization, management, and securitization of global flows of all sorts, generating a large amount of output and accounting for large portions of advanced economies. In order to do so, they have to build up, manage and circulate an enormous amount of information and knowledge derived from practice (tacit knowledge) and from research (explicit knowledge). To do that, they must make use of the most advanced information and telecommunications technology, thus propelling the development of the ICT sector. However, they also need to promote the mobility of individuals who are repositories of tacit and/or explicit knowledge related to managerial, consultancy or organisational activities. It is safe to assume that this is bound to produce a large re-organisation of managerial activities at a global level and perhaps a reorganisation of the spatial support for these processes at the local and regional levels.

For the British Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC 2008), ‘in today's global, information-driven society, economic success is increasingly based upon the effective utilisation of intangible assets such as knowledge, skills and innovative potential as the key resources for competitive advantage’. Clearly, a knowledge-based economy does not rely only on the explicit knowledge produced by oriented research and academia, but also on the tacit knowledge developed as new work by corporations and firms. New work, as described by Jacobs (1969) and a string of followers, is the product of tacit knowledge accumulated through practice, trial and error, unexpected spillovers and derived work. Although new work does often originate from formal research and development activities, it also originates from particular communities of practice in commercial and corporative environments. This process can be seen in the increasing specialisation and diversification of high-end producer services. In other words, the continuous addition of new work through the sophistication and development of new services characterises advanced producer services and puts them at centre stage in the new knowledge economy. This is illustrated by the variety of services offered by a large firm such as MacCann-Erickson, for instance (table 1)

Therefore, we avoid the traditional definition of knowledge-economy, where the term is primarily related to explicit knowledge produced by universities, research centres and the like. Here we concentrate instead in the producers and users of knowledge as a tangible commercial asset, such as the services provided by APS.

<b>McCann-Erickson Services (2008)</b>
Relationship Marketing
Database Management
Digital solutions
Customs publishing
Corporate and product branding
Brand innovation
Brand valuation
Packaging design
Brand strategy
Advertising
Marketing communication
Promotion (of products)
Events
Sponsorship marketing
Media planning
Communications architecture
Public relations
Public affairs
Corporate communications

**Table 2:** List of services MacCann-Erickson. Erickson is one of the leading advertising agencies in the world, with headquarters in New York. Souce: <http://www.maccann-erickson.com/>

Advanced producer services represent the very essence of the activities that make a global city, as they define cities and regions as international centres of command of production and trade and articulators of flows. Advanced producer services are, therefore, in the very core of the debate about global city-regions and their spatial planning. Not surprisingly, APS are bound to have a strong spatial impact, because of their requirements concerning office space, infrastructure, connectivity, environment, and image.

For Sassen, global cities are ‘cities [that] have the resources which enable firms and markets to be global’ (2002: 13). Sassen stresses the fact that ‘relatively few’ cities are able to provide the organizational and management architecture necessary to support the ‘new intensity and complexity of globally connected systems of production, finance and management’ which allow production to be dispersed around the globe. ‘This produces new geographies and hierarchies of centrality \_particular cities and regions that have key roles in globalization’ (2002: 13). For Sassen, cross-border flows in the age of globalization are articulated by several key-actors, which include not only national states, the main articulators of these flows in the past, but also firms whose global operations are facilitated by economic flexibilization and liberalization. ‘In this context, we see a re-scaling of the strategic territories that articulate the new system. With the partial unbundling or at the least the weakening of the national as a spatial unit come conditions for the ascendance of other spatial units and scales’ (Sassen, 2002: 13). Among these new spatial units able to articulate transnational flows are regions, cross-border regions and supra-national entities (i.e. global digitised markets and free trade-blocks). With this ascendance of other spatial units, come new issues about decision-making, planning and managing territories.

The new role of city-regions in the articulation of transnational flows is intimately related to their role as places where command activities choose to agglomerate. The progression of transnational corporations around the world and the resulting rising sophistication and complexity of business operations has produced a need for increasingly sophisticated services for companies as well as for individuals. Sassen refers to command functions as being ‘not only (...) top-level headquarters, but rather all the top level financial, legal, accounting, managerial, executive and planning functions necessary to run a corporate organization operating in more than one country. (...) These central functions are partly embedded in headquarters, but also in what has been called the corporate services complex’ (Sassen 2002)(16).

According to Sassen, ‘the expansion of global management and servicing activities [resulting from increasing complexity of transnational business operations] has brought with it a massive upgrading and expansion of central urban areas, even as large portions of these cities fall into deeper poverty and infrastructural decay’ (Sassen, 2002: 14). Sassen recognises that this new role of cities as centres of command involves ‘only certain components of urban economies’ (2002:14).

Harvey foresaw the tremendous impact that command functions would have in the spatial organization of cities and regions. For Harvey (1985: 217) command functions tend, ‘by their very nature, to be highly

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centralised while embodying immense power over all manner of activities and spaces'. Harvey asserted that cities could compete to become centres of command of finance capital, for information gathering and control, of government decision-making, etc. This kind of competition calls for certain strategies of infrastructural provision. 'Efficiency and centrality within a worldwide network of transport and communications is vital, and that means heavy public investments in airports, rapid transit, communication systems and the like (...) The provision of adequate office space and linkages depends upon a public-private coalition of property developers, financiers, and public interests capable of responding to and anticipating needs' (1985: 217). The establishment of networked infrastructures that allow rapid connections between the nodes of production and power obeys a systemic logic: stronger nodes tend to be connected first. Public investment in the creation of specific local advantages (like top-quality office space or proximity to ring roads) cannot be spread all over the city and therefore this kind of investment tends to be concentrated in a few privileged spots.

Some developments became emblematic of this new scenario. Early examples planned new corporate centralities such as La Défense (Paris, 1958, stretching on to the 1990s) and Battery Park City (New York, 1980s and 1990s) were followed by London Docklands (London, 1980s and 90s), Potsdamer Platz (Berlin, 1990s) and more recently, Pudong (Shanghai, 1990s and 2000s). In São Paulo, the Faria Lima Urban Operation, a large PPP launched in the first part of the 1990s, has yielded the constructions of more than 100 office buildings in the space of 10 years (Rocco, 2002). These new centralities have set the standard for grand-scale urban interventions. They mean today what railways meant in the XIX century: they are the spatial structuring elements connected to a global development of capitalism.

As existing large urban projects seem to indicate, the State continues to play a central role in the promotion of large urban projects conceived to house the activities and the people who decide when, where and how money is going to be invested.

According to Marcuse and van Kempen, 'the conception that if a city is global, then all of it is global is wrong' (1997:312). Their hypothesis is that, since command activities amount to a very small fraction of all employment in any city, including the most global, their impact therefore on spatial patterns is only one of a great variety of impacts, which are all moulded by the pre-existing fabric of the city. New spatial patterns created by the increase of global flows are built on existing spatial patterns and are as much extensions of old patterns as new ones.

### **São Paulo, a centre of command in South America**

São Paulo is unquestionably the centre of control and articulation of global flows in South America. The absolute majority of global advanced service firms researched operating in Brazil and South America has headquarters and main offices in the Metropolitan Area of São Paulo. This is consistent with the prominence

São Paulo enjoys in the Brazilian urban system. This prominence is of course the result of a specific historical path.

The processes that have culminated in the city's primacy can be traced back to early accumulation of capitals due to coffee exports from the middle of the XIX century onwards, which allowed the development of a transportation network system centred in the city, reaching out to the Brazilian hinterland. This transportation network initially served solely the interests of coffee exporters who needed to ship their production to consumers in Europe and North America. However, as time went by, this network induced urbanization, creating new economic, political and cultural synergies across the Brazilian territory and beyond. In the 1950s, the better part of the Brazilian automobile industry was set outside the core municipality of São Paulo, in a string of peripheral municipalities known as ABC cities (from the names of Santo André, São Bernardo and São Caetano). This was the result of already mature transportation and communication systems that helped shape the networked city-region of today.

The accumulation of capital and the advantageous position of the city as a transportation hub later propelled industrialisation and the development of a dynamic financial market. Highway networks reaching out to the Brazilian hinterland eventually replaced the railway network, and the city's primacy was further accentuated by rapid industrialisation and the concentration of financial institutions. The setting up of automobile factories in the metropolitan area in the 1950s fuelled rapid industrialisation, one of the pillars of the Brazilian economic 'miracle', until its abrupt interruption in the mid-1970s. The 1990s saw a rapid diversification of Brazilian production and its dispersal in the national territory. Wages were too high and land was too expensive in the Metropolitan Area of São Paulo to sustain industrial expansion. Moreover, other large and medium sized cities in Brazil acquired sophisticated infrastructure that allowed production (and consequently, producer services) to disperse. Regional capitals became the motors of economic growth and São Paulo saw its participation in the country's GDP decline. However, studies indicate that industrial dispersal has meant that the city has shifted towards high-end services and command functions (Schiffer, 2004), and has not lost its position of command.

This prominent position in the articulation of business and financial services, combined with an extensive network of roads, train routes and airports serving the Brazilian hinterland and the South Cone (Argentina, Chile, Paraguay, Uruguay and Bolivia, roughly corresponding to the common market area known as Mercosur), makes the region of São Paulo one of the great articulators of all kinds of material and functional networks in the continent. As an illustration of the prominence in high-end services and command functions, the São Paulo Borse (BOVESPA) is the largest stock exchange in Latin America, the 3rd largest stock exchange for derivatives in the world and 16th largest world stock exchange by market capitalization (World Federation of Exchanges 2007) highlighting the importance of São Paulo as the main financial hub in the

continent. The region's GDP was approximately 227 billion US\$ in 2005 (IBGE, 2005), placing it third in the region after Buenos Aires and Mexico.

The services sector and R&D related activities are particularly susceptible to rich economies of urbanisation, because they are essentially knowledge-based activities depending on constant innovation and interactivity. The 'urban buzz', the interaction and the creation of synergies between knowledge users and producers are crucial factors for innovation to happen. We do not know precisely how the interactions that produce synergies leading to innovation happen, but it is fair to assert that geographical agglomeration and connectivity are some of the crucial factors. Because São Paulo has an extremely varied economy of urbanization, it is able to stay on the cutting edge in creative and knowledge-based industries, of which advertisement and electronic-internet related industries are the most celebrated.

This primacy goes hand in hand with deep imbalances in the distribution of knowledge-based economic activity across the São Paulo Metropolitan Area. This results in an 'uneven networked city', with distinct nodes or areas connected to local and global networks and vast expanses of 'marginalised' territory. There is no necessary opposition between a knowledge economy and a strong marginal informal economy. It is well established that the formal economy can benefit from informality, in the provision of low-skilled/ low-paid labour, for instance. The real problem resides in the hyper-concentration of knowledge production in only a few spots in the metropolitan area, which results in uneven distribution of job opportunities, investment and infrastructure and exaggerated land speculation. Because of this uneven distribution, locational advantages are excessively concentrated in a few spots, making them prize locations, for which firms will pay more in terms of office space. It also affects the pattern of public investment, as existing hubs receive a disproportionate amount of public funds in the form of large urban renewal projects and/or large infrastructural works. It can also be argued that the public sector has emphasized this dichotomy by carrying large urban projects that further accentuated this uneven distribution.

### **The location of advanced producer services in São Paulo**

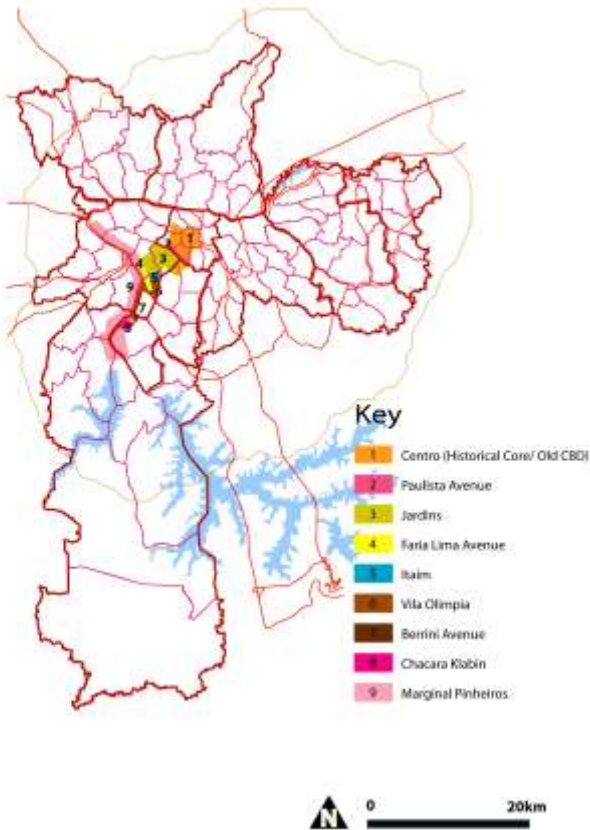
According to the São Paulo Real Estate Borse, São Paulo has currently nine dynamic areas for high-end commercial real estate development. These can be grouped into four large business districts: [1] Centro (Old Core), [2] Paulista Avenue and surroundings, [3] Faria Lima Avenue and surrounding and [4] Marginal Pinheiros and surroundings (DATABOLSA 2002).

Roughly speaking, these business hubs correspond to the various economic cycles that the country and the city went through during the 19th and 20th centuries (fig. 1). They reflect economic as well as socio-cultural changes through differences in form, morphology and socio-economic make-up. For each new economic phase, with its specific spatial requirements, a new dynamic centrality was developed. This idea is explored further.



**Figure 1:** The centre of dynamic economic activity has made a leap of approximately 14 km from the Old Core to the new Corporate Axis along the River Pinheiros, towards the West. Each area roughly corresponds to a new economic phase in Brazilian modern capitalism. Map. R. Rocco, 2006.

**Office Development Areas**

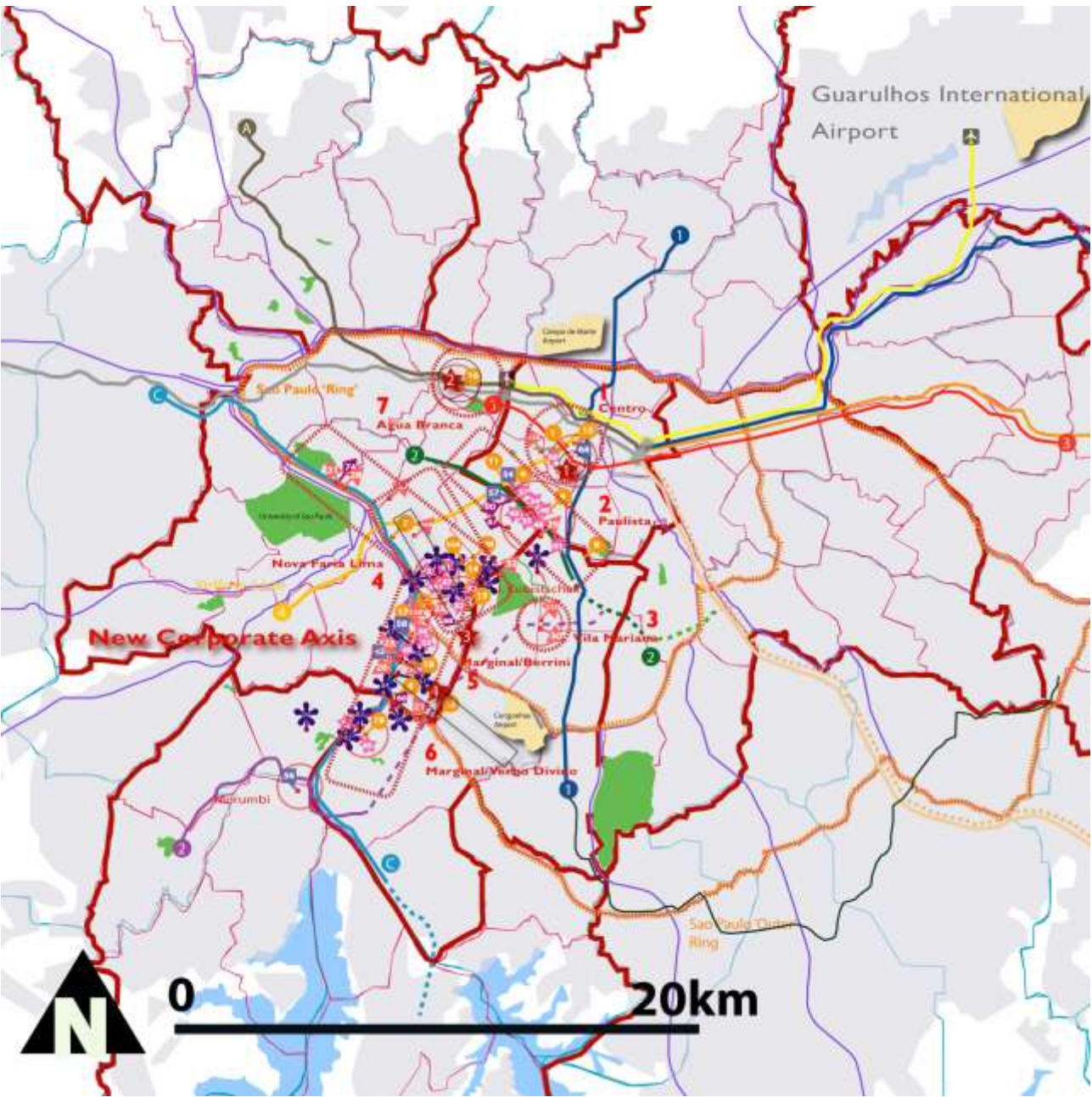


**Figure 2:** Main Areas for commercial real estate development in São Paulo. Map by R. Rocco, 2006. Source: Bolsa de Imóveis do Estado de São Paulo (2002).



Using mapping techniques, we could verify that Global APS firms, based on the list elaborated by GaWC (Taylor and Catalano 2005), are distributed over seven clusters: (1) Centro (Old Core), (2) Avenida Paulista, (3) Vila Mariana, (4) Avenida Faria Lima, (5) Marginal Pinheiros/ Avenida Berrini, (6) Marginal Pinheiros/ Avenida Verbo Divino (7) Água Branca (fig. 2).

Areas 4, 5 and 6 constitute together what we choose to call the new Corporate Axis of the city. The Corporate Axis is an enormous expanse of office developments running along the basin of the River Pinheiros, in the Western sector of the core municipality (São Paulo), along the city inner ring and it represents the newest corporate hub to be developed under the aegis of globalization.



**Figure 3:** Advanced Producer Service Cluster in São Paulo. Based on the GaWC 100 list of Advanced Producer Services (Taylor and Catalano, 2005)

Dynamic centres for advanced producer services have made a ‘leap’ of approximately 14 km from the old core to the extremity of the New Corporate Axis, with various intermediate hubs along the way, of which Avenida Paulista (3 km away from the old core) is certainly the most significant.

The development of various command function hubs in the metropolis is related to:

1. The expansion of technical and services networks in the XX century, in the first decades of the XX century, but particularly after WW II
2. Different spatial/ structural requirements for each different economic phase (e.g. the expansion of the financial sector in the 1970s and 1980s required new kinds of office space, developed at Avenida Paulista and Avenida Faria Lima, at the expense of the city’s old core, which could not accommodate them).
3. The development of high-standard residential areas in the Western part of the city. At first, this movement was connected to the separation between high standard housing and industrial activities taking place in the Eastern sector of the metropolitan area. In the first half of the XX century, the Anglo-Canadian ‘Companhia City de Urbanização’ urbanised large areas of the city following British urbanization principles of that period. This provided wealthy households with living environments free from the constraints to be found in the more congested central neighbourhoods. This movement constituted, therefore, a movement of ‘suburbanisation’, although nowadays these ‘suburbs’ have been well incorporated into the urban fabric of the city and have become central in relation to new and even more distant suburbs. Most important, ‘Companhia City’ was an agent of comprehensive urbanisation, thanks to concessions from the public sector allowing it and its sister company, ‘São Paulo Light & Power’, to manage and extend urban technical networks related to electricity and trams to newly urbanised neighbourhoods. This generated transformation in the social composition of the central areas of the city, and triggered a spatial trend where wealthy households moved increasingly further west.
4. Social transformation triggered changes in the public sector’s investment priorities. The public sector became increasingly more committed to providing high quality infrastructure and services to the western sector of the city, in a context of defective governance, which was aggravated by periods of non-democratic political rule. Private investments followed, leading to a concentration of wealth, infrastructure and services in that area of the city.

In order to better assess the diversity of knowledge-based service hubs in the metropolis and their location patterns, it was necessary to survey the largest advanced producer services operating locally. By doing this, we expected to have a clearer picture of how these hubs were located in the urban fabric.

The following sectors were surveyed:

1. 50 largest insurance firms (by amount insured) (2004. Source: Maiores & Melhores, Revista Exame, 2004)
2. 50 largest banks' headquarters operating in São Paulo (by profit) (2004. Source: Maiores & Melhores, Exame, 2004)
3. 50 largest ICT and Digital services firms' headquarters (by profit) (2004. Source: Maiores & Melhores, Exame, 2004)
4. 50 largest advertising firms (by accounts) (2007, Ibope Monitor, [ibope.com.br](http://ibope.com.br))
5. 50 largest general technical & logistic consultancy firms' headquarters (by profit) (2004. Source: Maiores & Melhores, Exame, 2004)
6. 100 firms with largest investment in ICT headquarters (by amount of investment in ICT) (2005. Source: Info, [infoabril.com](http://infoabril.com), 2005).

These samples were selected because of their significance in the post-Fordist modes of production and their importance as knowledge-intensive services. They also give us a broad overview on different sectors of the knowledge-based economy, partially covering the creative sector (i.e. advertising).

While financial and insurance services are intensive users of technology, they generally do not produce it. They are, primarily producers of information and services in the form of consultancy (the best tool for the commercialisation of tacit knowledge). On the other hand, ICT and digital services are obviously intensive producers of new technology, information and explicit knowledge. They are at the cutting edge of innovation. They depend, of course, on the outputs and inputs of other sectors in order to operate and grow. The existence of large financial and creative economies in São Paulo triggers the agglomeration of ICT services. Internet providers rely heavily on content providers. That is why, in Brazil, large Internet providers belong to or operate in association with content producers (large news agencies, newspapers, telephone and television companies). Advertising is a strong industry in Brazil, and particularly in São Paulo. A large quantity of advertisements is produced for global consumption (SEADE 2008). The Brazilian advertising industry is concentrated in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro and the advertising market is closely monitored by IBOPE (Brazilian Institute for Survey and Research). The largest Brazilian and global advertising agencies are located in São Paulo, concentrated, as we shall see, in a very small area of the city.

The last category, 100 Brazilian firms of all sectors with the largest investment in ICT and digital technologies is revealing of who and where innovative knowledge and technology users are located. Banks, as pointed out, are intensive users of ICT, because of the high level of sophistication of banking operations in

Brazil. Other intensive ICT users include communication services, retail services, large industrial conglomerates and large public-owned companies.

When all samples are put together, we are able to see a clear picture of the various existing service hubs in the metropolis. They are structured in three main areas, with some exceptional nodes outside this main configuration. These three main areas are briefly described here:

1.       The Old Core (Centro): This is the densest and perhaps one of the most well served areas of the city in terms of infrastructure. Traditionally, advanced services have located there since the mid-XIX century and have continued to do so all through the XX century, until well after WW II, when Brazil entered a new development phase based on rapid industrialisation and financial services. However, the old core lost most of its inhabitants and became a no-go area for the middle-classes, who see it as decaying and dangerous. The persistence of firm location in this hub can be attributed to locational inertia and the preservation of its connectivity advantages. However, a closer look at the firms located in this hub demonstrates that only ‘traditional’ APS locate here, mostly of Brazilian origin, whereas in other areas firms are more modern and international.
2.       Avenida Paulista: Around the 1950s and 1960s, advanced services started to agglomerate on and around the prestigious avenue build by the early industrial bourgeoisie, with a rapid growth in the two following decades. By this time, the old core had started to decay, as it became congested and space for new developments became scarce. It was increasingly deserted by its dwellers. Avenida Paulista is almost fully occupied by high-rise buildings, so that streets around it suffered intense verticalization in the first years of the 2000s. As it approaches a point of saturation, it remains, however, a strong node for advanced services, especially in the financial sector.
3.       The Corporate Axis: After the 1990s, Brazil entered yet another development phase, where the country liberalised its economy, tamed inflation and opened itself to global flows of all sorts. The area where service firms connected to the new economy chose to agglomerate was the banks of the river Pinheiros, along a ‘super avenue’, Marginal Pinheiros, devised originally by Robert Moses.

Therefore, the Old Core [1] and Avenida Paulista [2] have been traditional centres for financial and insurance services for decades. The old core emerged as a financial hub already in the beginning of the XX century, while Avenida Paulista took over as main financial centre during the 1970s and 1980s, when the Brazilian economy became exceedingly dependent on financial services thanks to hyperinflation and very high interest rates. However, these hubs started to loose their preponderance in the 1990s and first years of the 2000s, when other important hubs started to emerge: the [3] New Avenida Faria Lima), [4] Avenida Berrini and the area around the World Trade Centre at [5] Marginal Pinheiros.

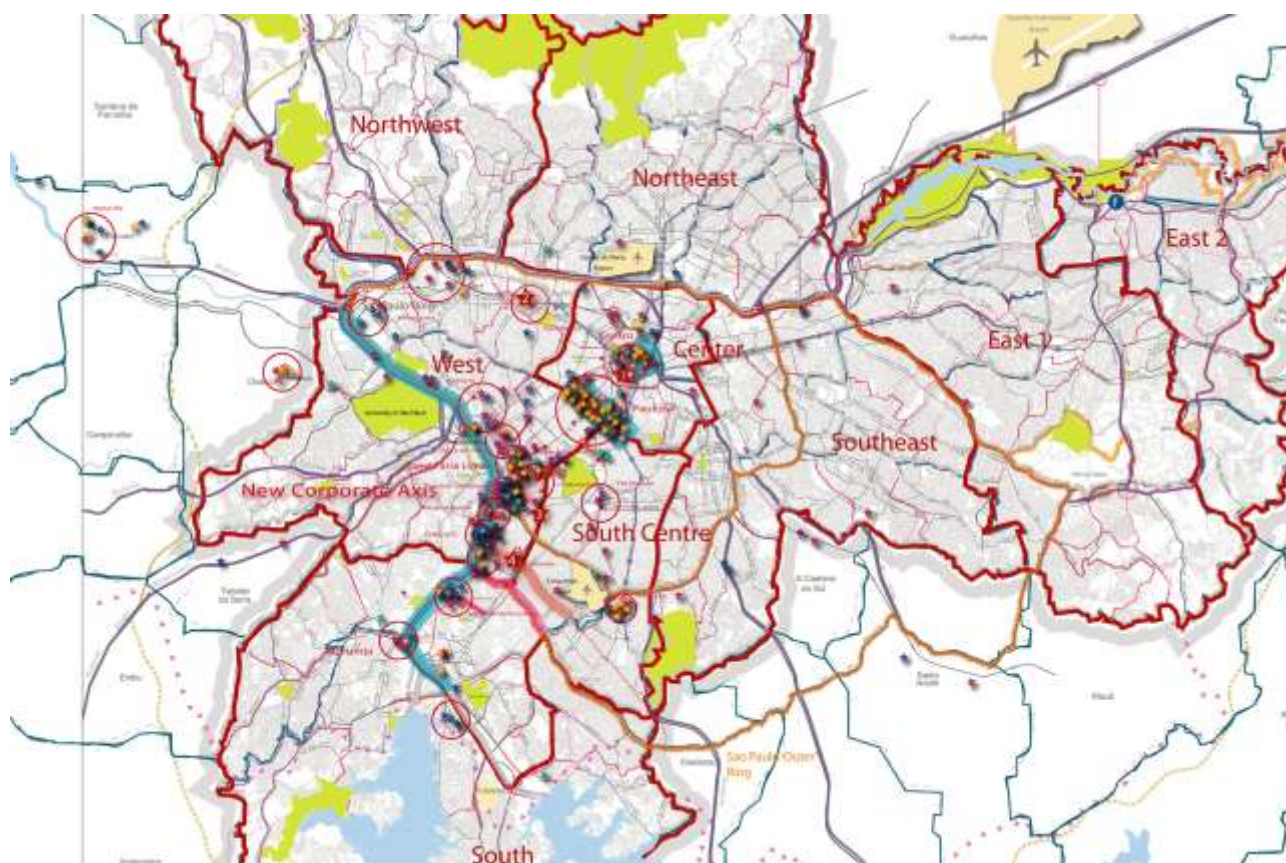
The progressive internationalisation of the Brazilian economy can be easily read in the development of high-end advanced service hubs in the urban fabric. While most insurance firms located in the old centre are Brazilian, Avenida Paulista presents a much more mixed composition of Brazilian and foreign firms. The other areas to the Southwest, especially along the New Corporate Axis, have an impressive predominance of foreign firms established in Brazil during the 1990s.

Location patterns of the largest ICT service providers show that their absolute majority are located along the River Pinheiros, in the Corporate Axis, with a small hub also appearing at the edge city of Alphaville (this is a typical upper-middle class gated community located at the edge of the metropolis, which has started to generate its own economy of urbanization because of its sheer size). Reasons for this surprising configuration seem to be connected to the ring road, which acts as a connector to various services and infrastructures not easily accessible from the old core of the city, facilitating interactions. The old business districts are just not enough connected. This happens in the light of the prevalence of the motorcar as the preferred mode of transportation.

More dramatic concentration of APS seems to have to do with the location of MANs (Metropolitan Area Networks). The largest and most important MANs are operated from CENU (Nações Unidas Business Centre) and the University of São Paulo, both located at Marginal Pinheiros, the western section of the ring road (Telegeography, 2004). This configuration also denotes the enormous imbalance in digital development throughout the metropolitan area, with corporate producers and users located in very restricted spots in the city. It also indicates a large unevenness in the spatial distribution of the 'knowledge-economy', concentrated in the Western sector of the metropolis.

For Meyer et al. (2004), this concentration has to do with the release of former industrial plots near the ring road for development of high-standard office space and housing. This implies a high upward elasticity (the ability to build taller buildings) in an area that already attracts a large amount of public and private investment. Vila Olímpia is in the heart of the Corporate Axis and has been the object of massive investment in infrastructure of all kinds, but especially new roads, bridges and digital infrastructure. This is the area where most global advanced services agglomerate, because of the large number of new office developments. Some of its parts are also subject to a large number of developments in high-standard residential towers. Connectivity, upward elasticity (thanks to the removal of industrial activities), image and proximity to high-income groups make the area the most required for international standard developments.





**Figure 4:** Main advanced service hubs with all APS headquarters of the samples surveyed. Right: Main hubs detail. Map R. Rocco 2007.

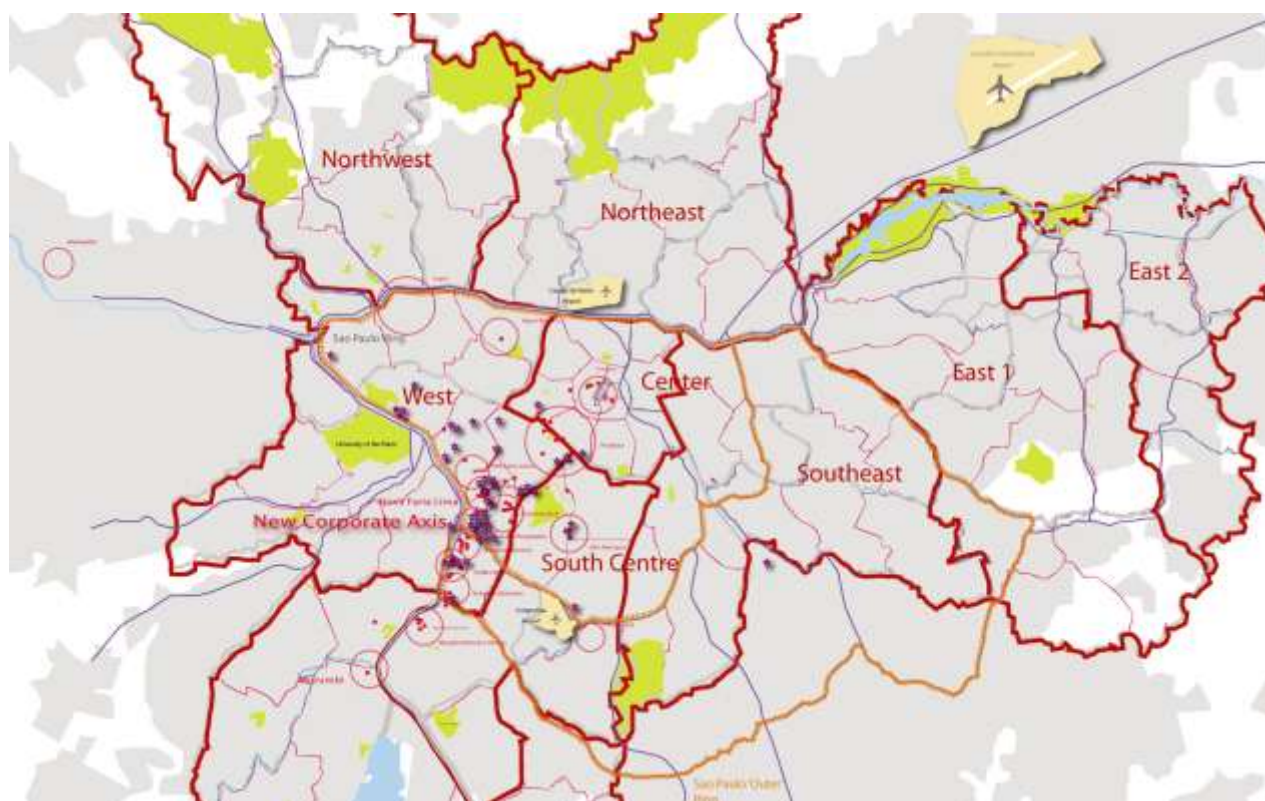
Transportation, communication services and logistics, on the other hand, do not concentrate in the same places as ICT service providers. In the sample we analyse, telecommunications companies, aerial companies and operators of technical urban networks (telephone, gas and electricity) are bound to provide services to other companies and to households. Many of them are State-owned companies. Of all our samples, this is the most diverse and no specific conclusion comes from the analysis of their location patterns. They concentrate equally in the three main advanced service hubs in the metropolitan area: the Old Core, Avenida Paulista and along the southern section of Marginal Pinheiros (Funchal/Olimpíadas area). No company in our sample was located in the industrial East of the city, where industrial areas are also beginning to vacate, but office space development is comparatively low.

Of all samples analysed, the most concentrated sector is advertising. Not only more than 90 % of all advertising companies are located in the West of the city, near Marginal Pinheiros. There is one very large hub of advertising companies at the Funchal/Olimpíadas area, around the extension of the Avenida Faria Lima and adjacent to the ring road. Two other large hubs are located near the first one: The New Faria Lima itself and the WTC (World Trade Centre)/CENU area (perhaps the largest office development of the city in the last 10 years). Just like ICT services are at the cutting edge of the ‘knowledge economy’, advertising is at

the cutting edge of the ‘creative economy’. That the largest companies in both kinds of economies are so concentrated in almost exactly the same areas in São Paulo indicates an unequal distribution of resources and development related to modern capitalist production, much related to and deriving from income spatial distribution and the location of communication infrastructure.

Places related to the new economy, just like in other globalizing metropolises; rely on high connectivity, high visibility, inter-modality and wide scale jump (the ability to go across a large number of scales at a given point in space). Car accessibility seems to be crucial, but in São Paulo, it is even more emphasised by the lack of a comprehensive and attractive metropolitan transportation system. The current metropolitan train system is mainly used by low and middle-income workers. Class distinctions, prejudice, safety issues and lack of efficiency make it unlikely that executives and white-collar workers use public transportation in the city.

Because of massive traffic congestion at peak hours (easily surpassing 100 km of linear congestion in one single day), the road system is high in the public eye and in the political agenda. This means that road works usually get a disproportionate amount of public investment, in relation to what public means of transport do.



**Figure 5:** Largest advertising firms operating in the MASP. Left: Detail of the main concentration hub in Vila Olímpia. Map R. Rocco 2007.



It is important to emphasize that accessibility and the existence of consumers' services seem to be secondary factors in the location of APS in São Paulo. Commercial activity seems evenly distributed along the city's roads and streets. As one approaches the borders of the municipality, commercial activity decreases because density also decreases, but so do income and accessibility.

On the other hand, the spatial distribution of income has of course a very high impact on the distribution of economic activity. This is much more obvious in São Paulo than in the Randstad, for instance, because social contrasts are much more evident. There is an 'island of richness' in the west of São Paulo. The new economy seems to be restricted to a limited area. Again, path dependency seems to dictate the trend towards an even greater concentration of wealth and services in the west of the metropolis.

However, the middle-class 'march to the west' seems to be coming to a halt, as other sub-centres emerge outside the island of richness. Certain areas of the municipality of São Paulo (Santana to the north and Tatuapé, to the east) have seen their per capita income increase dramatically in the last decade (IBGE 2000). Other municipalities in the Metropolitan Area (São Caetano and São Bernardo to the South, Osasco and Barueri to the West) have strong middle classes and the variety and sophistication of services in these areas are bound to increase. Demographic and economic stability after the re-democratisation of the country has opened the door for a new phase in São Paulo's development: a time for urban regeneration and redevelopment. This illustrates the role of macro socio-economic and political conditions in shaping local conditions (Schiffer 2004).

## **Conclusions**

Instead of regarding the global city (or the global city-region) as a uniform unit, we try to understand what are forces triggering spatial transformation in an increasingly knowledge-based economy and try to add a specific spatial component to the idea that global cities are increasingly inter-connected .

The trends found in the case study analysed (and reinforced by the analysis of the Randstad-Holland, carried out somewhere else, notably in Rocco, 2008) can be briefly summarised as follows:

1. The increasing location of business nodes over a main ring road, ensuring easy access to other business and consumption nodes, as well as services in other areas of the metropolis
2. The close proximity of a large airport, serving a large business hinterland (the vast Brazilian hinterland and part of the MERCOSUR Economic Community)
3. The existence of one or various MANs (Metropolitan Area Networks) ensuring optimal digital connectivity. The location of MANs might be a factor for attraction for large APS. However, it is also true that previous agglomeration of activities would attract a MAN. In the case studies analysed, the action of

World Trade Centres in setting up MANs have helped attract more enterprises to their immediate surroundings.

4. The interest of national pension funds, which invested heavily in real estate in the 1990s. Although this tendency has been dissipated in the last few years, with pension funds diversifying their real estate portfolio, the 1990s and first years of the 2000s saw pension funds invest generously in mono-functional business locations.

5. The relevance of the local government as a promoter of large infrastructural works, especially related to the road and transportation systems, sometimes in partnership with the private sector. However, as the case of Avenida Faria Lima in São Paulo seem to indicate, the commitment of the public sector is an a priori condition for private investment. The ensuing partnerships are not always balanced, as the public sector seems to assume most of the risk.

6. The social composition of the surrounding areas, where high skilled workers dwell and therefore can have easy access to work

7. The existence of facilities and services related to an international lifestyle (international schools, hotels and luxury shops, for example)

8. The perceived necessity for better connections with the old centralities (São Paulo Centro and Avenida Paulista), ensuring synergies with the traditional business and cultural nodes

Apart from structural convergence, there are many other kinds of convergence, including urban planning strategy convergence. From convergent developments, we can tentatively derive some very general trends in locational patterns of large APS firms:

1. Easy access to other nodes in distinct networks (the ring factor). This is coherent with the networked nature of work and knowledge flows in the service sector.

2. Easy access to large transportation nodes (the airport factor)

3. Clear connection to old centralities where consumer services and producer services are concentrated (the urban ‘buzz’)

4. Image as a crucial factor. Corporate image is not only associated to buildings, but also to the image created by modern, daring and innovative urban milieus (the corporate image factor)

From the analyses, we can also draw tentative recommendations and point at some problems of current urban policies:

1. Large Urban Projects must work within a system of interventions (not as sole interventions) in order to create dynamic growth and synergy between the various nodes in the urban network
2. Excessive concentration of investment in poorly articulated nodes might explain part of the problem of social and spatial polarisation
3. Investing in business centralities alone is not enough, because creating a one-dimensional node does not create the necessary synergy to promote innovation. Various kinds of networks must be articulated in order to benefit a large number of agents.
4. Large Urban Projects carried out through partnerships between public and private sectors seem to be more successful where pre-existing structural conditions match firms' requirements. This does not mean a blind submission to market forces, but indicates the necessity to understand what the spatial-structural requirements of the new economy are.

The emergence of new centralities has challenged old centralities. Surprisingly enough, instead of competing with them, new centralities seem to accommodate new functions that find it problematic to operate in old centralities. Old centralities seem to retain many of their old functions and are in fact complementary to emerging centralities. Emerging centralities apparently cannot always replicate the attributes that constitute the image of cities and that are to be found mainly at their 'old centres'. Indeed, some new centralities try to either to emulate these attributes or to associate themselves with them (e.g., Paris La Défense lies not in the municipality of Paris, but is physically connected to its most representative and symbolic spaces through a monumental axis). Old central places are going through deep transformations and have sometimes acquired new roles.

Simultaneously, cities have witnessed the multiplication of specialised centralities, creating a network of nodes in the city, following the networked nature of production and consumption in modern capitalism. On the other hand, former peripheral areas saw the emergence of new developments, which accommodate new kinds of activities related to the rise of the tertiary sector of economy. Activities that were formerly carried out in the centre are now carried in peripheral places, and vice-versa. Centrality and periphery coexist next to each other in the global city.

Since the emergence of a fast globalizing system, cities have been confronted with external models and forces. First, and more evidently, the imposition of form and structure by colonisers (e.g. the 'Spanish grid') and lately, by the requirements of modern capitalism. The generalisation of the capitalist mode of production has brought with it various types of convergences, or tendencies towards convergence, of which convergence in urban spatial structure and form is not the least important. Cities are confronted once again with converging models that they adapt to their own skin the best they can. This is a much more complex process than merely stating that cities are converging or becoming more similar. They might become more similar in

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some aspects, while the heritage of previous times remains functional. Differences in geography, climate, position, not to mention specific historic developments and path dependency are not enough to prevent local administrations from emulating what they believe to be the model to be followed.

This is also true for large urban projects and infrastructural transformations. Cities in the new ‘world-system’ are also confronted with similar requirements from global agents (transnational corporations and transnational elites), which leads to convergence on one side, while the ‘inevitable continuities’ of the city (Beauregard and Haila, 2000) lead to divergence on the other side.

Our original case studies illustrate that processes of urban spatial structural convergence might exist in very dissimilar settings. Despite the enormous differences between São Paulo Metropolitan Area and the Randstad-Holland, similar processes including decentralisation, polarisation and accentuated polycentricism occur in both global city-regions, because they have similar functions as global nodes of command. Both are large nodes in global networks of power, finance, production and movement.

The processes to what globalizing agents are responding to are manifold. On one hand, urban processes are persistent and do not change overnight. New forms of organisation of production and the territory have to deal with the pre-existing fabric of the city and with long-standing societal processes. Global actors are increasingly present in the local arena and the real estate market is increasingly more delocalized. Simultaneously, local agents are more sensitive to global demands and opportunities. This does not mean that local urban regulations, local political restraints, local development policies and a myriad of other place-specific factors do not interfere with processes of urban transformation. It means, however, that cities are now more than ever exposed to a similar logic, which might result in similar spatial developments.

Governments (at various levels) had to promote structural and spatial transformation in order to strengthen connections to local networks and to deal with the effects of stronger and more dynamic networks being created by the expansion of national and foreign TNCs and other globalizing forces.

The role of the public sector is much more preponderant than we are led to believe by discourses advocating the shrinking of the public sphere and a new economic laissez-faire. In fact, local governments are perhaps the main promoters of urban transformation related to global forces. We do not underestimate, however, the growing power and influence of private corporations and the strong effects of market liberalisation reforms. The forging of alliances between the private and the public sector seems to have a very different meaning in different contexts, partly because of different perceptions on how public matters should be conducted in terms of societal goals.

As the Faria Lima Avenue in São Paulo so clearly exemplifies, attracting foreign investment in the form of headquarters and advanced producer services has become one of the main concerns of national and local authorities of the main global cities. One of the main tools deployed by local administrations in order to

attract these functions was the carrying out of large urban projects (LUPs). LUPs have had a deep impact on questions related to centrality, urban structure and infrastructure, image, local budget and the creation of distinctive spaces where the forces connected to globalization can operate. Distinctive urban locations as well as outstanding buildings are intimately associated with corporate image and marketing. The emergence of ‘new centralities’ in global cities is related to the progression of trade and foreign direct investment around the world and the ensuing sophistication of business operations, as well as increasingly complex location decisions that rely primarily in connectivity and image. Further research is necessary to establish whether this is valid for cities below a certain threshold in the global city hierarchy, as suggested by Taylor (2004) or whether the emergence of new centralities related to the rise of the tertiary sector is a widespread phenomenon.

Public Private Partnerships such as those described in the case of São Paulo should be considered in a broader context and analysed accordingly. Despite representing important steps towards the development of new patterns of governance, PPPs have produced a massive concentration of investment of all kinds, leading to growing interest of the market in investment in real estate.

We hasten to emphasize our conviction that globalizing forces do not create gleaming and glistening corporate hubs only. They have a general effect on how cities are organised as a whole, with disparate and often opposing results. Cities must be understood as systems composed by articulated parts, where structural transformations in one part of the system are bound to affect the structure of the whole system, both spatially and socially. We also point out at the fact that globalizing forces act upon existing national urban systems and hierarchies that are not bound to change overnight. Stakeholders operate in very specific urban, social and cultural systems. It is to be expected that the ‘continuities of the city’ offer resistance to convergent structural and functional processes. In São Paulo, this resistance has taken a very active form in the case of the Faria Lima Avenue, where organised civil society has actively protested against local government policies regarding what the local government saw as the expansion of global business hub.

In the case of São Paulo, it is clear that the new phase of capitalist production is reinforcing city polycentricism, either planned or triggered by market forces. Can these two ever work separately? The market seems to dictate the path. But it is the State who builds infrastructure and facilitates production.

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## **Identity Politics and Culture-Led Urban Regeneration in Hualien City, Taiwan**

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### **Abstract:**

Since the 1990s, cities in Taiwan have begun to seek urban development strategies to solve new urban problems. The strategies have produced many new urban places, including revitalization of heritage, reuse of spare space, mega urban projects. The production of these urban new places is related to political decentralization and economic transformation driven by globalization, neo-liberalism, post-Fordism, and post-industry. This research will explore urban change and the political and economic context of urban development strategies of Hualien City—a small tourist city in the east coast of Taiwan, focusing on the period of political democratization and economic liberalization after the 1990s.

Localities have become an important arena to mitigate the impact of globalization. The economic base and spatial structure of most places have changed due to the rise of post-Fordism and deindustrialization. Global economic change also affects new discourses of urban development. Neo-liberalism changes previous urban policies that emphasize redistribution and even development to new principles of competitiveness, privatization, entrepreneurship, flexibility, and decentralization. Therefore, local governments play an increasingly important role.

The research will explore the following issues:

1. Explore major trends of the world economy, the impacts of these trends on cities of Taiwan, the spatial relations of cities, and the ways Hualien City have responded to these changes.
2. Explore the political economic process of urban policies in Taiwan and urban development in Hualien City.
3. Examine the discourses in the production of new urban places in Hualien City, especially the arguments for and against neo-liberalism (Leitner, Peck and Sheppard, 2007).

**Keywords:** neo-liberalism, Asia, development strategies, Taiwan, urban development, developmental state, new urban places



Urban space is always in the process of being shaped and reshaped by the spatial practices of different people and groups. This paper explores the production of new urban places at Hualien City of Taiwan after 1990. It uses three case studies of new places of analyze urban development strategies of the city.

The development strategy is an important issue because locality becomes a key arena to respond the impact of globalization (Clarke & Gaile: 1998: 3). The rise of post-Fordism causes the economic restructuring and has transformed economic base of the city around the world. Deindustrialization is a common problem for many industrialized cities. The operation of new economy is based on region. The international competitiveness of a region is determined by whether the region can create an economic cluster of companies or specialized labor (Ibid.: 3). Therefore, the active role of locality is crucial. The local community should be able to comprehend the tendency of globalization and seek ways to respond to it. The capacity of global thinking and local action is central for local development (Ibid.: 4-5) .

Global economic change influences the spatial structure and brings new problems of urban development. In the process of spatial restructuring under neoliberalism, urban and regional policies alter the goal from distribution and equilibrium to local competition, concentrating more resources to the region that are industrial clusters, to enhance the importance of the city-region in the international division of labor (Brenner & Theodore: 2002). New tendency of urban development is formed in the process of new economic and political change. The concentration of capital and political investment increases uneven development between regions. The policy shift under neoliberal discourses, including privatization, entrepreneurship, flexibility, and the reduction of central government's role, affects local development. Local government and community organization play a vital role to lead local development. Whether the local government and community organization have the capacity to analyze the impact of globalization and respond to it will decide the future development of local community.

This research will explore urban change and the political and economic context of urban development strategies of Hualien City—a small tourist city in the east coast of Taiwan, focusing on the period of political democratization and economic liberalization after the 1990s. Since the 1990s, cities in Taiwan have begun to seek urban development strategies to solve new urban problems. The strategies have produced many new urban places, including revitalization of heritage, reuse of spare space, mega urban projects. The production of these urban new places is related to political decentralization and economic transformation driven by globalization, neo-liberalism, post-Fordism, and post-industry.

### **New uneven geographical development and development strategies**

The urban system in every country has been changing under influence of globalization. Sassen (2000) summarizes several trends of the change. In developing countries, megacities and primacy of major cities have increased. However, the internationalization of production and the development of tourism can lead to the emergence of new growth poles. If the new growth pole is located outside major cities, it will reduce the primacy of present urban system. In developed countries, the importance of a city is influenced by the internationalization of economic activities. The transnational urban system connects cities in a hierarchical relationship. The area outside the national, statewide, or global network will be increasingly marginalized (p. 55-57).

In response to the problems of deindustrialization and economic transformation, the cities in Europe and America use different strategies of development. U.S. Dept. of Housing and Urban Development unveiled a new report entitled "Strategies for Success: Reinventing Cities for the 21st Century" in 2001. The report summarized several strategies of development: redevelop city center, revitalize housing and neighborhood revitalization, create new destinations (for tourism, entertaining, culture, sports, or other leisure), upgrade old industry, invest on the promotion of industrial cluster and cooperation, develop labor force, attract high-tech industry, and create overflow effect of new economy. The capacity of local government is crucial for the success of the strategies. The local government should be able to analyze its own situation and has the flexible method to bring together funding and do marketing.

Many cities successfully transform themselves into the center of post-Fordist production and consumption, and the employment of the cities is mostly on service and cultural economy (Hamnett & Shoval, 2003). The strategies include the development of cultural industry (Hamnett & Shoval, 2003), marketing re-invented cities (Ward, 1998), attracting creative class (Florida, 2002), sustainability and equality (Fitzgerald & Leigh, 2002), and place-based programs of community development corporations (Vidal & Keating, 2004).

Many literatures criticize the development strategies. David Harvey points out the danger of commoditification (2005) and the entrepreneurship of urban governments (1989). Gordon MacLeod (2002) uses revanchist city to describe the city under urban entrepreneurship. The capitalist take over the leadership of urban development and exclude marginal groups or other progressive urban policies. Leitner, Peck, and Sheppard (2007) provide alternative ideas to contest neoliberalism: collective welfare, cooperation, consensus decision, understanding and respecting multiculture, equality, justice, and social welfare, and concerning environment. Leitner et al. also suggest the movements of contesting neoliberalism emphasize the attachment with local places, and the views and practices centering on local economy, culture, and ecology. The

movements focus on grassroots democracy, community economic development that stresses life as the center rather than profits.

### **Economic and regional development in Taiwan**

The economic growth rate in Taiwan slowed down since the 1990s. In the decade of 1980s, the rate was ever more than 10% in three years, but after 1990 it was never more 10%. The rate is even slower since 2000. Industrial structure also changes rapidly. In the mid-1980s, the employment in tertiary industry exceeded that in secondary industry. The employment in primary industry, i.e. agriculture, reduced dramatically. Only 5% of employer persons are in agriculture in 2006 (Table 1). In terms of regional development, electronic and information industry is in the northern region; traditional labor-intensive industry and precision machinery industry are in the central region; steel and petrochemical industry are in the southern region. The eastern region is the least industrialized region. The emergence of China has greater impact on the central and southern regions because their industry is mostly labor-intensive (Ching & Chou, 2007). The distribution of population reflects the economic development of different regions. In 2007, 43.9% of population are in northern region, 25.2% in central region, 28.4% in southern region, and only 2.6% in eastern region (Urban and Regional Development Statistic, 2007). °

Table 1. Industrial distribution of employed persons

	<b>Primary industry</b>		<b>Secondary industry</b>		<b>Tertiary industry</b>	
	Taiwan	Hualien	Taiwan	Hualien	Taiwan	Hualien
1971	35	53	30	12	35	38
1976	27	46	38	17	36	37
1981	19	38	41	24	40	38
1986	17	24	42	31	42	45
1991	21	17	35	32	44	51
2006	5	11	36	24	59	65

Source: Urban and regional development statistics, 2007

### **Population and social economic status of Hualien County**

The population of Hualien county was 347,000 in 2005. The number of population has decreased while the whole population in Taiwan is increasing. The majority of the population of Hualien county are living in Hualien City (31.55%) and Ji-An (22.4%). In terms of industrial structure, Hualien county has higher proportions in agriculture and service industry (Table 1). Tourist industry is the major economic base of Hualien County (Li, 2005). Taiwan began to

implement two days off per week in 2001 and created a new demand of weekend leisure. Tourism at Hualien prospers greatly after the new schedule of holiday.

The average of household income of Hualien county is 890,000 in 2004, which is lower than 1,123,000 of Taiwan. The poverty rate of Hualien ranks the third place of Taiwan. 2.81% of the population are low-income people. The average rate of low-income population is 0.91% in Taiwan.

### **Examining the Degree of Autonomy of local government**

Local governments play an important role for the locality to react the impacts of globalization. However, the existing administration system is still a top-down system. Local governments have low autonomy due to the lack of financial independence.

#### 1. Low fiscal autonomy of local government

According the tax law in Taiwan, most of the tax goes to the central government. Local governments rely on the tax related to real estate, which has relatively slower growth rate compared to the tax of industrial or commercial sector. The tax from real estate is especially limited for the less developed area (Wu, 2003). The tax base of Hualien county is among the lowest counties of Taiwan. Only 15.2% of real income of the county government is from its own tax base. In other words, 84.8% of its income is from the central government (Chao & Liu, 2006). This centralized tax system makes local government under the central government's control. Local governments have to follow the policies made by the central government. Due to the lack of funding, local governments have limited liberty to invent their own policies according their local needs. On the other hand, this centralized tax system makes the local government expand their budget in order to obtain the maximum subsidy from the central government, which causes a waste of the resources. This system also causes the dependence of the local government and does not force the local government to increase their tax base. On the contrary, the local politicians prefer to reduce tax to gain more votes. Therefore, most local governments have serious problem of deficits (Wu, 2003: 109; Chao & Liu, 2006). The debt of Hualien County government in 2006 reached to 9.4 billion NT dollars, which increased 7.98% since 2005. Every person in the county is in debt for at least 27,000 NT dollars (Ho, 2007).

#### 2. The rigid system of urban planning makes the local government unable to adjust the city for the post-industrial development.

Due to the lack of fiscal capacity, the local government in Taiwan cannot implement big urban projects. The major power of local governments is on regulating land development. Local

governments can guide urban development by using the policy tool for land use planning and infrastructure planning. However, traditional planning mainly concerns the population growth caused by industrialization. The major consideration of planning is from the perspective of quantity and control. The present zoning is inflexible for post-industrial development. Local governments only enact piecemeal revisions of urban planning and cannot guide the restructuring of the city from a more comprehensive view of urban development for post-industrial development (Chou, 2002).

### **Central Government's Policy: Cultivate local autonomy for building a new nation**

Although the local government lacks of autonomy in the present political system in Taiwan, cultivate local autonomy has been one of the goals of the central government since the 1990s. The motivation behind the goal is primarily political-- to construct a new Taiwanese nation. The secondary reason is economy-- to seek ways to utilize local culture for cultural economy or tourism, in order to prevent the decline of the places that are not the industrial cluster of growing industry. However, the importance of political goal often exceeds the economic one. A centralized policy to foster local autonomy indeed is a very contradict idea. Does the local government or community increase their independence under this policy?

#### 1. Community Construction Policy

The KMT government was facing the political and economic challenges in the end of the 1980s. Domestically, political and social movements were emergent. Internationally, the countries in Southeast Asia and China were rising. The KMT government had to adopt new economic and cultural strategies to respond to the crisis. The new economic policies included establishing high-tech parks, supporting industrial transformation, deregulating financial and land control to attract foreign capital. Culturally, the government began to construct Taiwanese identity to separate from Chinese history. President Lee Teng-Hui initiated the "ben-tu-hua" (localization) policy and directed the Council for Cultural Affairs to carry out Community Construction Policy since 1994. The content of the policy includes "development of community culture", "substantial performance facilities in towns", "substantial cultural treasures and establishment of theme exhibitions in counties" and "local traditional cultural space to beautify." The policy serves several purposes. Politically, it encourages the involvement of local affairs and shapes the habit of democratic participation. It also tries to bring together the community consciousness to form local self-identity, and then transforming it into Taiwanese identity for a new nation. Economically, it intends to combine local culture and industrial development, creating cultural industry to revitalize local economy (Yen, 2007).

## 2. Re-define cultural heritage

Another central government's policy critical for urban development in Hualien city is the Culture Assets Preservation Law. The historical preservation is a complicated issue due to the uncertain status of Taiwan in the global society (Yen, 2007). Before the 1970s, the government neglected any historical preservation because three-hundred-year Taiwan's history is relative short compared to five-thousand-year Chinese history. Taiwan was Japanese colony for fifty years before the KMT government governs Taiwan, which is also a history that many people want to forget. This neglect continued until the end of 1970s when the United Nations recognized China government and Taiwan began to experience diplomatic isolation. Since then, the KMT government could no longer claim its legitimacy as legal and representative regime for China. It began to transform its cultural discourse from Chinese centric to Taiwanese centric, hence historical preservation became a state policy. The Council for Cultural Affairs was established in 1981 and the Culture Assets Preservation Law was enacted in 1982. However, the definition of heritage is according to its relevance with Chinese culture. Aboriginal or Japanese colonial buildings were not recognized as heritage in this stage (Yen, 2007). The recognition of aboriginal and Japanese colonial building finally launched in the 1990s when the state began to relate the local culture and build a new Taiwanese identity (Yen, 2007). The wider definition of heritage is important for Hualien City because the city was mainly constructed by Japanese. Many Japanese buildings can be preserved after the new definition.

## 3. Promote Culture and Creative Industry

The culture heritage bears the same duty as the community construction policy does—create Taiwanese identity for a new nation and develop cultural economy to revive local community. The DDP party came into power in 2000. The DDP government is more explicit to the goal to development cultural economy.

Facing the ongoing economic restructuring in Taiwan due to more intense global competition and China's magnetic effect, the DDP government enacted a national policy in 2002, Challenge 2008 – National Development Plan, to construct Taiwan as a “Green Silicon Island.” The plan included three reforms in political, financial, and fiscal domains and ten key plans to invest in manpower, R&D, global logistics distribution channels, and living environment. This plan showed the efforts of the government to develop a knowledge-based economy by enhancing labor and innovation. It also aimed at creating new economy such as establishing a regional headquarter for multinational corporations, and it is the first time to incorporate cultural and creative industry into national policy. In addition to economic development, this plan intended to

establish a sustainable living environment by encouraging a bottom-up approach of community development.

Among the ten key plans, two plans have a vital influence on the urban development of Hualien City. One is “Cultural and Creative Industry Development Plan” and the other is “New-Home Community Development Plan.” The Cultural and Creative Industry Development chose five places in Taiwan to set up cultural and creative parks, Hualien winery was one of the five parks. The cultural and creative park serves the function to create a favorable environment for the development of creative industries. It provides studio, gallery, performance hall, or meeting places for artists to promote cultural business. New Home Community Development Plan continues the Community Construction Plan in the 1990s. It proposed a new idea—Museum of Local Culture, to guide local government and communities in the reuse of empty space to establish various cultural facilities, to “enhance local cultural activities, tourism, and business” (Council of Cultural Affairs, 2004).

### **Examining Local Autonomy**

The policies from the central government to encourage local autonomy have their own political and economic reasons. Are these centralized policies successful to enhance independence of local governments and communities so that the locality has the capacity to define its ambition and adjust itself for the new challenge of globalization? Lu (2004) found that the central government has transferred part of its power and resources to local governments and communities in the process of democratization since the late 1980s. From his case studies of natural conservation, communities, local indigenous tribes, and local governments play active roles in different cases. However, different locality has different stories. The degree of autonomy is determined by the characteristics of local members, including local governments, community groups, and local capitalists.

Due to the geographical isolation separating by the central mountain, the eastern region was considered as a marginal and border area since the Chinese Empire of Ching Dynasty (Hsia, 2005). The people in the eastern region also have considered this area as the less progressive place of Taiwan, so they believe that the eastern region is in need of industrialization. Therefore, even in the mid-1990s, the development plan of Hualien County government aimed at both goals of developing tourism and industrialization (Chi et al., 2005). In the 1980s, prosperous political and social movements also happened at Hualien. However, the majority of the social and environment movements at Hualien failed, including the movements against Ho-Pin Cement Industrial District, Taiwanese Cement Factory, China Paper Factory, an air-force base, and the widening of Highway 11. Compared to the adjacent county, I-Lan, which is a more politically

progressive county, Hualien's social and environment movements could not stop the polluted industry. Part of the reason is due to the internal conflicts of the community groups, but the major reason is the less autonomy of the local government (Chi et al., 2005). The local government of Hualien had followed the instruction and policy from the central government. Unlike I-Lan County, Hualien county government did not have its own discourse of local development. This paper is further discussing the issue of autonomy from the case study of new places in Hualien City.

### **New Urban Places of Hualien City**

There are several kinds of new urban places since 1990s. This research project is still undergoing. Therefore, this presentation will include two kinds of new places. The first one is renovation of old Japanese houses. The second one is about a controversial hotel project at the beach, which is under petition of several communities, students, and environmental groups.

#### **1. Preservation of Old Japanese Houses:**

In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Hualien was the place of gold mine for the Dutch and Spanish Colonists. The establishment of large settlement began in Ching Dynasty, but the Ching government did not do any major construction at Hualien. In 1895, Taiwan became Japanese colony. After a rebel of Ami indigenous tribe, the colonial Japanese government established an administration office at Hualien. It also encouraged the migration of Japanese people from Japan mainland and built several Japanese immigrant villages at Hualien (Chu, 2006). Japanese government started the modern city planning based on a grid system for Hualien city and built major infrastructure for the city, including harbor, railway, airport, and manufactory. Almost all the historical buildings at Hualien city were Japanese colonial architecture. Without official recognition as cultural heritage before the mid-1980s, Japanese buildings disappeared very quickly. Preservation efforts finally began to take action after the redefinition of cultural heritage in 1990s. The "new places" of Hualien city after the 1990s are actually renovations of old Japanese buildings. The major actors in different preservations are different. The study of the actors from these different cases will elaborate more about the meaning of local autonomy.



### Pine Garden



Pine Garden was originally a Japanese military office built in the 1940s. After 1945, it was once a resort for American army. Then it was managed by different agencies and was gradually abandoned. In 1995, this site was destined as an international hotel. Local community was against this idea and began to form an organization to preserve pine trees and the building. This organization successful gained the support from Hualien County Government. The County Government applied its power in urban planning, changing the land use from hotel to park, and further submitted the application to the central government to designate Pine Garden as cultural heritage. In 2001, the Council of Cultural Affairs chose Pine Garden as one of the pilot projects for reuse of empty space and provided funding for renovation. Several community organizations and artists formed a new organization to continue participation and assist the renovation. Through the process of community participation, the new function of the space includes artist studio, cultural exhibition, an outreach center for arts, an ecological habitat, and tourism. By the end of 2003, Pine Garden was reopened to the public and now is a popular art center and also a park. After the renovation, the management of the space was first given to a community organization at Hualien and then to a professional artist management company. The funding of the management is partly from the coffee shop in the park, but mostly is still from the Council of Cultural Affairs.

In 2003, the first Hweilan International Artist Workshop was held in Pine Garden. But after that, the workshop chose other remote places of Hualien. Pine Garden is not suitable for artist studio because of the official regulation and the rule of management from the private company. The policy of reuse of empty space by the Council of Cultural Affairs is originated from the ideas of urban redevelopment in Europe or North America. Facing the problems of deindustrialization, the cities in those countries renovated abandoned buildings and created new destinations to

enhance the economic base of the cities. The renovated buildings have many different functions. They can be offices, housing, public markets, shops as well as art centers. The reuse of empty space policy in Taiwan was guided by the cultural agency of the government. Therefore, the function of the space is primarily for cultural purpose. There is limitation for commercial use (Yang, 2006: 41). The operation of the renovated building continues to rely on the government's funding. Due to the limitation from management regulations, these buildings are not suitable for artist studio. Many of the renovated buildings are still in the uncertain status about their functions. Even so, Pine Garden is still a very popular public space and tourist destination at Hualien.

#### Kuo Tze-Jiou Music Museum



Kuo Tze-Jiou was a local musician who was used to be a music teacher in Hualien Boy Senior High School. The location of the museum is the home of Mr. Kuo. It is an old Japanese house, which is also a faculty housing of the high school. The preservation is according to the national policy “Challenge 2008” that encouraged the establishment of museums of local culture. The Cultural Bureau of the county government and the school played a leading role to preserve of the house. This partnership makes the renovation process go smoothly. Hualien Boy Senior High School is taking care of the museum. Several concerts have been held in this place. This museum successfully enhances the construction of local history and the identity of Hualien people. On the other hand, the museum also increases the property value of the Mei-Lun area, which is a upper-middle class area of Hualien.

Hualien Old Winery: The Cultural and Creative Park



The old winery was a Japanese factory built in 1913 and became vacant when Taiwan Beer Company moved to a new site in 1988. The location is at the center of the city and has a large area (3.3 acres). Similar to the experience of Pine Garden, the preservation effort started from the community organizations and local artists. In 2001, Hualein County Government changed the land use of the winery into a historical park. In 2002, the national development plan chose the location as a creative and cultural park. Since this is the national plan, the Council of Cultural Affairs takes charge of the renovation. The county government assists the process. The private sector began to run the park after renovation in 2007 with most funding from the Council of Cultural Affairs. The Park bears the function of culture and tourism. It is an important site for art exhibitions, performance, and weekend art markets. The city center is a very dense commercial area without much open space. The opening of the Park gradually transforms the quality of city center.

Examining these three cases

Table 2: Three new places of Hualien and major actors in the production

	<b>Major actor for Preservation</b>	<b>Secondary actor</b>	<b>Agency responsible for Renovation</b>	<b>Management</b>
<b>Pine Garden</b> (2003)	Community organizations	County Government  Council of Cultural Affairs	Council of Cultural Affairs	Community organization  Private company
<b>Kuo Tze-Jiou Music Museum</b> (2006)	Hualien Boy Senior High School  County Government	Community organizations  Council of Cultural Affairs	County Government	Hualien Boy Senior High School
<b>Old Winery Cultural and Creative Park</b> (2007)	Community organizations  Council of Cultural Affairs	County Government	Council of Cultural Affairs	Community organization  Private company

The experiences of preserving the three places can be shown in the table above. In these three cases, community organizations are the major actor to initiate the preservation. Local government helps to seek the resources and funding from central government. Local government applies its power in land use to redefine the space and preserve the three sites. In addition, all these three cases were on the public land, so the local government can use the authority of land use without extra expenditure. Central government makes major policy and provides funding. After the renovation, private sector runs the places with major funding from the central government.

From these three cases, local government has lower autonomy to plan the future of development. Central government plays the leading role of making policies and providing funding. The development of local places is in the framework of central government. However, the policy goal to promote local autonomy and local culture gives the opportunity for community groups to be involved in the local affairs and become critical actors for local development.

Culture as the strategies for local development

The policies of Community Construction and Cultural Heritage are the cultural strategies of Taiwan to deal with the new international division of labor and new international relations in the 1990s. Their main purpose is to build a new sense of place (or a new sense of Taiwan) for constructing a Taiwanese nation (Yen, 2007). Local culture in every part of Taiwan becomes the center of the new identity. Old buildings can be heritage for the community no matter if they

were Chinese or not. The new identity towards locality changes the definition of history and heritage, and hence many abandoned space can be renovated, becoming new places for the community. The birth of the new places in Hualien City is owing to the new cultural strategies of Taiwan. The new places also bear the function to revitalize local economy. They are designed to be new tourist attractions and the base to develop cultural economy.

It is still questionable whether the political, cultural, and economic functions have been fulfilled. All three places have heavily relied on funding from the central government. One reason is because they are defined as public and cultural facilities, there is limitation for commercial use. Even if local non-for-profit organizations of Hualien run these places, these organizations are not active to seek other financial resources. The public funding is gradually drained due to increasing debts not only at the local government level but also at the central government level. How long the facilities can be maintained in present way is in doubt. The economic benefit of these places is hard to measure. Nevertheless, the tourists to Hualien do increase and the number of hotel is also increasing. The number of B&B at Hualien County reached to 546 in 2007, which was about one-fourth of all B&B in Taiwan (DGBAS report No. 100, 2007 May 29).

Politically, the intention to separate from Chinese culture caused internal conflicts within Taiwan. Due to the different timing of migration from China to Taiwan, people in Taiwan have different identities in the spectrum of pro-China and pro-Taiwan. The gradually frequent trade and travel between China and Taiwan also make the separation more difficult. After eight years in power in Taiwan, the DDP government just lost the presidential election. The future of cultural strategies will be under observation. This strategy has surely enhanced self-identity of people in Taiwan towards Taiwan island. Recently new ways of travel become popular for Taiwanese people, including visiting every 319 villages of Taiwan, bike tour around Taiwan island, and eco-tourism to indigenous tribes, which shows a new taste of local culture.

## **2. Tourist industry and local development**

The preservation of three previous cases is relatively easy because the active role of local communities and the support from the county government. These three cases also gain the funding from the central government. Old Winery especially has a large sum because the national government intends to promote cultural creative industry. Another important reason is that these places are located on public-owned land and they are beautiful historical buildings. The preservation is also under the goal of the national government to promote tourism.

## Preservation of buildings

### Preservation of community life

The next case is very controversial because it deals with the disappearance of a fishing village. The profits from tourism gradually and rapidly destroy its natural and cultural landscape, and the life of the community. Different from previous cases, local and central governments aim at promote tourist industry and play an assisting role for private capitalists. The majority of local residents in the community are mostly fishermen, old veteran, and aboriginal people, which are relatively disadvantaged people in the society. The process of development excludes the participation of local residents. More and more residents are replaced by investors.

Chi-Sing-Tan is at the northern coast line of Hualien City and is one major tourist attraction in the city. It has been a small fishing village and has about one thousand people. In recent year, the pressure for development is becoming tense. Now it has about five small hotels. The largest one has 46 guest rooms. Investors also have bought lots of land and waited for resale. Some of the land is public-owned, but the government has already sold some parts of the land to private investors. Therefore, old residents, including many old veterans, either voluntarily and involuntarily move out of the place.

As mention above, the planning department of the local government did not have much capacity to lead local development. They only passively implement the land regulations. However, the decontrol of land regulation will actually bring out a great profit for private developers. Land regulation is still has certain crucial power to lead local development. From Chi-xin-tan's case, the local government uses land regulations to help developers to make the best profits at the expense of environment, local culture and the disadvantaged residents.

For the small hotels, local government only has a very relaxed building code. These hotels can use 100 percent of the land, which means they do not need to leave any yard around the building. The only limit is 18 meters' height. There is no review on the building design in terms of architectural form and waste management.

Local government not only welcomes private developers and even helps them to avoid environmental assessment. In 2007, the county government passed a large hotel project at Chi-Xing-Tan. However, this project was rejected by the environmental bureau at the central government level. In 2009, the county government applied for a new regulation and gained the

approval from the central government. The new regulation removes the requirement for environmental assessment for the land development under 5 acres.

### **Conclusion:**

The rise of post-Fordism and deindustrialization have changed the economic base and spatial structure of many previously industrialized places. Localities become an important arena to mitigate the impact of globalization. The new discourse of neo-liberalism also changes previous urban policies that emphasize redistribution and even development to new principles of competitiveness, privatization, entrepreneurship, flexibility, and decentralization. Therefore, local governments play an increasingly important role.

The present political and fiscal system in Taiwan limits local governments' capacity to pursue their own development strategies. Central government controls the resources and defines the goal of development and most local governments follow the centralized policies. The central government has applied cultural strategies since the 1990s to cultivate local autonomy in order to construct a new national identity and to revitalize local economy. The new definition of culture and heritage creates opportunities for the recovery of old buildings, especially the ones built in the Japanese colonial period. The birth of new renovated places bears cultural and economic functions. The new strategies have increased the participation of local communities and self-identity. The economic benefit of the cultural strategies is still under examination.

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## **Track 7: Planning for Rural Areas**

### **Track Co-Chairs**

Roar Amdam, Volda University College

Toivo Muilu, University of Oulu

The idea of 'rural' or 'countryside' planning has evolved over the 20th century. In many countries, planning was once seen simply as the means of 'protecting' rural resources through the containment of urban areas and the promotion of farming interests. But the complexity of resource questions, of social change and of economic restructuring in rural areas and the turn to a more competition-based regional planning and development policy over the 20th century, and into the 21st, has created new challenges for planning systems. The need to move away from a narrow 'resource' perspective and engage in integrated spatial planning and development for a differentiated and multifunctional countryside has become increasingly evident and has made some parts of the countryside a scant resource. However, this need has been met with varying degrees of enthusiasm and success.

Rural areas now experience land-use conflicts between farming, dwelling, tourism, industry, heritage, nature protection, etc., and cultural conflicts between local, regional, national, and global values and interests. Rural areas can without doubt be incorporated in the main theme of this conference; rural space is luxury. However, the concept of 'space' may be seen as both an advantage and burden of rural areas. On one hand, it is the countryside that can provide new spaces to expanding urban areas and to increasing recreational demands and needs. From this standpoint, physical space is a specific resource of rural areas, at least in the less densely populated areas. On the other hand, distances and scattered population structures, for example, may cause high-priced problems to planning of infrastructure. In this case, space may be seen as a weight, at least among regional and urban planners.

The aim of these sessions is to examine the transformation of planning for rural areas in recent times. The focus is on broad processes (and the widening of planning's remit in the countryside), on combination of top-down and bottom-up policy, on urban–rural linkages, on the role of planning in mediating between competing interests and promoting 'multifunctional' countryside, and on the big challenges that rural areas now face. These challenges include migration and housing pressure, the building of second homes, the development of rural tourism, the restructuring of rural communities and economies, environmental change and environmental opportunities (including the opportunities for addressing global challenges, such as climate change, through more effective rural planning), and the local and national politics of rural planning and of the countryside.

# PUBLIC AND PRIVATE USE OF OPEN SPACE IN A DENSELY URBANIZED CONTEXT

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**Keywords:** open space, privatization, recreation

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## Abstract

The boundary between the Flemish urban and rural areas has faded in recent years and a fragmented spatial structure has emerged. The ‘open space’ is evolving from an agricultural production area to a semi-urbanized consumption area. On the one hand the public use of open space seems to be growing, particularly because of the success of recreational networks. On the other hand the open space also seems to be increasingly used in a private way, as a consequence of residential development, setting up gardens and hobby farming. An empirical case study showed that these evolutions are actual phenomena and that some determining conditions can be defined. Both evolutions tend to change the open space profoundly. Planning policy should be aiming to guide these evolutions in the best way possible, considering the limited carrying-capacity of open space. Maybe the control of accessibility of the countryside is part of the solution.

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## 1. Introduction

The terms city and countryside can be considered as two ideal images that don’t exist no longer in Flanders. Elements of these two opposites exist scattered and fragmented across the Flemish landscape. Due to different urbanization movements a complex spatial structure has come into being, where the traditional boundaries between city centres and suburbs, between city and countryside and also between residential areas and rural areas have faded. What remains is a vague and chaotic spatial structure without any real notion of centrality, existing of fragments with different densities and functions.

In the pre-industrial era agriculture and nature were practically the only users of the Flemish open space. Now, the so-called ‘open space’ is evolving from an agricultural production area to a semi-urbanized consumption area where people reside, work and recreate. These signs of urbanization, that endanger the

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traditional agricultural function, seem to occur with different degrees to the farthest corners of the Flemish region.

In this paper two transformations will be examined that occur simultaneously in the Flemish 'open space' and appear contradictory at first sight. On the one hand the public use of open space seems to be growing, particularly because of the success of recreational networks and supporting infrastructure. This recreational joint use of the open space can be noticed on the ground in the form of cycling and walking networks, mountain bike trails, picnic grounds, information panels, etc. The open space is becoming a shared space that is consumed massively by the modern 'urbanized' Flemings.

On the other hand the open space also seems to be increasingly used in a private way, as a consequence of residential development, setting up gardens and using former pasture land to keep horses. The collective use of rural parcels – like agricultural space to produce for the society, woods that are accessible to everyone – is decreasing more and more. Parcels are increasingly enclosed and used in a way that has no connection with the original function and sometimes curbs the accessibility of open space.

The growing public and private use seems to be an actual evolution in Flemish open space. Nevertheless little research has been done so far to check whether or not these intuitive observations can be objectified. This is partly because of the lack of data – due to the juridical context – which makes it difficult to situate or quantify these phenomena. In addition, these profound changes in the use of our open space pose tough choices for policymakers for some important choices. It is clear that the carrying-capacity of the open space is limited and that an increase of public or private land use can pose problems.

This paper wants to focus on an empirical assessment of these two phenomena via terrain study as well as an evaluation of the policy related to it. Consequently, the research is built up around three important and intriguing research questions; Are public use and privatization important phenomena in Flemish open space? What can be seen as the determining conditions? What is the policy related to these phenomena?

The findings demonstrate that public use and privatization tend to have a profound impact on the open space. Not all Flemish regions are affected in the same way, some determining conditions can be defined. Planning policy should be aiming to guide these evolutions in the best way possible, considering the limited carrying-capacity of open space. Anyway, a better enforcement of the permission system can be helpful in the short term.

Because of Flanders' specific and dense urbanization pattern, assessing these transformations in a Flemish context can probably open a relevant research for similar contexts in North-West Europe or other urbanized regions in the world.

The rest of the paper will be organized in the following way. First some literature will be discussed, divided into two parts: a social placing of the phenomena and an overview of existing research. The next part handles

about the methodology of the research, followed by a part in which the results are displayed. A discussion about the results will conclude the paper.

The discussed methodology and results were developed in the last years by the Centre for Mobility and Spatial Planning of Ghent University within the research activities of the Policy Research Centre on Space and Housing, financed by the Flemish government.

## **2. Literature overview**

### *2.1 Social placing*

#### *Privatization*

The increase of private land use can be understood within the broader societal evolution of individualization, which implies the control over your own money, your own time, your own body and also your own private piece of land (Beck, 1992). This individualization trend started in the 18th century but has not become dominant until halfway the 20th century, together with the flourishing of capitalism (Sennett, 1977; Giddens, 1991). Individualization and the increasing independence of the individual are namely only possible in societies with a high degree of specialization as well as functional differentiation, with a corresponding high production of goods and a high level of amenities. These are all elements that exist in our contemporary modern societies. Furthermore gradually a 'culture' of individualism has come into being, which suggests that people have the right to pursue individual happiness (Schnabel, 2004).

In the last decades an evolution towards hyper-individualism can be observed, related to a strong individualization of consumption (whilst individualization was initially linked with production). This logic of hyper-individualism is strengthened by our technological equipment and our ordinary spatial planning. This evolution can be spatially translated to the ideas of privatization and capsularization (De Cauwer, 2005).

Privatization points to the moving of human activity from the 'public' space to the 'private' space, which leads to serious threats to the survival of the public sphere (Lofland, 1998). Capsularization stands for the idea that people want to live in capsules; inward directed, isolated spaces that have to represent security, privacy and hygiene and that radically ignore the environment which they are situated in (De Cauwer, 2005).

This privatization and capsularization movements can be clearly noticed in the Flemish countryside. Many people prefer a peripheral location to buy or build a detached house, surround it with a private – often fenced off – outdoor area and if possible for the horse lover a private hobby pasture. Living on the countryside has evolved from a necessity to a choice.

### *Public use*

Opposed to the increasing private appropriation of open space are standing different transformations that make the open space more accessible, introduce new meeting places and supply a multiple land use, mainly in the field of recreation.

Because of complex and often contradictory urban processes an unambiguous approach of public space is no longer sufficient. For a long time yet, public space isn't situated any longer only in the cities and one can say that the urban public space is declining (Lofland, 1998). A new (thinner) form of public life is emerging in the contemporary society, which demands a redefinition of public space. Public space doesn't disappear in the network city, but gets a new meaning and appears at new places (Nio, 2001).

The open space gradually becomes such a 'new' public space (Van der Wouden, 1999). This broadening of the term 'urban public space' is the consequence of a scaling-up of urbanization processes, changes in leisure spending, and fundamental transformations in the social-economic relations (Hemel and Van Uum, 1999). The open space is more and more consumed and experienced as a 'leisure space'. Hereby visitors often follow the tourist gaze, paying much attention to the visual aspect. They are searching authenticity, the so-called rural idyll (Urry, 1995; Hemel and Van Uum, 1999; Leinfelder, 2007).

In addition to this idea of open space as consumption space there are two other possible points of view that give an explanation for the evolution towards 'open space as public space', namely the open space as a new 'public space' for socio-cultural confrontation (Leinfelder, 2007) and open space as a reservoir for recreational activities (Boonen and Smits, 2002; Metz, 2002). Especially the last view can very explicitly be noticed in the Flemish open space, a large part of the visitors consider the open space only as a green scenery for experiences and entertainment.

Concerning the future of the public open space different opinions exist. Some authors warn for the increasing public 'claim' and emphasize the need for a new balance between the private sphere and the public sphere, because of the existing discrepancy between the way how the landscape is produced and how it is consumed (Mels, 2006). Others think that 'everything is permitted everywhere' (Hemel and Van Uum, 1999).

## *2.2 Related research*

### *Privatization*

When it comes to privatization of Flemish open space, some relevant research has already been carried out in the last years. Concerning residential housing, Pisman et al. (2008) showed that the number of people living in the open space has declined in the period 1998-2007, corresponding to the objectives in the Flemish Spatial Structure Plan of 1997, that concentrate on a reinforcement of residential cores. On the other hand the number of households, in the same 'open space', has increased in the period 1998-2007, mainly because of the evolution towards smaller households. An increase of households in the open space leads consequently to an increase of houses. This tendency is conflicting with the objectives in the Flemish Spatial Structure Plan.

Dewaelheyns et al. (2008) focused on the spatial characteristics of the garden complex in Flanders. They interpret this term as 'the whole of individual private gardens, associated with a house' and therefore gardens will also occur in relation with houses in the open space. Three aspects are examined: the relative spatial importance and the distribution, the spatial associations with other categories of land use and the morphology of the spatial structure. They calculate that 13 percent of the Flemish territory consists of gardens, which makes it an important land user. Gardens seem to be concentrated around city centres and villages and are more abundant in urbanized municipalities. One can conclude that gardens are 'followers' of urbanization. Dewaelheyns et al. tried also to get insight into the active process of 'gardenization' on previously open pieces of land, an important transformation in the open space. Based on their sample, 8,4% of the garden area in the period 2002-2005 is new compared to the garden area in the period 1988-1990 and most of these gardens occupy former agricultural land. This proves that 'gardenization' really is an actual process. Concerning the increasing presence of hobby pastures in Flemish open space, recently an explorative analysis on the spatial importance of the horse sector has been carried out by Bomans et al. (2009). They estimate the total number of horses in Flanders at 150.000. Based on a random test they conclude that 40 percent of all pastures, or approximately 5 percent of the Flemish territory, is occupied by horse pastures. Furthermore they conclude that small parcels close to gardens and/or woods have a significantly higher chance to be used for horse keeping. On a municipal level they pose that a strong splitting up of the open space, an urbanized character, a high density of gardens and pastures and small parcels lead to a significantly higher concentration of horses.

### *Public use*

Concerning public recreational use of Flemish open space, some general studies exist but profound spatial research is lacking. WES (2007) sheds light on trends on the demanding side in Flanders, which are the consequence of demographic and economic factors. The increasing leisure possibilities of people, together with the trend towards more fragmented leisure activities and short recreations, lead to a growing interest in outdoor activities in a green and rural environment. This leads to a demand for more well accessible and intricate networks, close to cities and village centres, with a high degree of supporting. At the same time some problems due to an increasing public use of Flemish open space are quoted by WES, like an exaggerated supply of recreational trails without uniform promotion, an exaggerated signposting on the terrain and conflicts between walkers, cyclists, riders and mountain bikers. De Spiegeleire et al. (2006) add to this list the problem of establishing a social basis and a certain tolerance among the local rural community. Finally, an interesting point of view comes from the British researchers Kay and Moxham (1996), who suggest that the idea of hordes of visitors threatening the countryside is a misconception. They examined the use of recreational walking trails on the English country side. It is true that some clear and serious temporal and spatial concentrations of visitors exist, but it is just a small and loyal part of the population that is

responsible for the greater part of the activities. The occasional visitors are probably visiting the popular destinations on the popular days, which causes the false impression of an overcrowded countryside.

### 3. Methodology

For the majority of mentioned phenomena of public and private land use, reliable numbers and data on a Flemish scale often don't exist or are very difficult to obtain. Also Dewaelheyns et al. (2008) and Bomans et al. (2009) emphasize this lack of data in Flanders. This makes it impossible to carry out research on a generalized Flemish scale or map the evolution of public and private land use over the last decades. Therefore is chosen to detect the phenomena via an empirical in-depth examination of study areas, to shed light on the extent of public and private land use and to determine some influencing spatial factors.

The municipal scale was chosen for the definition of the study areas. The selected municipalities were spatially distributed over Flanders based on some spatial criteria. Within these municipalities smaller micro study areas were demarcated. These study areas were put through a detailed terrain study. The results of the case study make it possible to give a provisional answer to some research questions. Finally the phenomena will be considered from a policy scope, by a confrontation with the permission system and the municipal spatial structure plans.

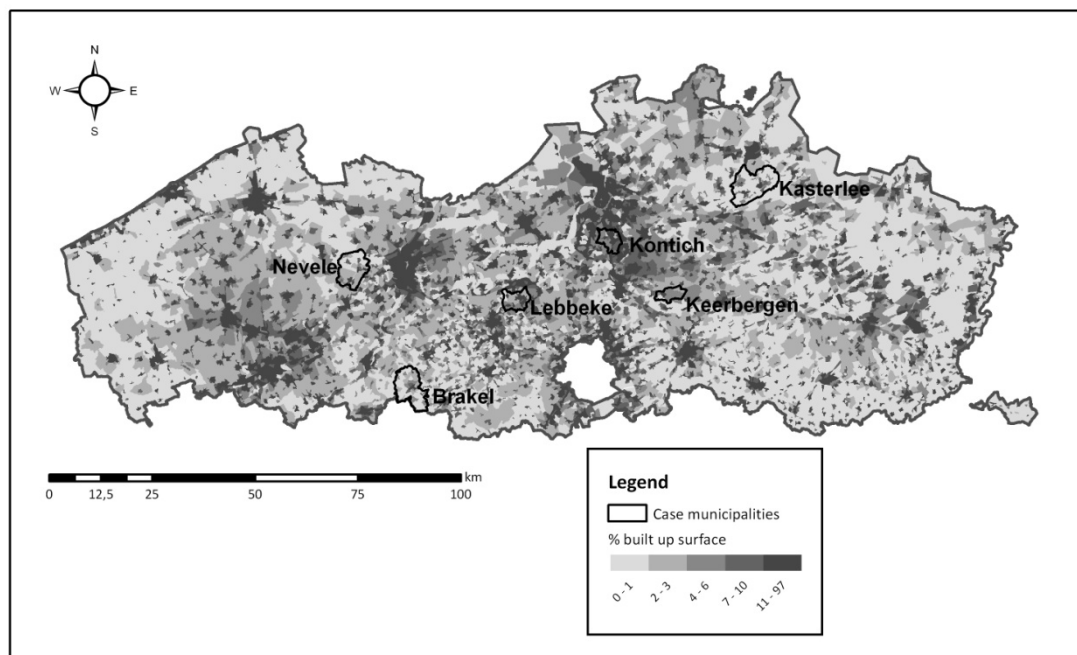
#### *Selection of case municipalities*

To date, six case municipalities were examined. The choice for these municipalities was based on an existing research on mixed land use in Flanders (Leinfelder and Pisman, 2008). In this research different spatial typologies are distinguished, with specific open space and urbanization characteristics. Six municipalities were chosen out of these types. Figure 1 shows their location.

- Low-dynamic open space under commuting pressure: Nevele
- Dynamic open space under recreation pressure: Brakel and Kasterlee
- Dynamic open space in a suburban field: Keerbergen and Lebbeke
- High-dynamic open space in an urban network: Kontich

In the summer of 2008 the first two municipalities, Kasterlee and Nevele, were examined. In the spring of 2009 the focus was on a third municipality, Kontich. In the summer of 2009 the three other municipalities, Brakel, Keerbergen and Lebbeke, were examined.





**Figure 1 Location case municipalities on a building density map of Flanders**

#### *Selection of micro study areas*

Because of practical reasons not the whole municipal territory could be studied. Three micro study areas were defined per municipality, as far as possible based on the information in the municipal spatial structure plans. It was attempted to select three strongly different areas, to make the diversity of phenomena as big as possible and to detect local differences:

- an area with a (possible) privatization pressure
- an area with a (possible) recreation pressure
- a reference area, with a dominant productive agriculture

The precise demarcation of the areas was made by infrastructure lines, mostly roads and railways, to make it possible to carry out a clear parcel wise registration of public and private phenomena. The assumed size of a micro study area was approximately 200 ha, so that on average 600 ha were studied in each municipality. In smaller, highly urbanized municipalities the micro study areas could be smaller.

#### *Terrain registration method*

The terrain study consisted in the onsite registration of public and private phenomena. Further processing took place in GIS (ArcGIS9.2 software), whereby attributes were linked to phenomena and further calculations were made possible, as well as a convenient cartographic representation. For the digitalization of the terrain registration, digital aerial views (OC-Gis Vlaanderen, 2003 and Google Maps (Teleatlas data, 2009)) and cadastral plans (Kadvec, 2005) were used. This made a detailed digitalization much easier and made it possible to uncover certain matters that were not visible on the terrain.

The broad phenomena of public use and privatization were operationalized by selecting specific phenomena that can be examined and registered on the terrain.

The most important **public** phenomenon is the recreational use of open space through recreational networks, supported by infrastructure, as the main elements. A subdivision was made into four categories:

- Signposts: all forms of recreational signposting, generally linked to recreational networks
- Other public small-scale infrastructural elements: for example benches, information panels, dustbins
- Recreational tracks: line-shaped structures that are clearly set up for or adapted to the needs of recreational users, like mountain bike and horse riding trails
- Recreational attraction poles: all kinds of establishments that have a crowd pulling, recreational character, like restaurants, sport grounds and riding schools

Concerning the **privatization** of open space it was attempted to register all visual private phenomena in the open space. Roughly speaking a difference was made between three categories:

- Non-agrarian buildings: all buildings that have no link with productive agriculture and are thus 'new' users of the open space (mostly houses and small commercial or manufacturing companies)
- Hobby pastures: all pastures that are used for a private purpose, namely hobby farming (mostly horses)
- Other privately used land: all other phenomena of private land use, like private woods, private fishponds and scattered vegetable gardens

#### *Evaluation of policy documents*

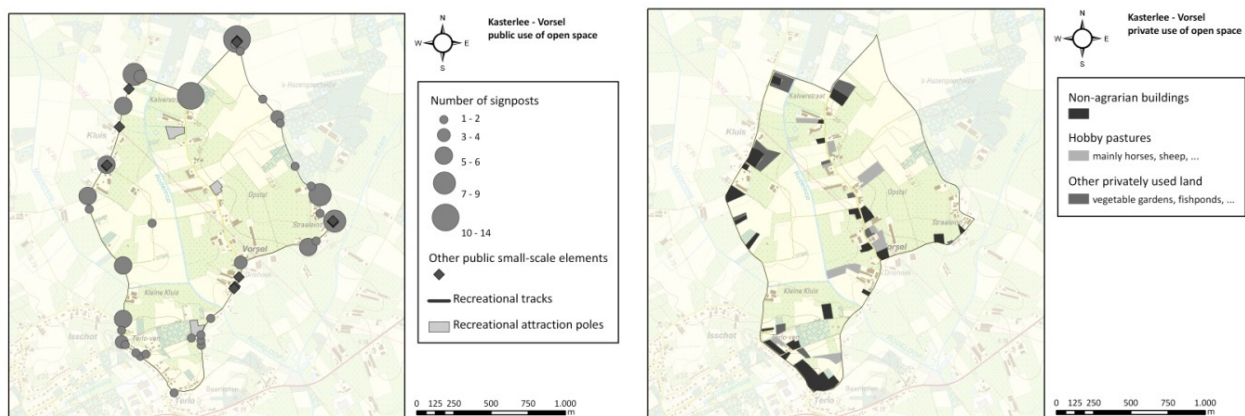
Additional to the terrain registration an evaluation of policy documents was conducted. On the one hand the permission system was examined, with special regard to the practices for small scale public and private interventions in the open space. These tend to change the character of our open space but seem to slip through the net when it comes to the permission policy.

On the other hand the municipal spatial structure plans of three case municipalities (Kasterlee, Kontich and Lebbeke) were evaluated. It will be assessed what kind of policy vision they have on the open space and whether some statements about recreational use and privatization of open space can be found in the documents.

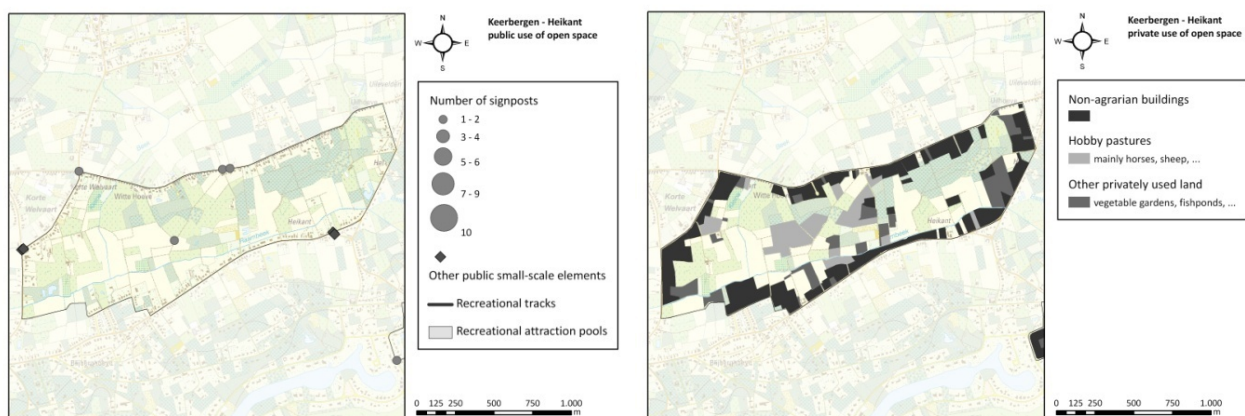
## **4. Results**

### *4.1 Terrain study*

Because of the lack of space, it is impossible to depict all the terrain registrations. Therefore the attention will be fixed on the resulting findings from this research. Some examples of the terrain registration can however be seen in the following figures (Figure 2 and Figure 3).



**Figure 2 High public vs. average private use of open space in a micro study area in Kasterlee**



**Figure 3 Low public vs. high private use of open space in a micro study area in Keerbergen**

Based on the terrain study it is clear that privatization as well as an increasing public use are real phenomena in the Flemish open space. At the same time it turns out that relevant differences can be noticed between the different micro study areas. It is clear that not all open spaces are publicly or privately used to the same degree. There exist some differences between municipalities as well as within municipalities.

At a **micro scale**, some factors can be defined which seem to give a higher chance on public or private land use. These influencing factors return in various micro study areas, but because of the qualitative intention of the research, these factors remain hypothetical. Table 1 gives an overview.

**Table 1 Influencing factors based on the terrain study**

	<b>PUBLIC USE</b>	<b>PRIVATE USE</b>
<b>Factors that give a higher chance on public/private land use</b>		Small parcels
	Presence of water and woodland	
	General recreational attractiveness of the municipality	
	Municipal touristic-recreational policy	
	Proximity of villages and residential areas	Presence of buildings, on a large scale (e.g. on the outskirts of villages) as well as a small scale (around dots or ribbons of buildings)
	Good accessibility	Good accessibility
	Absence of large private domains	

When it comes to the **public use** of open space, the following factors can be distinguished, that however strongly interfere with each other.

- Areas with an attractive landscape, with the presence of water and woodlands, seem to be used more in a public way.
- The general recreational attractiveness (often due to the location in a touristic region) seems also an influencing factor. In Kasterlee and Brakel, two municipalities with a noticeable recreational pressure, also the less interesting areas are strongly publicly used.
- The municipal policy seems to play a role too. Municipalities that pay attention to recreational networks will also involve their less attractive areas.
- Also the accessibility appears to be influencing: a weak accessibility causes a significantly lower public use. This is strongly linked with the private character of vast open space areas, which works obviously counterproductive for a high public use.
- Finally, open spaces neighbouring residential areas seem to be used more in a public way than expected based on their weak intrinsic values.

Also the **privatization** of open space seems to be influenced by some spatial characteristics.

- The presence of buildings seems to be an important influencing factor. Private land use is more frequent adjacent to the built environment, on a small scale as well as a larger scale.
- The parcel size appears to be very important too. Large agricultural parcels are not privatized very quickly, whereas small parcels are very susceptible.

- Finally also the accessibility seems an influencing factor. The more accessible an area, the more parcels are privatized. Parcels that are difficult to reach will not be privatized in first instance.

At a **macro scale**, some differences can be noticed between the various spatial typologies of the municipalities. These are summarized in Table 2.

Concerning the public use of open space it speaks for itself that the ‘dynamic open space under recreation pressure’ has the strongest recreational use of open space, with often a supra-local impact. The concerned municipalities, Kasterlee and Brakel, lay far from the urban areas and are part of important ‘touristic regions’. On the other hand the ‘high-dynamic open space in an urban network’ is strongly urbanized and has a weak public use of open space, with only minor local impacts. In the other spatial typologies structures on a meso- or micro-level seem to be more influencing than the general spatial typology. The local presence of nature conservation areas, woodlands or canals can cause a high local recreational use of open space, whereas the absence of local attraction structures causes the opposite.

Private use also leads to a differentiation at a macro level. Two typologies have a strongly privatized open space, namely the ‘dynamic open space in a suburban field’ and the ‘high-dynamic open space in an urban network’. These municipalities are also the most urbanized. In the other types of open space privatization rather seems to be a local phenomenon. Local factors, like the presence of buildings, the parcel size and the accessibility are determining here.

**Table 2 Differences according to spatial typology of open space**

	<b>PUBLIC USE</b>	<b>PRIVATE USE</b>
<b>Dynamic open space under recreation pressure</b>	Strong public-recreational land use	Determined by local factors
<b>Low-dynamic open space under commuting pressure</b>	Determined by structures on meso- and micro-level	Determined by local factors
<b>Dynamic open space in a suburban field</b>	Determined by structures on meso- and micro-level	Strong privatization
<b>High-dynamic open space in an urban network</b>	Weak public-recreational land use	Strong privatization

These findings seem to correspond with the findings of Dewaelheyns et al. (2008) and Bomans et al. (2009), who see private phenomena like gardens and hobby pastures as ‘followers’ of urbanization. Furthermore they

concluded too that small parcels in an attractive landscape, in the vicinity of other gardens or woodland, are more susceptible for privatization.

#### *4.2 Evaluation of policy documents*

A brief analysis of the Flemish permission system (based on the decree of 18 May 1999) shows that many public and private interventions in the open space require a building permit. When it comes to public land use, the construction of cycle paths and footpaths and the placing of signposts, benches, information panels and dustbins requires in most cases a permission. Concerning private land use, of course the building of houses in rural areas needs a permission, as well as the change of the function of a rural building. But also horse stables, small horse pens and large fences require a permit in most cases. On the other hand, the extension of a garden to adjacent parcels and the privatization of pastures don't need a permission on paper. A verification of the building permit register to the situation on the ground, shows however that the obligation to obtain a building permit gives no guarantee on a real apply for a building permit. For many small interventions it is generally known that few people do the effort to request a building permit. As a consequence there is no reliable data about interventions in our open space and it is very difficult for local policymakers to have an effect on the new evolutions on the terrain. A better enforcement of the permission system seems necessary.

An evaluation of the municipal spatial structure plans shows that it is not easy for the municipal authorities to respond politically to the evolutions of privatization and increasing public land use. Most municipalities pay some (passive) attention to the increasing recreational use of open space and sometimes develop specific programs within some spatial preconditions. Privatization, on the other hand, doesn't seem to be an issue for the municipalities at all. Only the municipality of Kasterlee pays some attention to privatization. The ambition to concentrate hobby farming in fragmented agrarian zones is, however, not very realistic. As mentioned before, the privatization of pastures doesn't need a permission which makes it impossible to control this evolution. An overview of the analysis can be seen in Table 3.

**Table 3 Main conclusions policy evaluation**

	<b>PUBLIC USE</b>	<b>PRIVATE USE</b>
<b>Policy options in the municipal spatial structure plans</b>		
<b>Nevele (1997)</b> (Groep Planning, 1997)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Objective to make the open space attractive for recreation</li> <li>- No area-specific objectives</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- No specific statements on privatization</li> <li>- The open space is divided into three different areas with other building possibilities</li> <li>- No area-specific objectives</li> </ul>
<b>Kasterlee (2006)</b> (IOK Plangroep, 2006)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Search for a precise harmony between tourism/recreation and the qualities of open space and nature</li> <li>- Division into different zones: touristic-recreational attention zones, mixed land use zones, strategic sanctuary zones</li> <li>- Area-specific visions for the different open space areas</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Few specific statements</li> <li>- Concentration of hobby farming in the most split up agrarian zones</li> <li>- Agricultural space is divided into different zones: e.g. core areas of the agrarian structure, searching zones for building free zones, zones for multifunctional agriculture</li> <li>- Area-specific visions for the different open space areas</li> </ul>
<b>Kontich (2008)</b> (Hevec/Stramien cvba, 2008)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Recreational use is mentioned repeatedly but unsatisfactory worked out</li> <li>- Area-specific visions are very limited</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- No specific statements concerning privatization</li> <li>- No area-specific visions</li> </ul>

## 5. Discussion

Based on the results of the terrain study, it can be concluded that public land use as well as privatization are actual phenomena in the Flemish open space.

In all 18 micro study areas, in six totally different municipalities, signs of public use of open space could be found. Even in the recreational least attractive areas numerous signposts showed that a public use of space existed. Recreational joint land use of the countryside seems to be an irreversible fact that can't be thought away or neglected any longer.

When it comes to privatization, rural housing can be found almost everywhere across Flanders. With the exception of nature reserves and woodlands, vast areas of open space without habitation can be barely found in Flanders. The solitary living on the countryside, unconnected to the agricultural sector, has become a reality in Flanders for a long time yet. Related to these houses the open space is 'gardenizing' more and more, whereby adjacent parcels are connected to the built-on parcel to enlarge the private space. This doesn't seem to be a general phenomenon yet, most rural houses are limited to the built-up parcel. 'Horsification', and more in general the occurrence of hobby farming, is a very actual and visible phenomenon in Flemish open space, and moreover originated quite recently. This tendency is apparently linked to the rise of rural residents, but also to the difficulty of the agricultural sector to survive in an urbanized Flanders.

Although all micro study areas show signs of privatization and public land use, some determining conditions can be defined. The attractiveness of the landscape, the presence of forests and bodies of water, the recreational policy of the municipality, the accessibility and the distance to residential areas seem to give a higher chance on public use of open space. On the other hand, the proximity of the built environment and the parcel size are determining conditions for the privatization of open space.

A big limitation of the study is the restriction to a static analysis of the present situation on the ground. Because of the lack of data about the examined phenomena, the research was restricted to a static case study. More evidence is needed to talk of a real evolutionary transformation. Interviews with locals or a new terrain registration within a few years can repair these shortcomings.

It is not yet clear whether or not conflicts are generated when the two transformations take place in the same area. It is clear that some areas are attractive for public as well as private use and that public and private users come into contact with each other. It is also obvious that a strong privatization damages the public character of open space. In the examined micro study areas no real conflicts could be noted. Further research, among others through the interview of users, is necessary to give an adequate answer.



Whether an increasing **public** land use or a privatization tendency is problematic or not, cannot be defined univocally and the opinions will differ. Any way these evolutions seem to be unstoppable. The point is to guide these evolutions in the best way possible and fit them in the open space in a judicious way.

When it comes to public recreational land use, municipalities and provinces have to realize that there is an upper limit to the recreational carrying capacity of their open space and have to weigh every proposal versus its context. A limited and canalized public use can contribute positively to the liveability and the preservation of open space as well as the understanding between visitors and locals and between visitors themselves. On the other hand, excessive recreation could harm the landscape and the scarce open space in Flanders.

Based on the policy analysis, it appears that some municipalities are working on this topic and try to guide these evolutions in a good direction, by formulating area-specific visions with respect for the carrying capacity of the landscape and the natural structure. Other municipalities restrict themselves to the formulating of the vogue word 'countryside recreation' without being aware of the possible consequences.

Whether the **private** use of open space is interfering or not, depends on the phenomenon. Rural housing is often interfering, but has been made legally possible by decree. Policymakers must try to prevent a further development of houses in the open space and to integrate existing houses in the landscape in the best way possible. The incorporation of parcels with the built-on parcel in order to use them as a garden should be regulated better. The society has to wonder whether it is desirable that wealthy people occupy parts of the open space and fence them off to create an own private 'living space'. The growth of hobby pastures too seems to be unstoppable, but this evolution can possibly contribute to an attractive open space if the pastures are well placed in their context. In many fragmented regions, hobby farming has a larger chance on survival than the productive agriculture. Hobby pastures might become the new guardians of open space if attention is paid to the influence of pens and fences on the landscape.

A more stringent permission policy alone wouldn't repair the situation, because of the low willingness to apply for a building permit. A better enforcement on the terrain is part of the solution, together with a broad sensitization of the citizens. For both tasks primarily the municipality will be responsible. Today, municipalities aren't really conscious of the phenomenon. In the spatial structure plans barely a word can be found about the surge in private land use. A change in the actual policy is thus needed.

Maybe part of the solution lies in the theme of accessibility which is an important influencing factor for both private and public land use (see Table 1). The accessibility of open space could be a guide to lead these phenomena in a good direction. By making some open space areas more or less accessible, a municipality can actually have an impact on the use of open space. If no public use or privatization is wanted, the area could be closed for everyone. If only recreational public use of open space is wanted, motorized vehicles can be locked out from the area, so that walkers, cyclists and horse riders have free play. One of the difficulties in this theory is the accessibility for agricultural vehicles and locals who live already in the area. Because a

guiding policy alone is not enough to keep out unwanted visitors, a more stringent entrance policy is needed, but this impedes the traditional users of open space. More research and try-outs are definitely needed.

It is clear that the use of our open space is an interesting research topic which gets a lot of attention in recent years. Much of the research is however still in its infancy. Further research is necessary, because how we have to use our scarce open space is a fundamental question.

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## **Challenges to Rural Planning in Africa: The Case of Three Post-democratic Sub-Saharan African Countries**

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Keywords: Africa, Rural, Transformation, spatial planning

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### **Abstract**

The fundamental transformation of Africa is largely dependent on new approaches to rural planning and development, however this remains a major challenge in most African countries. More than 60% of Africa's population is classified as rural yet rural planning and development seem to be paid lip-service. Alternatively, rural planning and development initiatives have either failed or lagged behind because of the urban bias of regional planning policies and strategies. The debate on rural planning and development is centered on an expanding body of evidence which supports the notion of rural-urban interdependence towards harmonious regional development outcomes. The derivation of positive outcomes is dependent on existing and emergent policies and strategies which focus on planned interventions to strengthen rural societies and reduce their vulnerability. Ultimately, these policies must be holistic, going beyond ad hoc service and infrastructure provision, and must encompass a series of short, medium and long-term strategies which can aid in the creation of positive and progressive rural spaces and places. This paper will examine the challenges of rural planning in three post-democratic African countries namely, South Africa, Botswana and Kenya with emphasis to spatial planning and evaluate the extent to which their existing policies and strategies have been successful. It concludes by outlining the importance and new approaches to rural planning in Africa. This paper argues that challenges to rural planning in Africa can be overcome through the formulation of holistic policies and strategies which are focused, innovative and have the tendency to produce balanced outcomes.

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### **Introduction: Africa and its Rural Landscape**

The African continent has witnessed a legacy of domination under colonialism; struggle for freedom, internal conflicts and challenging internal spatial differences which have led to the production of extremely unequal spatial regions. 62% of Africa's population is rural (UN Habitat, 2008), yet rural planning and development still lags behind because it is often paid lip-service by most African governments. Alternatively, rural planning and development initiatives have either failed or fell behind because of the biased nature of regional planning policies and strategies which tend to concentrate on dealing with the pressures of urbanisation and enhancing global competitiveness of urban areas.

Rurality in Africa comes in many forms ranging from the agriculturally dominant areas to settlement typology; and the types of governance being practiced. Currently, the definition of rural is blurred by many

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components however, Cloke (2006) defines rurality in terms of areas which are (i) dominated by extensive land uses, notably agriculture and forestry; (ii) contain small, lower order settlements which demonstrate a strong relationship between buildings and extensive landscape, and which are thought of as rural by most of their residents; and (iii) engender a way of life which is characterised by a cohesive identity based on respect for the environmental and behavioural qualities of living as part of an extensive landscape. The aforementioned characteristics outlined by Cloke fits the description of most rural places in Africa. In Sub-Saharan Africa, rural spaces can be divided into two main categories. First are the traditional settlements which are either nucleated or widely dispersed depending on the land's suitability for settlement and historical past. Further, they are often surrounded by commercial white-owned agricultural lands. Second, are the former homelands (of which some were self governed) and townships where blacks were relocated during the Apartheid era which is typical of South Africa. Often, such townships were located far from areas of opportunities yet they provided labour for the declared urban centres.

In Sub-Saharan Africa, the extent of rural planning neglect is highly visible in planning strategies right from the national level, down to the lowest structures in place at the local level. If this is the case, how can rural spaces and places be transformed to meet their current expectations of self-sufficiency and provide their quota to the national and global economy at large? The identification of current challenges within rural planning has become critical to Africa's development if the supposed 'dark continent' is to meet the current global goals of progress, including the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

Therefore, the main objective of this paper is to identify the challenges of rural planning in Sub-Saharan Africa with particular reference to Botswana, South Africa and Kenya. Whilst these three countries may exhibit differences in their systems of planning structures, they face similar problems related to rural planning and the effects thereof. This paper seeks to explore the following: current planning structures in place, the context within which rural planning occurs and the identification of major challenges faced by these countries. Parallel to the discussion will be an explanation on how the limitations of rural planning affect the overall national goals of the respective countries. Selected case studies from all three countries will be employed to illustrate the arguments being put forward.

### **Summary of Planning Perspectives from South Africa, Kenya and Botswana**

Planning policies and strategies in the three countries follows similar structures which filter from the national level down to the local level. The national planning policies and strategies for Botswana (National Settlement Policy) and Kenya (Human Settlement Strategy) provide the overall principles and guidelines to spatial planning. For South Africa, planning is based on an integrated development planning process initiated by district and local municipalities which results in the production of a 5-year statutory planning document. A national plan is yet to be drafted under the auspices of the National Planning Commission. Currently, the National Spatial Development Perspective provides essential guidelines to planning and development in

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South Africa. Below in Table 1 is a brief summary of a framework of planning hierarchy which depict different planning processes for different geographical or administratively demarcated regions. These plans are explained systematically in the next section of this paper.

Table 1: Framework of Planning Hierarchy

	<b>Botswana</b>	<b>South Africa</b>	<b>Kenya</b>
National level	National Settlement Strategy	South Africa does not have a National Plan	Human Settlement Strategy (Growth Centre Strategy / Service Centre Strategy / Integrated Network Policy)
Provincial level	Regional Integrated Development Plan	Provincial Growth & Development Strategy / Provincial Spatial Economic Development Strategy	Provincial Physical Development Plan
District level	Integrated Development Plan	District Integrated Development Plan / District Spatial Development Frameworks	District Physical Development Plan
Local Level	Urban Village Dev Plans / Local Plans	Local Integrated Development Plan / Local Spatial Development Frameworks	Urban Plans Market /local Plans

### A Planning Perspective in South Africa

Regional policy in South Africa has evolved from being racially biased state to one of equity (RDP White Paper, 1994). Ultimately, South African planning policy has shifted considerably from an unequal apartheid-based approach to a framework of planning practice which seeks development that is spatially, economically, environmentally and socially just (Duminy, 2007: 64). Because of its past planning outcomes, town and regional planners, managers and politicians have been faced with the task of reconstructing the impression of a spatially segregated, highly fragmented and dispersed society (Donaldson, 2001: 1). The process of political change has been followed by an overhaul of policies and legislation concerning urban and rural planning, and land development. Not only that, but also the manner in which policies are formulated have changed from a top-down approach to a more bottom-up approach.

At the wake of a Post-Apartheid South Africa in 1994, the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) was born. Later in 1995, the Development Facilitation Act (DFA) was promulgated to facilitate a new development planning process in accordance with the RDP. The DFA contains a number of land development principles which are to govern development and spatial planning in South Africa, including “the promotion of integrated land development in rural and urban areas in support of each other” (RSA, 1995). This principle aligns to the importance of the rural-urban interdependence which flows within current thoughts in regional policy literature. Unfortunately, the opposite is rampant in terms of regional policies of Sub-Saharan countries like Kenya, South Africa and Botswana. In reality, current theoretical and practical experiences have proven to exacerbate the unenthusiastic nature of rural planning among many development

stakeholders. The principle of interdependence is only relevant from an extractive perspective by the urban, thus undermining the true essence of a give-take situation in equal favour of rural spaces and places.

With no national plan in place, the commissioning of the National Spatial Development Perspective (NSDP) in 2006 has provided rather broad guidelines to socio-economic and environmental development on a spatial dimension. The ultimate purpose of the NSDP in the South African setting is to fundamentally reconfigure apartheid spatial relations and to implement spatial priorities that meet the constitutional imperative of providing basic services to all and alleviating poverty and inequality (NSDP, 2006, ii). It is to a great extent formulated on the basis of economic potential and opportunity areas in South Africa. Immediately, one is able to recognise the bias of this document to equitable planning in South Africa since urban areas are the ones which command higher economic potential than rural areas which are often underdeveloped for example, in terms of infrastructure and subsequently, lack investment confidence.

The Provincial Growth and Development Strategy (PGDS) is intended to identify provincial-specific challenges and formulate strategies to tackle these challenges. This document is drafted and needs to be adopted by the respective provincial cabinets before they can be put to use. Parallel to the PGDS is the Provincial Spatial Economic Development Strategy (PSEDS) which is to provide the spatial context to the PGDS (DED, 2009). Aligned to the principles of the NSDP, the PSEDS uses the concept of nodes and corridors as a backdrop to the distribution of economic investment within the Province. It represents a broad spatial framework formulated on economic principles. One of its focus areas is its determination of where government directs its investment and development initiatives. Clearly, the PSEDS is also economically driven and is targeted towards places where returns on investments are feasible. From a spatial perspective, the use of nodes and corridors has not been favourable to rural regions. For example, the juxtaposition of the PSEDS agricultural potential and corridor maps showed a mismatch between actual agricultural potential areas and the actual paths followed by these activity corridors. In some cases, the PSEDS has failed to recognise the areas of economic potential which are mapped out by local municipalities in their respective Spatial Development Frameworks. For this reason, it has been realised that provincial priorities and local municipal priorities are often in conflict of each other.

Essentially, the principles of the NSDP, PGDS and PSEDS need to be considered in Municipal Integrated Development Plans (IDP) and their Spatial Development Frameworks. The IDP as a local level holistic development planning policy requires comprehensive situational analyses in order to adequately inform development and planning decisions. The Spatial Development Framework (SDF) as a broad spatial representation of IDPs marks the initial process to a series of low level spatial plans to facilitate meaningful planning. Unfortunately, the reality is that most rural municipalities are still unable to develop detailed spatial plans, making it difficult to exercise planning control at a much lower level. Thus rural spaces and

places have been left desolate with little or no planning but only benefit from *ad hoc* stand-alone projects with limited bearing to a holistic planning and development.

### **Spatial Planning Framework in Kenya**

Spatial planning framework policies in Kenya are well developed and have been implemented since the 1970s. The spatial planning at the national level is guided by the Human Settlement Strategy which was an instrument utilised in the identification of growth and service centres covering the whole country. It also guided the development of network of communications linking the settlements and to adopt standards of infrastructure which closely related to what was affordable by the country (Awuor-Hayangah, 1996).

Within the Human Settlement Strategy are three main branches: first is the Growth Centre Strategy which is urban centred; second is the Service Centre Strategy which facilitates service delivery and is of direct relevance to rural planning in Kenya. The third is the Integrated Network Policy, which on the other hand, is aimed at achieving some level of equity between geographical areas and integration between urban and rural areas. It was used to facilitate transport linkages between principal towns and growth centres to national trunk roads. All Market and Rural Centres are linked by minor roads as a minimum requirement (PPD, 1986) of this Network policy.

The Service Centre Strategy is based on an hierarchy of designated service centres which cover the entire country. It is to ensure a spatially equitable national distribution of infrastructural facilities and social services; guides development and services into an hierarchy of centres that provide services to rural people (PPD, 1986; Ohas, 1985). This strategy consists of designated service centres in which the standard of services (such as sanitation, water, power and education) are provided according to a defined hierarchy of ranking assigned to that centre. One of the functions of the lower ranking centre is to stabilise the rural settlement pattern and to provide services accessible to the population (Richardson, 1980). The extent to which these objectives have been achieved is varied, however, most parts of the country are able to access some services at the local market centres. It is at this discrete (local) level of planning that the spatial planning policy has a direct influence as to what happens in the rural areas in Kenya. The areas outside these local centres are generally left to develop organically. In a nutshell, no formal rural planning process is initiated.

### **Economic Planning Framework**

In conjunction with the three strategies above, is an Economic Planning Framework. This constitutes national five year development plans with budgetary allocations for various ministries for the preparation of regional (provincial and district) development plans. In the 1980s, the District Focus strategy for Rural Development was adopted which led to the devolution of planning to the people in theory. This led to a plethora of activities at the district level including the preparation of District Development Plans (Ministry



of Economic Planning) and District Physical Development Plan (Ministry of Lands & Settlement) just to mention a few. Their implementation is undertaken on a sector by sector basis. The District Development Plans are largely project oriented with little direct linkage to the District Physical Development Plans. Their emphases are on the implementation of the district projects without necessarily referring to the physical development plan. Activities of any two public agencies concerned with planning of districts (largely rural areas) are not coordinated, thus follow the inherited traditional approaches that favoured sector-based planning approach to development.

### **Constituency Development Fund Framework**

Not too long ago, the Constituency Development Fund (CDF) Framework was introduced and is controlled by the Ministry which involves funds being sent to the constituency do their own plans and implement selected projects. The projects implemented are politically identified under the sitting Member of Parliament with minimal input from professional experts. The CDF is seen as an attempt to involve local people in the management of their projects according to their priorities and makes up a fusion of both participatory and bottom-up approaches to development. The major flaw is that it is often exclusionary in that it is driven by the Member of Parliament and hence the inclination to favour their supporters; issues of nepotism and favouritism are not guarded against; ad hoc implementation of projects which are not necessarily linked to the overall district plans and projects not completed within the parliamentary period are likely to be abandoned, hence the problem of lack of continuity. This is compounded with the lack of issues of maintenance beyond the establishment of a facility.

### **Spatial Planning Framework in Botswana**

Spatial planning in Botswana at the national level is guided by the National Settlement Policy which was introduced in the National Development Plan (NDP) 5 of 1979. The goal of the policy was to provide a comprehensive set of guidelines for national physical planning and to provide a framework for guiding the distribution of investment in a way that reflected the settlements' population size, economic potential, level of infrastructure and settlement's role as service centres (DTRP, 1998). It identified four planning regions which has guided the preparation of lower level plans in the country (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Map of Botswana showing planning regions



Source: Department of Town & Regional Planning, Botswana, 1998

The range of spatial plans produced in Botswana (in order of their ranking) are: Integrated Regional Development Plans; District Settlement Strategy; District Land Use Plans; Urban Development Plans; Urban-Village Development Plans and Village Development Plans. For purposes of this analysis, examples will be cited from the South Eastern Region which has the full range of plans.

It is noted that spatial planning in Botswana has adopted a physical planning approach in which the range of plans prepared for urban, urban-village and villages end up in the production of long term structure plans (over 20 years). It is possible to prepare village master plans because of the nature of nucleated settlements which characterise the rural landscape in the country. This has been facilitated by the fact that the typical settlement structure at both the urban-village and the village level comprise of land for residential purposes; land for agriculture and land reserved for cattle post. This has created very unique and highly mobile population when one considers the number of journeys which a typical middle class person who is employed in a nearby city; lives in the village; owns a small agricultural land and has a cattle post. This presents special problems but from an infrastructure provision point of view, it is an advantage since the resident population is geographically concentrated. This is in direct contrast to situation in rural Kenya and South Africa where dispersed homesteads have made the provision of infrastructure such as water a major challenge to local authorities. In most cases, these regions have been left to further develop organically, with the provision of minimal services at the local centre level.

## **SETBACKS TO RURAL PLANNING – CASES FROM SOUTH AFRICA, BOTSWANA AND KENYA**

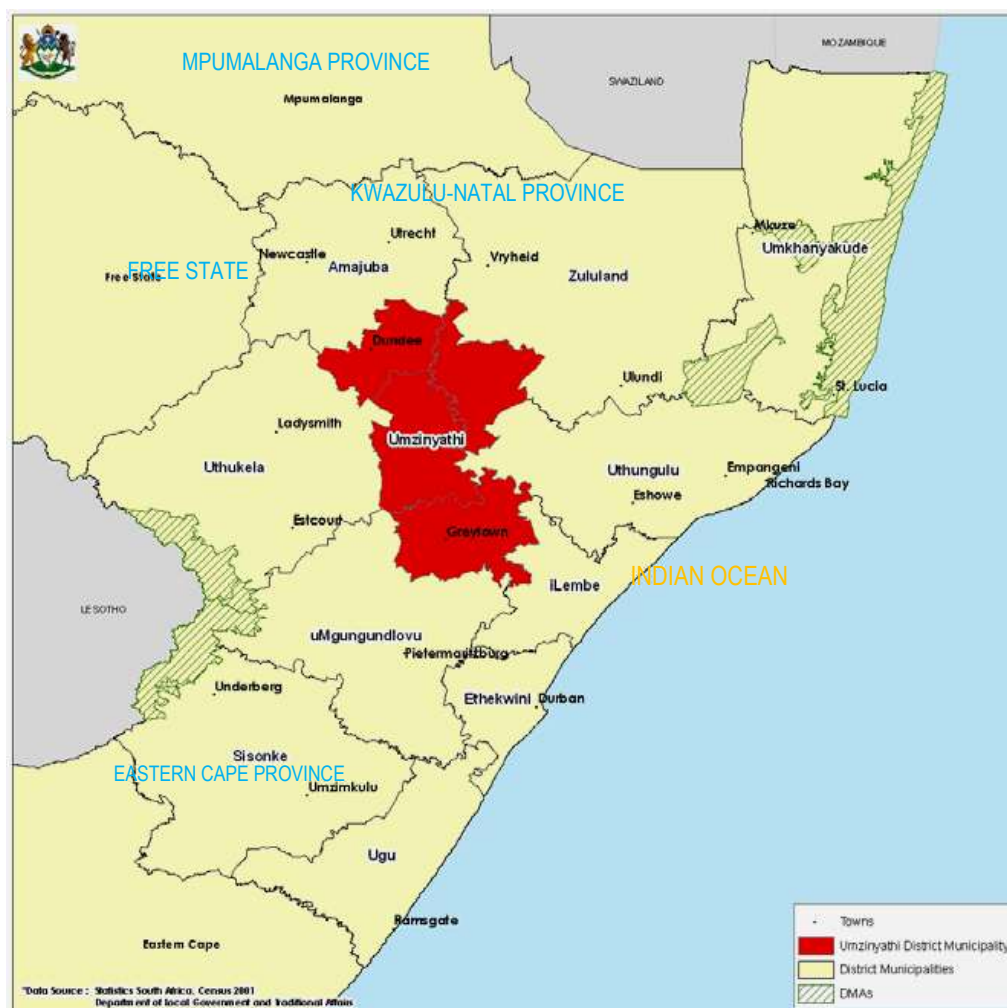
This section identifies setbacks and challenges to rural planning in the three countries. It focuses on analyses of selected case studies. The Umzinyathi District Municipality<sup>1</sup> (see Figure 2), South Africa has been used as the basis for comparison for this discussion. This is because it possesses typical rural characteristics which surpass those of Botswana and Kenya in terms of challenges and rurality. Umzinyathi's topography ranges from almost flat to hilly and mountainous terrain, posing a major challenge to infrastructure development and basic service delivery particularly in Msinga and Nqutu Local Municipality. Most of the rural inhabitants are extremely poor and are subjected to a traditional mode of governance often resistant to formal planning.

Botswana's South Eastern Integrated Development Plan and Kagleng District Settlement Strategy (2003-2027) are regional development plans and have focused on the identification of the range centres and the determination of the level of infrastructure. These are applicable to the given centres within the district depending on whether they have been classified as primary, secondary or tertiary centres. They refer to the whole range of social and economic which is desirable but without the inclusion of a budgetary plan for implementation.

The Mochudi which is an urban-village has a structure plan which bares little difference from that of a typical urban centre in terms of population density. It as such requires similar standards of infrastructural development. The only difference is that unlike a typical urban centre in Botswana, 75% of its residents are engaged in agriculture as their main source of livelihood. The same status is accorded to Molepolole which is also an urban village in Kweneng District still within the South Eastern Region.

Mogoditshane, Gabane, Metsimotlhabe and Mopane Development Plan (2003 - 2027) (identified in the Kweneng District Settlement Strategy 2000-2024) are examples of how village plans in the rural areas are prepared. They are a ring of villages within fairly close proximity to Gaborone City and indeed a number of people commute daily from these villages into the city. This is a statutory plan provided for in Sections 6-8 of the Town and Country Planning Act (Cap 39:09). Its table of content is similar to that of the higher level plan in the settlement hierarchy which begs to question the extent to which some of the provisions proposed really reflect the needs of the people. The following challenges outlined below were gathered from interviews with planners and are a reflection of challenges of rural regions in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Figure 2: Umzinyathi District Municipality within the context of KwaZulu-Natal



Source: DLGTA (2006)

#### 1. Lack of Uniform Legislation to Regulate and Protect Planning Practices

The Province of KwaZulu-Natal until October 2008 used the Town Planning Ordinance (No. 27 of 1949) as its prime legislation for development and land use management. It was used for planning and development control in previously declared urban areas<sup>2</sup>. The KwaZulu Land Affairs Act (No. 11 of 1992) on the other hand, applied in former KwaZulu where land ownership was governed traditionally by chiefs or Amakhosi<sup>3</sup>. Whereas the Town Planning Ordinance required urban areas to prepare town planning schemes to control land use, this was absent in the KwaZulu Land Affairs Act. Currently, the KwaZulu-Natal Planning and Development Act (No. 6 of 2008)<sup>4</sup>, repealed these sets of legislations.

The main objective of this new Act is to transfer decision-making processes with regards to planning and development to local municipalities as opposed to that previously done by the authorised Provincial body. It requires municipalities to prepare land development schemes for their entire municipal areas which includes land held under traditional ownership. The new legislation is to facilitate spatial planning and land use management in rural areas. For this to succeed major emphasis is being placed on meaningful and extensive

consultation during the planning process to harness and enable the use of indigenous knowledge. This challenge was found to be peculiar to South Africa whereby its constitution allows for provincial planning legislation to be drafted<sup>5</sup> unlike in Kenya and Botswana. Kenya and Botswana do not have devolved governance systems thus they use a common legislation which guides planning and development activities throughout the country. However, each local authority particularly within their areas of jurisdiction can pass respective by-laws.

## 2. Traditional Government Setup Versus Municipal Planning and Implementation

Another major challenge which hinders formal rural planning lies in the nature of land ownership in rural areas which are governed by traditional leaders. The Umzinyathi District Municipality has about 47% of its total land area under Traditional Authorities and which are also concentrated in the Msinga and Nqutu Local Municipalities. Such lands are held under the Ingonyama Trust Board<sup>6</sup>. The traditional system of land ownership has hindered spatial planning in the sense that tenure arrangements only provide for “permission to occupy” rather than freehold. Freehold title is impossible on traditional land thus poses a major setback to proper planning and potential private investment. It was reported by planners that public authorities had often been subjected to cumbersome traditional procedures concerning development planning and implementation process. Whilst the system of land ownership is similar in Kenya and Botswana, planning is possible through national legislation directives with little resistance from traditional leaders. In South Africa, traditional leaders are of the view that any formal planning process could strip them of power over their land, a reminder of the land dispossession and atrocities associated with the apartheid regime as was attested to by interviewees. Spatial planning principles like accessibility are rather difficult to incorporate into rural planning processes as Amakhosi prefer to be the sole determinants of such so as to portray their calibre of leadership to their respective communities whereas in Kenya and Botswana, these are determined by legislatively approved plans.

Figure 3: Imagery of Msinga Showing its Rugged Terrain



Source: Google Earth, 2010

### 3. Physical Land Characteristics as a Deterrent

Dominated by extensive undulating terrain, KwaZulu-Natal is often faced with the challenge of high costs in terms of preparation and implementation of spatial plans. Botswana, on the other hand is generally flat posing little constraints to physical planning projects. For example, the Msinga and Nqutu Local Municipalities in Umzinyathi among other factors, have experienced very little economic prosperity due to their rugged topography (see Figure 3), limited funding, among other factors. This poses a major setback to basic service delivery and infrastructural development. Secondly, settlement patterns in these regions have developed traditionally and are often scattered over a large surface area due to the uneven nature to the terrain. Spatial planning efforts which require relocation to ideal sites are often resisted by locals due to deep-rooted social networks and cultural practices.

### 4. Outdated Statistics and Budgetary Allocation

Budgetary allocations in South Africa are made solely on the bases of population sizes within municipal boundaries. It was reiterated by interviewees that rural municipalities are often bound to receive budget allocations which do not commensurate with their existing population requirements and needs. This is because the National Treasury only accepts population figures provided by Statistics SA (the National Statistics provider) to determine its budgetary allocations for municipalities. The challenge lies in the fact that Statistics SA only provides figures based on population projections made from the 2001 census and in some cases to the Community Survey of 2007. Whereas organisations such as Global Insight and Quantex also provide statistics which are updated annually, these are refuted by the National Treasury as ‘unofficial sources’. The effect is that allocations are often lower than the current population, thus posing a funding

challenge to development planning process of rural municipalities. The end result is that plans are prepared but not implemented or plans in process of preparation are never completed. In the Kenyan context, there is no budget set aside for the direct implementation of the physical development plans. As such, physical plans remain largely advisory. District Development Plans and District Physical Development Plans are in effect, not synchronised. As a result there is often a mismatch between the priorities of these two plans and this impact directly of the spatial planning outcomes.

#### 5. Lack of Human Resource Capacities

The planning profession has gained wider recognition in the Sub-Saharan context. Whereas the planning profession had a “white face” particularly in South Africa, this is slowly changing. Given the job opportunities that exist in the planning field however, rural municipalities have failed to attract planners of high calibre. In Botswana, most planning documents are often prepared by consultant planners leading to what can be termed as ‘Consultant Led Planning’. In Kenya, planners are present in almost every district; however, their willingness to stay in hardship districts has thus resulted in a high turnover of planners. This has affected the continuity of plan preparations and implementation as well. These setbacks present a myriad of constraints for rural planning in Sub-Saharan Africa. Another constraint hindering retention of permanent planning staff is that rural municipalities do not attract substantial budgetary allocations to fund their operations. In most cases, rural municipalities such as Msinga have been reported to have a single planner who is responsible for all planning responsibilities. This situation adversely affects the output of these planners, not withstanding the negative impacts on planning as a whole.

#### 6. Neglect of Indigenous Knowledge and Practices

Another major setback to rural planning in Sub-Saharan Africa is been the limited consideration of indigenous knowledge and practices to inform planning decisions. From interviews held with planners, it became clear that grassroot engagement with communities have not been adequately harnessed. Often, both resident and consultant planners find themselves relying on documented information which have little bearing on the real situations of rural regions. The result is a mismatch between planning outputs and what is actually needed. The use of indigenous knowledge and practices has proven to be greatly relevant to identifying real situations and needs of rural communities, for example in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN Development & Planning Commission, 2006). Knowledge of grassroot social networks and cultural practices have become necessary elements which can inform practical planning decisions and to produce better results for rural areas. Most planners reside in the urban areas but are responsible for planning of rural areas which has led to a technocratic approach to planning that has been criticised by local people, for instance in Kenya and Botswana..

#### 7. Lack of Coordination among Multiple Actors



One of the major challenges to rural planning in Kenya and South Africa is the multiplicity of public actors (sectoral), NGOs, regional authorities, politicians that operate in the rural areas. Each strives to pursue their own agenda without due consideration of what others do, yet their overall goal is to improve the quality of life of the rural dwellers. In South Africa, the preparation phases of Integrated Development Plans require sector inputs. However, experiences by most rural municipalities are that some sector departments fail to attend IDP forums thus affecting the intended holistic approach to municipal planning. Sector departments are often interested in ad hoc infrastructural development within their respective sectoral obligations. Often, this has been a way of *speedily spending budgets* before the end of the financial year or as a response to service delivery protests as has been evident in the past two years in South Africa thus defeating the ends of holistic planning practices.

There exist a number of NGOs working in the rural parts of Botswana and some planners have argued that they tend to align their activities to match the needs of the rural people. The view of one of the planners interviewed was that some NGOs are making genuine input into the lives of the rural people while others have their own agenda. The lack of direct linkages between various development planning agencies operating in the rural areas as revealed by the cases reviewed, is a major constraint to rural development and hence the need for a new approach to rural planning where coordination becomes a key element in implementation. This calls for a holistic approach which could be achieved through the establishment of rural planning framework within which meaningful and beneficial linkages in the implementation of sectoral plans and programmes must be addressed.

#### 8. Mismatch of Priorities

Common to the three countries is the emphasis on creating employment opportunities in rural areas, yet spatial planning in rural areas has failed to use agriculture to create jobs or ignored non-agricultural opportunities. There are often no plans dealing with employment creation in the plans produced for the rural areas even though it is identified as one of the critical factors acting as a push factor for rural-urban migration particularly amongst the youth. Even if there are such, they are ad-hoc, short-lived and not sustainable in the long run. For example in Botswana, performance management where the Minister for Lands under which DTRP is situated often asks how many plots (erven) have been planned. As such planning is being *equated with plots* which is misnomer and has serious consequences to the broad vision and goals of planning.

This has major implications for the rural areas whose priorities are not the generation of plots but access to other services and facilities. In this context, the implementation of plans is shelved as the planners focus on production of plots. A planner interviewed argued that the physical planners are supposed to be coordinating implementation of projects for which they have been trained but this is not happening. “There is a *yawning gap* which needs to be interrogated”. The question is “is rural planning taught in universities linked to practice; and what kind of training is given to the planners? Why should a planner think that they are there to

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produce plots rather than to produce plans which address issues of poverty reduction endemic in rural areas? Secondly, how can the youth be retained in the rural areas to stem their systematic departure to the urban areas given this is contributing to under development of rural areas? In Botswana for instance, funds are made available by the national government but there are no tangible programmes which are yielding the intended results in the rural areas. Proper implementation of the plans is therefore crucial to the achievement of development in rural areas.

#### 9. Lack of Rural-based Standards

The question being asked is whether the current planning in Botswana is focused on rural areas? Spatial planning in Botswana is from national to village level albeit with challenges. Anything below the small villages as specified in the National Settlement Strategy is guided by the land use plan. This involves the identification of *masimos* which are reserved for agriculture but one finds in practice that villages sprawl onto agricultural land. This has serious implications to the food security of these settlements and the country at large given that Botswana is essentially a drought prone country and large parts of the rural areas are not suitable for crop production.

Unfortunately, the Department of Town and Regional Planning (DTRP) is not directly involved in rural development planning. Their involvement is minimal because it has not recognised rural areas (villages) as having activities which need to be maintained like those in the urban areas. For instance, when village centres are planned, the plan is silent on the issue of livestock keeping which is a major source of livelihood and the assumptions made in the planning of villages are less tolerant on keeping animals within a residential area. Moreover, there is no analysis of the impact of the plan on people's life style. The plans prepared have been criticised for applying urban based standards to the rural areas. A case in point is the Mogoditshane planned village which is supposed to be an "animal free zone" but livestock can be seen roaming the village freely. One could argue that in this instance, livestock keeping needs to be encouraged since it is a major source of livelihood for some of the residents of the village but planners are often silent on such issues and do not embrace it as an activity which should be encouraged under specific guidance.

#### 10. Dominance of Sector Specific Planning

The dominance of sectoral planning is costing the rural areas a lot. There is no direct linkage between the agricultural sector and spatial planning for rural areas in Botswana. For example, often, the report of survey for most of the spatial plans (e.g. Botswana) might have only two pages on agriculture out of 100 page report. Indeed the plan will not talk in detail on how to improve the rural economy. It appears as if planners assume that reserving land for industry will necessarily result into economic growth of the rural settlements. *This is a false assumption that planning industrial plots will necessarily result in the creation of jobs in the rural areas.*

## 11. Limited Reflection

There is limited evidence that the spatial planners in the cases are evaluating or reflecting on the whether traditional way of doing things was succeeding or not in the rural areas. Urban areas have witnessed many shifts in the way in which detail or local planning is undertaken and yet planning for rural areas is undertaken as if the planners are oblivious to the changing trends. It is argued that in the towns the voices of the citizenry is heard while those of rural dwellers are silent, hence limited influence on the way in which rural planning is undertaken. Indeed, do the planners hear the voices of the rural people when preparing the plans and why have the planners consistently retained a mindset that rural areas are *only agricultural areas*? A reflective planning approach is therefore long overdue if planning is to succeed in meeting the needs of the rural dwellers.

## 12. Weak Implementation Strategies

The lack of appropriate implementation strategies has greatly hampered the effectiveness of rural planning as demonstrated that none of the spatial plans examined had an appropriate implementation plan neither were the proposals linked to any budget. For example, Umzinyathi may have implementation strategies, but inadequate funds and lack of human resource capacity hampers implementation. This is coupled with the lack of or limited documentation of the rural experiences and the related livelihood strategies in any tangible form in the respective results of survey.

## **DEVELOPING A FRAMEWORK FOR RURAL PLANNING**

Given the interdependence between rural and urban regions, the time has come that these inter and intra linkages are enhanced to protect the vulnerability of rural spaces and places as is often the case. The essential linkages between the rural and the urban can be enhanced through a series of balanced planning interventions by addressing the challenges discussed. Regional planning has a major role to play in strengthening the opportunities and potential of the rural areas. During the conceptualisation of regional plans, consideration must first and foremost be given to the rural and urban as a single and equal spatial unit. In doing so, initial thoughts of prejudice are almost absent and this can provide a platform for coherent approach to the planning process. Such plans must be strategic but flexible to accommodate the continuous socio-cultural changes occurring particularly in rural areas.

The identification of opportunities must be undertaken decisively, giving reason to the unique features of rural spaces and be able to capitalise on them. In cases where no significant opportunities exist, it would be relevant to harness and improve the potential of other non-spatial elements. Key informants to rural policy and planning according to Moseley (1997 and Ray (2000) must include (a) territorial and integrated focus (b) an endogenous development accent (c) the use of local resources (d) local contextualisation through active public participation (cited by Scott, 2006: 814). These informants will form the bases for an integrated land use plan whereby issues of centralisation and decentralisation are incorporated. Accessibility through

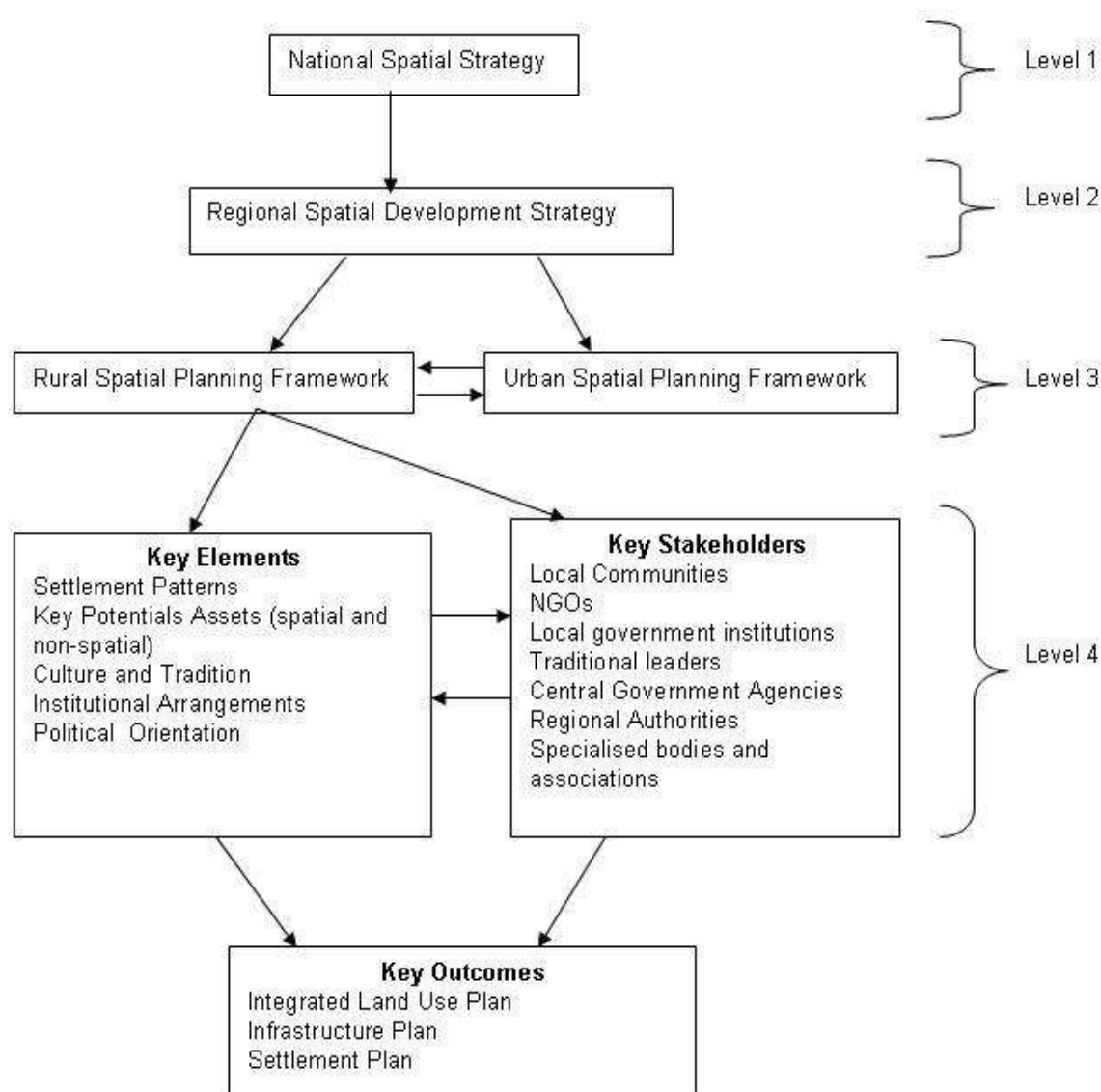
better transportation infrastructure must remain basic to rural planning as this enhances the use of rural activity centres and reinforces healthy linkages between the urban and rural.

Figure 4: Harnessing Potential of Natural Resources in Msinga Local Municipality, South Africa

For example, Msinga's rugged terrains characterised by mountains offers an enormous tourism potential where activities such as hiking and paragliding can be harnessed. Essentially, this would require infrastructure to enhance that potential, providing an employment avenue for local tour guides and increasing its revenue base. Quarrying activities can also an important revenue source to finance local development planning. All these would require a comprehensive land use planning and management system to ensure an optimal progression of rural spaces. (Msinga IDP, 2008/09 Review)

Lastly, the preparation of comprehensive rural plans is only as good as its implementation. Implementing agencies should therefore consist of specialised institutions with high competencies in their specific domains. In Sub-Saharan Africa, the consideration of NGOs as implementing bodies is not a new phenomenon; however, their roles are often detached from local government processes. NGOs are often known to be more involved at the grass-root level and have the ability to personally interact with local communities and are often deemed void of political interests. New partnerships with such agencies are necessary in this regard. A workable framework for rural planning which takes cognisance of the setbacks and challenges identified above is proposed (see Figure 5).

**Figure 5: A Workable Rural Planning Framework for Sub-Saharan Africa**



### Insights into the Framework

The National Spatial Strategy is conceptualized on relevant and applicable planning principles and include guidelines to rural planning. The national landscape must be seen as a single spatial entity without any initial delineation between rural and urban. This is to allow for an unbiased position in terms of planning and enable policy makers to visualize or construct a singular meaning to facilitate a proper planning process which will inturn influence their outcomes. Most importantly, the use of economic indicators must not be dominant in order to help erase the ‘venerated social constructs’ of rural and urban economies.

At the Regional level, spatial strategies must include a set of applicable principles and guidelines relevant to their particular regional characteristics. At this stage, although the regional strategy still remains conceptual

(but not as broad as the National Strategy), it should be able to provide enough details to inform other lower plans that follow. It should also give consideration to linkages with neighbouring regions rather than *boxed up* strategies which have little or no bearing on what happens or affects its border areas. This move has the potential of harnessing opportunities; utilizing resources from neighbouring regions; and promotes better planning outcomes; and generates revenue for further development. The acknowledgement of the rural and the urban is highly recommended at this stage to facilitate the process of change being envisaged. This would form the basis upon which appropriate principles would apply to different spatial characteristics at a much broader planning level (see Figure 5).

The regional level plans should include both the urban and rural spatial planning frameworks (Figure 5, level 2). The rural at this stage would have been easily identified and decisions taken would be appropriately based on peculiarities and similarities to its urban counterpart. The issue of connections between the rural and urban will have to be fully explored as this will offer the possibility of formulating spatial plans which adequately acknowledge and demystify the significant interdependence between rural and urban spaces (Figure 5, Level 4). Concurrently, potentials and opportunities are identified and mitigations are provided for any existing and possible threats.

Elements to be considered include existing settlement typology, culture and tradition, etc. These must relate directly to the actual rural landscape in question to enable context-specific decisions to be made. For example, agricultural potential can be identified and traditional leadership or custodians of the land must be consulted so as to remove any conflicts of interest on the land parcel and land use in question. A high level of certainty is required at this point to facilitate the successful formulation and implementation of spatial plans. Within this Rural Spatial Planning framework will be the context-specific low level plans (such as land use plan, infrastructure plans, etc) which inform the overall planning vision of the rural region (Level 4). Caution must be exercised to limit conflicts between these plans as this could stifle the planning implementation process and threaten the certainty of plans. Whilst these are being done, stakeholder involvement at all the different stages must be comprehensive enough to avoid unnecessary conflicts. Effective and efficient democratic procedures must be utilized to allow rural communities to take ownership of planning outcomes and further promote their active involvement during implementation.

## **Conclusion**

The arguments for rural (spatial) planning is to articulate the local economy, to provide a base for service delivery, to provide some context-appropriate urban functions, and to enhance accessibility remain persuasive for developing countries with substantial rural populations (Rondinelli and Ruddle, 1976; Pradhan and Routray, 1992; Owusu, 2005; Robinson, 2005). The battle against rural deprivation is not only about designing and monitoring suitable pro-poor rural development projects but above all a contest to convince the majority of the citizens that rural planning and development is a key task for humanity. This requires a

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development planning strategy that entails a spatial redistribution of resources at various levels so as to be able to create more wealth without the stigma of poverty (Kay, 2006: 496) and rurality. The aspiration to enhance economic opportunities in rural areas is one that can be won if strategies are contextualised to fit particular situations. Thus, Delius and Schirmer (2001:5) propose that a workable development strategy must be based on a comprehensive understanding of the dynamics that have shaped and are shaping Africa's rural areas.

The success of rural planning can be viewed from many workable angles through the lenses of context specific approaches. Currently, the role of rural regions in Africa's development cannot be underestimated since they act as incubators for their own growth and also, for the growth of urban regions. This interdependence must be able to produce a win-win situation without crippling the very same rural spaces which provide resources for global consumption.

Being able to formulate and implement a comprehensive rural spatial plan is commensurate with the socio-economic, environmental and cultural progression of rural spaces. It has the potential of easing the challenges of urban areas such as housing and curbing rural-urban migration when regions are holistically planned without the socially constructed rural prejudice. The reality is that rural spaces are unique and must be preserved. Rural spaces offer tranquility for the urban dweller away from the high levels of pollution and congestion of cities. They possess peculiar characteristics which must be enhanced yet preserved to make them equally productive spaces to urban spaces.

Spatial and Strategic Planners can no longer remain silent on rural planning by merely identifying service centres at the district level, but move a step lower to prepare focused rural spatial plans. This will force closer engagement with the particularities of including community priorities in the plan and co-ordination of sectoral development activities.

As portrayed by high level planning strategies like the HSS (Kenya) and the NSP (Botswana) planning is very much an economic and political activity and thus the sensitivities attached to the possible designation (and non-designation) of growth centres would undoubtedly have placed the spatial strategy at the centre of politico-economic controversy in the run-up to voting day (Murray, 2003). The use of economic determinants for regional planning currently diminishes the principles of equity and equality often contained to policy documents. Refraining from such practices is a step forward to successful regional planning in Sub-Saharan Africa, with enormous benefits to rural regions. Rural capacities will need to be enhanced to support the long-term implementation of rural planning interventions to facilitate the production of positive rural spaces and places.

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### **Interviewees**

Bongikosi Hlatwayo – Assistant IDP Manager (Umzinyathi District Municipality)

Khanya Nzimande – Candidate Town Planner, Municipal Strategic Planning (KZN Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs)

Mooko Kamyuka – Assistant Director, Department of Town & Regional Planning. Ministry of Lands, Settlement and Housing, Gaborone.

Musoga – Assistant Director, Physical Planning Department, Ministry of Lands and Settlement, Nairobi.

### **Abbreviations**

DFA- Development Facilitation Act

DPSS – Development Planning Shared Services



IDP – Integrated Development Plans

NSDP – National Spatial Development Perspective

PGDS – Provincial Growth and Development Strategy

PSEDS – Provincial Spatial and Economic Development Strategy

RDP – Reconstruction and Development Programme

SDF – Spatial Development Framework

HSS – Human Settlement Strategy

NSP – National Spatial Policy

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<sup>1</sup> It is made up of four local municipalities namely Endumeni, Msinga, Nqutu, and Umvoti. Msinga and Nqutu are typically rural in nature.

<sup>2</sup> Also refers to areas which formed part of Natal

<sup>3</sup> Amakhosi means traditional leader in the Zulu language

<sup>4</sup> Came into effect on May 1, 2010

<sup>5</sup> Only KwaZulu-Natal and Western Cape has own planning legislation, the remaining Provinces uses the Development Facilitation Act.

<sup>6</sup> Ingonyama Trust Board was set up to administer land tenure arrangement and land development which falls under traditional leadership in KwaZulu-Natal Province.

## **Sparsity as Luxury? An analysis of rural politicians' views on building rights for low density areas in Finland**

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### **Abstract**

Due to the need to curb climate change, increasing attention is paid to land-use planning in Finland. A key question in this debate is to what extent the construction should be concentrated in existing (densely built) settlements and whether the tradition of granting building permissions for sparsely populated areas should be constrained.

This paper reports on an empirical investigation concerning the views of local policy-makers on the above-mentioned issues. The data is based on an internet-based survey conducted by a regional newspaper in western Finland before municipal elections in 2008. The analysis utilizes deductive content analysis.

A majority of these electoral candidates challenge the need to constrain traditional building rights. This is an indication that the political debate on environmental issues and climate change is conditioned by domestic policy traditions and locality-specific issues.

Key words: land-use planning, rural areas, Finland

### **1. Introduction**

In comparison to European averages, Finland's spatial structure is very different. The key difference has traditionally been described by comparing population density, which is only approximately one-tenth of that in Western and Central Europe. More recently, the concept of sparsity has been introduced to identify the distinctive features of Finnish (and Nordic) spatial characteristics, and their implications. This refers to the fact that, in addition to a low average population density, the settlement pattern is dispersed – most parts of the country are thinly but thoroughly populated rural areas (see, e.g., Gløersen et al. 2005).

The impacts of this distinctive spatial structure receives a lot of attention in political and scholarly debates.

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With regard to domestic regional development policy and EU cohesion policy, for instance, it is common to argue that sparsity poses challenges to the key targets of these policies, that is, an inclusive society and a competitive economy, basically for the reason that local demand is low in such conditions. This raises unit costs in public and private service provision, infrastructure costs are high, and agglomeration benefits are not available: “Sparsity leads to a series of challenges in terms of economic development and public and private service provision.” (Damsgaard et al. 2008, 7) In addition to these well-established arguments, the implications of sparsity have been increasingly discussed from the perspective of environmental sustainability, in recent years. This emphasis, which reflects the prevalent European and global trends, is clearly set in primary planning documents. In 2006, the Ministry of the Environment published a document presenting its vision on the long-term development of land-use and spatial structure in Finland, including the statements that “(T)he existing built environment and infrastructures are used extensively”, and “regional and community structures are geared to decrease the need for transport” (Ministry of the Environment 2006, 17). Three years later, the revised national land-use guidelines formulated this aim in more operational terms in the following way: “Climate change will mainly be curbed by reducing the volume of traffic, which is the aim of creating a more coherent urban structure” (Ministry of the Environment 2008, 7).

Clearly, the question on the interdependencies between settlement structures and environmental sustainability primarily concerns urbanized areas – in short, urban sprawl (Helminen & Ristimäki 2007). In the Finnish conditions, however, a rural variant of this phenomenon is also worthy of specific attention, and it basically concerns the overall sustainability of dispersed rural settlement patterns. Its practical importance is highlighted by the fact that irrespective of a rural decline in many remote areas, a continuation of a dispersed settlement pattern is clearly visible in many thinly populated rural regions. Detached houses and second homes (that are often used all year round) are built far away from population centres, in many cases along lakesides, and this trend is actively supported by rural municipalities, which tend to see rural living space as one of their few real competitive resources (e.g., Mäntysalo et al. 2010). In fact, they utilise a “Space as Luxury” type of argumentation when marketing building sites, and providing migrants with various incentives. Clearly, this challenges the views which emphasize the need to build compact housing areas with efficient public transport connections to centres of work and services.

Against the background outlines above, this paper attempts to shed light on the ongoing political debate in rural areas focusing on development strategies with regard to the triangular objectives of economic competitiveness, social and spatial equity, and environmental sustainability. The empirical investigation analyses the views of prospective municipal decision-makers concerning spatial structure: whether they (that is, those responsible for land-use planning and building rights at a local level) would like to promote a dense or dispersed settlement structure, and which arguments they put forward in support of their views.

## 2. Empirical Setting

The empirical data was obtained from an internet-based survey in the Southern Ostrobothnia region in western Finland. In a European context, this region can be seen as an example of an area of low population density and dispersed settlement structure (Gløersen et al. 2005), even if it is not the most extreme case of such sparsity in Finland. The region covers an area of 14 000 sq. kilometers, and its total number of population is a bit less than 200 000. With the exception of the regional centre, Seinäjoki (56 000 inhabitants in 2009), the municipalities are relatively small (from 1500 to 17 000 inhabitants). In the Finnish context, Southern Ostrobothnia can be characterized as representative of conservative and rural traditions in comparison to national averages.

The internet-based survey was conducted by the leading regional newspaper Ilkka<sup>2</sup> before the municipal elections in 2008, and it comprised 11 to 15 structured questions on the topics which were seen as contested political issues at a national and/or local level. One of the questions was related directly to land-use planning and spatial structure. The electoral candidates of different political parties were given the following question and options:

*What is the main aim of planning: what kind of spatial structure should municipalities promote?*

- a. Municipalities should promote a dense and concentrated structure. Construction should be allowed only for areas close to existing services and infrastructure.*
- b. All areas should be developed.*

*Why? (For a candidate's free form comments)*

This paper examines 1025 structured answers and 554 free form comments by prospective local politicians, that is, electoral candidates, from 21 municipalities in Southern Ostrobothnia. Firstly, local politicians' views on spatial planning and land-use are compared with the views presented by the political parties which they represent. Here, the main issue concerns whether there are differences between the views of national level politicians and those of local level politicians on the need to control and constrain building rights. A brief summary of the arguments put forward by the main parties is presented in Box 1.

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<sup>2</sup> The circulation of Ilkka is approximately 54 000 (in 2009), and it reaches 50-65 % of the households in the municipalities of Southern Ostrobothnia ( see <http://www.ilkka.fi>).

Box 1. Political parties' views on a settlement structure: what kind of structure and why?

Left-wing parties:

*Social Democratic Party*: Dense structure for environmental reasons (climate change).

*Left Alliance*: Dense structure for environmental reasons (climate change).

Right-wing parties:

*National Coalition Party*: Dispersed settlement must be avoided for economic (extra costs in providing services) and environmental reasons (climate change).

Liberal parties:

*Centre Party*: Dense structure in urban areas for environmental reasons (climate change). In rural areas, a dispersed structure is acceptable. Building rights in sparsely populated areas should not be restricted.

*Christian Democrats*: Dense structure for environmental reasons (climate change).

*Greens*: Dense structure for environmental reasons (climate change).

Right-wing Populists:

*True Finns*: Individuals' rights should not be restricted for environmental reasons. Land-use planning must not hinder individuals from building wherever they want to live.

Sources: The Finnish Social Democratic Party 2008: 11-13; Left Alliance 2008: 3; National Coalition Party 2008: 26-27; The Centre Party 2008: 13-14; The Finnish Christian Democrats 2008: 13; The Greens 2008: 2; True Finns 2008: 16-17.

It is worth noting that every national party holds a clear-cut view on how and why changes in settlement patterns should be controlled. Another interesting finding is that most parties support a dense and compact settlement pattern for environmental reasons (in order to reduce traffic and greenhouse gases). The important exception is the Centre Party<sup>3</sup>, which argues in support of building rights even in sparsely populated areas. Also the True Finns, representing the Finnish version of populist parties, makes an exception, emphasizing individuals' rights and opposing planning and what it referred to as "over-protection" of environment.

In the second phase of analysis, the free form comments by local politicians were analyzed to investigate whether local politicians primarily refer to 1) environmental issues, 2) competitiveness, or 3) interregional equality when they argue against, or in support of the need to develop a more concentrated settlement structure. This investigation utilized deductive content analysis with the help of a classification framework,

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<sup>3</sup> The ideology of the Centre Party includes ingredients both from social democratic and liberal movements. It is a member of the European Liberal Democrats Party (ELDR) at the European Parliament. In comparison to the national averages, left-wing parties are relatively weak in Southern Ostrobothnia, and the Centre Party and the National Coalition Party are relatively strong.

which was created a priori <sup>4</sup> (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2002, 97-99). It transpired that new categories were needed on the basis of the empirical material, because all typical arguments used by local politicians did not fit into this classification. After a step by step process, the final classification framework comprises eight categories.

### **3. What kind of spatial structure should municipalities promote?**

Table 1 summarizes the distribution of local politicians' views on the spatial structure which municipalities should promote. A clear-cut majority, 74 percent of these (prospective) local politicians, are of the opinion that "all areas should be developed". What is particularly interesting here is that this view is neither dependent on the place where these politicians live nor the party they represent. There seems to be at the local level a widely-shared consensus that there is no need to promote a dense and more concentrated settlement structure, which is in contrast to the official views of most political parties (see Box 1). For instance, the electoral candidates of the Social Democratic Party and the National Coalition Party do not seem to share the mainstream aims of their parties to reduce carbon dioxide emissions.

The fact that local views, to an important degree, deviate from those at the national level is not particularly surprising. For instance, it is obvious that spatial planning, especially land-use planning, is by its very nature a contested and highly debated issue, and local politicians, that is, decision-makers, negotiate with individual citizens and other relevant actors, and their interests are not always equal. This decision-making process comprises compromises in local physical, social and economic conditions, which the politicians have to take into account. As has been recognized in previous studies, it is difficult to attribute one single reason for spreading housing development (Mäntysalo et al. 2010). In addition, the internet-based survey itself, which can be understood as an integral part of the electoral campaign, may encourage politicians to avoid arguments they which assume to be unpopular among their potential voters (e.g. Reunanen & Suhonen 2009).

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<sup>4</sup> The analysis was carried out in co-operation with human geography students at the University of Joensuu in 2009. The participants of the course were: Seija Heikkala, Jarmo Pääkkönen, Tuomas Turpeinen, Heidi Hiironen, Hanna Jantunen, Matias Luostarinen, Elli Seppä, Tero Härkönen, Anne Mäkelä, Jenni Kylliäinen, Antti Hiltunen, Laura Felin, Emmi Malin, Taina Mustonen and Maija Pajunen.

Table 1. What is the main aim of spatial planning: what kind of urban/rural form should municipalities promote? Local politicians in 21 municipalities in the Southern Ostrobothnia region in western Finland (n= 1025).

Party	A dense and concentrated structure	All areas should be developed	Missing answer	Total
Centre	43 (10 %)	346 (82 %)	35 (8 %)	424 (100 %)
National Coalition	89 (28 %)	208 (66 %)	19 (6 %)	316 (100 %)
Social Democratic	41 (33 %)	79 (65 %)	2 (2 %)	122 (100 %)
Christian Democratic	6 (10 %)	42 (74 %)	9 (16 %)	57 (100 %)
Left Alliance	2 (10 %)	15 (71 %)	4 (19 %)	21 (100 %)
Greens	8 (80 %)	2 (20 %)	0 (0 %)	10 (100 %)
True Finns	1 (2 %)	47 (90 %)	4 (8 %)	52 (100 %)
Other parties/political groupings	0 (0 %)	19 (83 %)	4 (17 %)	23 (100 %)
Total	190 (19 %)	758 (74 %)	77 (7 %)	1025 (100 %)

In the following, the free form comments (n= 544) given by the electoral candidates are investigated: first those in support of a dense structure (Chapter 4), and then those claiming this turn in land-use planning is not needed (Chapter 5).

#### 4. Arguments supporting a dense spatial structure

The free form comments arguing for a compact and concentrated settlement structure (131 of the 554 altogether) are classified into four categories. The first one comprises comments highlighting issues such as environment, climate change, and sustainable development. The second and third categories include arguments emphasizing competitiveness on two different grounds, either stressing savings that a dense structure would bring, or arguing for a dense urban milieu as an attractive environment for enterprises, tourists and migrants. The fourth category of comments includes the views of a relatively large group of local politicians who are of the opinion that although a dense structure is an ideal, planning is a case-specific process and a matter of discretion. In the following, these four categories are described and illustrated with examples.

### **Environment is the primary concern**

Climate change and other issues related to environment are not common arguments or main motives for the support of a more compact and concentrated settlement structure; in fact, only 12 percent of the 131 free form comments fall into this category. Among these respondents, this is typically an urban argument; most of the prospective politicians who invoke a need to protect the environment represent the regional centre, Seinäjoki. In rural municipalities, global warming is not seen as an important motive for the restriction of housing development in low density areas. What is also noteworthy here is that local politicians are very careful in how they formulate their answers, for instance, those who favor a dense structure do not refer to a need to restrict individuals' rights to build in sparsely populated areas or present any changes into prevailing practices. In general, the views of local politicians are in contrast to the programmes of political parties:

*“Smart planning and building benefits everybody. Simply, climate change, high energy prices, a need to develop public transport and services are all such factors which support a more dense structure.” (A social democratic candidate, Seinäjoki)*

*“A more concentrated structure is good for nature; however, municipalities should not prevent people from building in small villages.” (A centre party candidate, Alavus)*

### **Competitiveness: benefits from a centralized structure**

In more than one quarter of the free form answers supporting a dense structure, economic gains are seen as the key argument. According to these views, dispersed settlement structure is assumed to lead to major challenges in maintaining services, public transport and infrastructure in rural areas, whereas a centralized structure would bring savings to municipalities.

*“A small municipality has no other choice than to promote a dense and more concentrated structure. Otherwise, it is not possible to guarantee basic services for citizens in the area they live”. (A candidate of the True Finns, Kuortane)*

*“It is very expensive for a small municipality to build infrastructure in every corner. We need the money for the care of elderly people, for instance”. (A candidate of the National Coalition Party, Soini)*

### **Competitiveness: attractiveness of urban milieus**

Several politicians, who favor a dense structure, argue that spatial concentration is a “natural” tendency in current Finland. In their opinion, people are no longer that interested in living in sparsely populated areas, and demand for urban environments as living places is gaining more ground. The attractiveness of urban



milieus (for enterprises, tourists, and migrants in particular) is the argument underlying this line of thinking. The free form answers in this category typically derive from the assertion that the most effective way to develop a municipality is to develop a strong and attractive centre so that this “engine” generates welfare for other parts of the municipality.

*“In the case that we want to develop an attractive town for citizens and tourists, we must get rid of oat fields in the city centre. Let’s build a new urban image of Seinäjoki. A densely built town also brings more savings.” (A social democratic candidate, Seinäjoki)*

*“It would be ideal to keep all areas inhabited, but under these circumstances this is hardly possible. It is obvious that a strong centre attracts new inhabitants. Thus, only when we have the chance to attract new tax-payers, we will have some chances to also keep small villages alive.” (A candidate of the National Coalition party, Kurikka)*

### **Towards a local consensus: compromises are necessary in planning**

Approximately one quarter of those free form answers, which in principle favor a dense structure, represent compromise positions between the two contrasting views on the aims of land-use planning. On the one hand, it is claimed that municipalities should promote dense and concentrated patterns of land-use, and construction should be allowed only in areas close to existing locations of services and infrastructures. However, this is qualified by the argument that all areas should be developed equally. Typically, these local politicians are of the opinion that planning is not a straightforward process, that is, they tend to emphasize that there is usually no one single answer to a question, but an answer depends on particular conditions in each case. Following this line of thinking, a compact settlement structure must be the main goal of planning in some cases, but there are circumstances in which it is not important or preferable. Overall, variants of this view are common among rural policy-makers; many of them seem to favor a case-specific, ad hoc approach to spatial planning and land-use.

*“The town centre of Lapua should be compact and concentrated, but at the same time, we must take care of the viability of other areas, too” (A Centre Party candidate, Lapua).*

*“The aims of planning depend on the case”. (A Centre Party candidate, Ilmajoki)*

### **5. The majority view: we are for all areas**

More than three-quarters of the free form comments (423/554) claim that all parts of the municipalities should be developed, and this is also the guiding principle in land-use planning issues. The first category of

these arguments refers explicitly to (spatial) equity, and contests the need to develop a more concentrated settlement structure. The other three categories of these views are formed inductively on the basis of the empirical material. Firstly, there are local politicians who emphasize individuals' rights to build wherever they want. Secondly, some politicians stress that maintaining inhabited rural areas is the foremost priority. Thirdly, one group of politicians does not support a dense structure for the reason that they consider space and sparsity to be a key resource for a municipality in attracting new inhabitants and tax-payers.

### **Equality between regions**

Almost one quarter of those electoral candidates who argue that all areas should be developed emphasize that citizens, regardless of the place where they live, should be in an equal position in terms of services and infrastructure. They direct their message particularly at those people who live in remote parts of municipalities, paying attention to their role as tax-payers. In general, the provision of services dominates this discussion, that is, the location of, and access to, services is seen as the key-issue in planning, whereas housing development largely remains on the sidelines.

*“People living in small villages should have the same rights and benefits as others have. Equal possibilities must be guaranteed”. (A social democratic candidate, Töysä)*

*“The continuous centralization of services causes inequality between citizens”. A Centre Party candidate, Alavus)*

*“Services must be available in remote parts of the municipality as well as in the centre. Welfare must be distributed equally”. (A Centre Party candidate, Vimpeli)*

### **Individuals' rights to choose must be respected**

In a relatively large group of the free form comments opposing a dense structure (76/423), the political agenda is formulated in terms of individuals' rights and freedom of choice, claiming that land-use planning must not hinder individuals from building wherever they want to live. According to this line of argumentation, planning should serve citizens' needs – not restrict economic activity and migration of new tax-payers. In those rare cases in which the concept of rights is discussed, the constitutional right of people to choose their place of living is mentioned.

*“Basically, land-use planning should not be an obstacle to people when they choose their place of living”. (A Christian Democratic candidate, Kauhava)*

*“Everybody should have the right to choose his or her place of living, and planning should not prevent it”. (a Centre Party candidate, Lappajärvi)*

*“In Finland, people have the right to choose their place of living and planning should be used as a tool to help this constitutional right materialise” (A candidate of the True Finns, Vimpeli)*

### **Inhabited rural areas must be maintained**

For 13 percent (54) of the 423 free form comments, maintaining rural and sparsely populated inhabited areas is an important value. In this line of thinking, rurality is identified as a central and vital part of the Finnish culture, and a resource for the Finnish nation. For this reason, it is essential to secure citizens' possibilities to live in small villages.

*“Living villages with local innovative people are the corner-stone and a resource of the Finnish lifestyle”. (A Centre Party candidate, Alajärvi).*

### **Sparsity as an asset**

In almost 20 percent of the free form answers opposing dense structure, rural space and sparsity are considered as important resources for municipalities, which can attract new inhabitants by offering spacious sites for building in a beautiful environment. This argument is based on the assumption that potential migrants to rural municipalities are not interested in dense and compact living environments, but that they want space and nature around them. The respondents describe typical migrants as families with children, possibly also with dogs or horses, demanding a lot of space around them.

*“One important attraction of Ilmajoki is its sparsely populated regions. I think people should be offered alternatives like that.” (A National Coalition Party candidate, Ilmajoki)*

*“Living villages are important for the countryside. They are also an asset for us, if we want to be able to compete with big cities for new inhabitants”. (A National Coalition Party candidate, Kauhava)*

*“A Finn needs space around him/her. Dense living causes problems for us”. (A Christian Democrat candidate, Ähtäri)*

*“People move to a rural municipality in order to get more space around them. A dense structure and small sites is not a working system. It was tried in the 1970s and now we have realized that the sites are too small for current purposes”. (A Centre Party candidate, Isokyrö)*

## **6. Conclusions**

In Finland, the Land Use and Building Act gives local governmental units (municipalities) large decision-making powers to interpret policy guidelines in land-use planning and building rights. This paper reports on an investigation concerning local politicians' views on land-use and spatial planning issues in a predominantly rural region, Southern Ostrobothnia, in western Finland. A majority of prospective local

decision-makers, the candidates at the 2008 municipal elections, were found challenging the national guidelines concerning spatial planning and land-use which emphasize the need to utilize the existing built environment and infrastructures extensively, and decrease a need for transport.

In contrast, most local politicians are of the opinion that all areas in municipalities should be developed, including the right to build outside densely built areas. In this vein, environmental arguments, which form the key argumentative thrust of the national targets, are not presented as important guiding principles at the local level. This suggests that local politicians who are responsible for the implementation of these principles in planning and decision-making practice have not yet really digested the guidelines which derive from international agreements, and also reflect an increasing Europeanisation of spatial planning. At the local level, land-use and building primarily follow well-established traditions, the typical features of which are loose guidelines and emphasis on landowners' rights to materialize their own views. This approach can also be seen to derive from the view that environmental sustainability is only one dimension of rural development, in which a working compromise between socio-economic, cultural and environmental considerations is needed.

### **Acknowledgment**

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## **Track 8: Urban Planning and Physical Form**

### **Track Co-Chairs**

Ali Madanipour, University of Newcastle

Panu Lehtovuori, Estonian Academy of Arts

In this track, we invite both substantive and theoretical papers on the theme of urban space and the role of planning in its transformation. In an urban world, where 'space is luxury', what are the patterns of spatial transformation in Europe and elsewhere? What are the impacts and implications of this urban transformation for social cohesion, environmental care, cultural heritage, and aesthetic quality? How could the quality of urban environment be improved while optimising the use of energy and materials? What is the role of urban form as a frame of 'environmental agency', facilitating prudent behaviour by individuals and companies? How could the diversity of urban space and society be respected and promoted while reducing the gap between social and cultural groups? How can the aesthetics of urban space be improved without undermining the cultural heritage or giving way to consumerism and the rule of spectacle? How can planners create 'places' that cater to local needs while being part of a rapid process of global change? How can public spaces cope with the pressures for commercialisation and gentrification? How can planners manage the relationship between the public and the private, as expressed in urban space? Where do planners stand in evaluating, facilitating, or resisting these changes?

Another set of questions concern the relationship between the physical and social dimensions of the urban environment, between urban design and urban planning. Can or should the two be separated in planning education, research and practice? Can planning interpret the spatial as social but non-physical, or as physical but non-social? In this track, we especially invite papers that approach the links between physical form, social relations and the aesthetic and atmospheric qualities of urban space in an innovative way. What other methodologies can be explored beyond urban morphology to study urban space? We hope to make genuinely new openings in the study of the 'luxury' of public space, or the added value and public good that urban space at its best provides.

A related contention is that of density. From the Nordic perspective of sparsely built cities and the tradition of extensive, little-regulated sprawl, the social and ecological benefits of densely urban settlements need further scrutiny. How can the argument for higher densities be made in the 'luxury' situation of abundance of non-developed land and nature? Does the densification agenda have ecologically and socially relevant alternatives? How should we read and represent the physical form of the large, multicentred and sometimes transnational metropolitan regions?

Finally, from an economic point of view, the physical urban form plays a role in speeding – or retarding – innovation. While there is broad agreement that innovation is the key to the economic success of cities, regions and countries, surprisingly little is known about the precise links between innovation and physical urban form. While design is a key manifestation of innovative practices, how can urban design foster innovation in cities? How can innovation be promoted without undermining the identity, character, and cultural heritage of places?

## **Beetham Beetham Beetham: Banal Luxury and ‘Quality Places’**

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Keywords: Placemaking, urban design, quality

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The UK has seen the longest period of boom in the construction industry since WW2, with continuous growth between 1993 and 2007, a context that dramatically and radically changed following the global financial crisis of 2008-09. The boom was characterised by a revived focus on the city centre as a space where regeneration of post-industrial cities could be catalysed in an environment that saw overt competition between cities to be the best. The boom also coincided with the raising in public consciousness of design as a qualitative and desirable commodity through exposure in popular media and encapsulation of ‘quality’ in political and policy objectives. This in turn has led to the introduction of new areas of built environment focussed policy and guidance aiming to ensure design ‘quality’ that embodies the values of ‘place’ in both urban space and built form. Place intersects the uniqueness of location with culture. This raises the question ‘If each city is different why are new places all so similar?’

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**Introduction: The banality of ubiquitous luxury.**

Luxury depends on qualitative difference to establish desire. The consumer led model of contemporary society offers a socially accessible version of this condition, where luxury is presented at all levels of income. This paper will explore the architectural and urban resultant of this approach through comparative analysis of this market driven context. The visible symbols of the boom are new forms of housing that encapsulated the values of society that created them, the users of which engage with the city through new forms of public and pseudo public urban space. The paper will focus on schemes built by The Beetham Organisation, a highly visible property development company that surfed the crest of the noughties property boom, as built symbols that effectively concretised the demand for luxury city centre living and its iteration in British cities. The super-highrise apartment was recapitulated as an object of desire, a Neo-modern icon that defined prosperity and progress, in stark contrast to its previous iteration as the embodiment of low income mass housing.

In parallel to this creation of architectural objects a remarkable homogenisation of collective taste is evident at all scales. Urban space mirrors interior space as its architecture adopts a readily consumable, ideologically value free, but heavily commodified version of Modernism. These new spaces rely on balancing lifestyle individuality and corporate identity, reflected in the architectural form of new building's exteriors and the development and refinement of new forms of aesthetically commodified urban space, leveraged as a developer delivered by-product of lifestyle lead urban living.

The housing market during the boom appeared to be an infallible money making machine. The dream that was sold to the public saw housing move away from its original function as dwelling space, repositioned instead as an investment opportunity that consumers could live in, buy to let became buy to leave, where investors (often overseas) never occupied the space they owned. Lifestyle and profit facilitated by space and design, this apparently win-win situation produced stylised spatial configurations that mapped directly onto the lifestyle choices of the urbane inhabitant of this new space. The important factor in its success is neutrality of the built outcomes and their superficial relationship with anything that may be described as an ideological position. By establishing a language of form and space based on Modernism but embodying none of the values of Modernism it is possible to produce urban space that no longer holds meaning. This ideological neutral backdrop responds directly to the market, able to adopt any shape or form.

The building boom resulted in a recapitulation and repositioning of previously marginalised building types as culturally acceptable forms. The language of Modernity and its built outcomes were recast as desirable luxuries rather than imposed necessities. This process necessitated commodification. Buildings (and spaces) that had previously been derided as *old new* (bad) became *new old* (good). The categorisation of carefully selected examples of building as Mid-century Modern represents an act of curation of the built stock of cities throughout Britain. This re-valuing allowed the exclusion of the majority of the Modernist historical legacy, whilst certain significant works, the most prominent of which are iconic structures including Park Hill in Sheffield and Trellick Tower in West London were included.

### From Pioneer to Mainstream

The building boom can be grouped into distinct phases that have specific character. The first phase was pioneering, reusing existing built stock, in the case of Manchester, Liverpool and Birmingham typically former industrial and warehouse space, with the ‘loft’ as the model (Fig 1.). This phase was followed by the new build ‘loft’, in buildings that initially adopted the warehouse aesthetic but later developed their own specific form, in Manchester the apartment ‘wedge’ e.g. No. 1 Deansgate by Ian Simpson Architects (Fig 2) defines the built form of the second phase. This second phase marks the entry of large volume house builders into the market and coincided and fed the later stages of the housing price boom in the UK. Rising land values rendered the ‘wedge’ as uneconomical. At this point (c.2004) the tower (Fig 3) emerges as the preferred form. There is also a shift away from the post industrial aesthetic and terminology, the ‘loft’ is replaced by the ‘apartment’.



Fig 1. Loft: Smithfield Buildings, Manchester: Stephenson Bell Architects Urban Splash developers 1998

Fig 2. Apartment: No.1 Deansgate, Manchester: Ian Simpson Architects Crosby Homes developers 2002

Fig 3. Super-highrise Apartment: Beetham Tower, Manchester: Ian Simpson Architects Beethm Organisation developers 2006

The agenda of inner city regeneration resulted in self-similar (yet uncoordinated) built form being delivered throughout British city centres. The re-emergence of Modernist language as an acceptable form of architectural production within certain identifiable cultural constraints and contextualised by a new traditionalism is an important feature of the built result of the boom. The interrelationship between Neo—modernist luxury loft apartment and privatised urban pseudo public meeting place was set up, as city authorities demanded developers to give back (under section 106 of the Planning Policy Guidance) to the city, in exchange for being granted permits to build.

We are now experiencing the legacy of this strategy, which focussed on leveraging the market to produce value through inner city regeneration based around a desire by planning authorities and politician to make British cities more European, delivered by the market. The resultant financially driven building types and spaces, sanctioned by planning authorities as part of their strategic mission, forms the basis of this case study based critique. Built and almost built exemplars in the major UK regional centres of Manchester, Liverpool and Birmingham articulate the meaning of ‘quality’ as a deliverable objective, achieved through the production of ‘luxury’ space, founded on a mixture of financial, architectural and urban speculation where the drawing, description and preconception of a scheme was often more important than the finished results. Fantasy beats and sometime parallels reality. The paper explores the concept of consumed space where use destroys value and looks at the idea of legacy, both finished and unfinished.

The move from culturally unacceptable politically and ideologically based Modernism, to superficially aesthetically similar yet acceptable Neo-modernism, is a subtext of this analysis, revealing how the culture of an era informs the production of architectural form and urban space. This exposes the tension that exists between the desire to make places and the drivers of globalism. The value of place as defined by its icons is a key feature of this new (peculiarly) heritage responsive context, throwing up unexpected and bizarre results, driven by the desire to produce statement buildings and quality places.

### **Function as a Driver**

The basis for functionally defined built form and urban planning models is the idea that function is a valid means of defining use. This paradigm starts to collapse when the market distorts the functional rationale for the production of space. Functional utility has to map onto actual use or the underlying model breaks down, raising the question when does a dwelling space become a dwelling *style* space, when does an urban space

become and urban *style* space? At its most extreme when does a city become an urban style settlement experience? The extreme market conditions of the boom saw utility replaced by style.

The legacy of urban strategies that rely on the idea of continuous growth appears questionable in the new climate of austerity and sustainability. Luxury depends on exclusivity. When anything becomes ubiquitous it is no longer perceived as a luxury, becoming either a right, or banal, or a problem. The inner city loft market has rapidly moved through the cycle of luxury to ubiquity, what is the legacy that this has left British cities?

### **Making Place**

Difference between British industrial cities historically derived from their functional specialisms. Liverpool's docks, Manchester's textile mills and Birmingham's engineering. These sectors have seen radical reduction in their size and importance since the 1960's. Moving into a post industrially defined era cities are faced with the hard question of how to define themselves as offering a specific and visible advantage to attract investment and income. The built form described in this paper is a direct result of this strategy, based on the representation of the abundant form of production in the UK between 1992-2007, namely the growth in consumer credit and the housing market. The direct link between the act of making things in a certain place is changed to the representation of an idea of place through spectacular gesture.

### **Urban Living**

The re-definition of urban living as a desirable lifestyle choice was initiated in the early 1990's by pioneering developers including Urban Splash, who promoted the idea of the urban loft as a cool alternative to suburbia. By branding the urban experience through a clear design identity that embraced the language of Modernity, often in conjunction with reused industrial building stock, a new market was established, based on the idea that living in urban centres was both desirable and marketable. The growth in demand for city centre building stock for conversion into apartments soon exhausted existing stock and the new build urban apartment emerged to fill the gap. This was embraced by planning authorities as a means of bring life back into the British city centre taking a 'European' model as the precedent. The scale and ambition of these schemes rapidly increased over the decade between 1997-2007, to the point where speculatively developed housing could produce the tallest residential building in Europe (Beetham Tower, Manchester) (Fig 3). This embodied the idea of luxury and high design as the means of regenerating the city, complete with a 5\* hotel and a penthouse flat with an imported grove of genuine Italian olive trees.



Fig 4: Beetham in Birmingham (2005, 39 Floors), Manchester (2006, 50 Floors) and Liverpool (2004, 29 Floors)

Beetham Tower, Birmingham (also referred to as the Holloway Circus Tower or 10 Holloway Circus ) is a 121.5-metre (399 ft) tall mixed-use skyscraper in Birmingham city centre. It is named after the developers the Beetham Organisation and was designed by Ian Simpson, built by Laing O'Rourke. When it was completed in 2006, it was estimated to have cost around £72 million to construct. The entire development covers an area of 650 square metres (7,000 sq ft).

Completed in 2006 at a cost of £150 million, the Beetham Tower in Manchester, is the highest building in Manchester, the tallest residential building in Europe and the 7th tallest building in England with over 525,000 square feet of space. The Beetham Tower is 168.87 metres high, has a total of 47 floors and is home to the Hilton Hotel, 219 luxury apartments and 16 penthouses.

Beetham Tower, Liverpool is a residential tower in Liverpool city centre. Developed by the Beetham Organisation and built by Carrillion it was completed in early 2004. It is 90 metres (295 ft) tall and has 29 floors.

British cities (outside London) vied to build versions of this new speculative paradise, the residential tower becoming the embodiment of the successfully regenerated inner city. Importantly the visual language of the tower was the critical element of displaying success, through the architectural representation of newness. Interestingly high rise living, routinely vilified in the British press from the 1970's-1990's, was not problematic and it is now possible to see new (good) residential towers constructed adjacent to old (bad) towers in many British cities. The question of how long the new will remain 'good' is live. The stripping of the language of modernity from any connections with social provision has been critical in these developments, and it has even been possible to reposition previously tainted social housing stock with the values of the new boom by clearing and refacing Modernist icons of the past (Denys Lasdun's Keeling

House in Hackney being the key example of this). This represented the market driving home the logical conclusion of Thatcherite housing policy, initiated in the 1980's.

Lifestyle does not demand function to succeed. The representation of *lifestyle* was crucial to the boom and the built outcome of this was housing style development that pushed liveability to its limits. When a house is sold to someone who will never live in it, it becomes a purely speculative object. The possibility of occupation is relatively unimportant at times of rapid market growth. Schemes existed as speculative tools even before they were started on site. Buying off plan against an image became a key sector of the developers market. This produces a source of cash to leverage the value of the site, offers the speculator the possibility of buying at a discount to maximise potential profit. Critically, the representation of the scheme becomes as important as the scheme itself, a kind of spectral presence on the site.

When schemes were completed the rapid influx of new stock created a market dissimilar to the wider housing market. Newly built space that has been lived in became used, and therefore decreased in value. An empty flat becomes more valuable than an occupied flat in this market, therefore the functional performance of the flat as a space to live in becomes secondary. The smallest micro-flats (approx 37m<sup>2</sup>) were unable to sustain anything other than temporary occupation and embody the ideal space to sell lifestyle. Equipment replaces architecture with implied lifestyle represented through the plasma television, the (never used) cooker and the bathroom taps overtaking the domestic function as the dominant aspect of the schemes.

The objective of city centre regeneration was to repopulate the city, taking the 'European' city as the model. The city centre was defined as a space of cultural consumption, and the lifestyle that this implied was initially limited to single professionals. The infrastructure that is needed to support families living in the city centre simply did not exist. The target demographic produced a striking degree of homogeneity in the built outcome of this strategy as demonstrated by Fig 4 showing the internal space of apartments in three different locations matched with the facades of the buildings to which they belong.





Fig 5: Luxury public space on operation: bullring Birmingham (formerly The Bullring), Arndale Centre Manchester (formerly Cannon Street), Liverpool ONE (formerly

### Designer Shopping

The designer apartment is a microcosm of the city's ambition to become spaces of luxury consumption. They are mirrored by the correlating space to this mass consumer urbanism, the shopping centre (Fig 5). The homogenisation and privatisation of the urban centre was predicted by theorists such as Davies (1990) and Koolhaas (1993). Urban space driven by consumption requires points of production for goods. The shopping centre replaces the factory as the focus of the city. The increasing sophistication of retail has resulted in the formation of the largest built forms in the city centre, where retail dominates. In all the studies featured in this paper space that was formerly controlled by the city authorities has been privatized and embodied within giant malls. The oldest example here, Manchester's Arndale Centre, originally occupied eight city blocks, with a major road, Cannon Street cutting through the building. Following the 1996 IRA bomb the Arndale was extensively remodeled and the former public realm of Cannon Street embodied within the building. The same process has happened in Birmingham's bullring, and Liverpool's Liverpool ONE. By ceding urban space the city removes cost as an 'improvement'.

### Austerity and Lifestyle

This paper has discussed the outcomes of an urban regeneration strategy based on using the market to deliver and meet the objectives of bringing a European lifestyle to British city centres. The results demonstrate that the market will distort policy objectives into a post functional reality. The dependence on consumption as the key driver leaves a built legacy that is inflexible and empty of cultural meaning. The previous condition of spatial super abundance that was created by the collapse of these city's industrial base is in the process of being recreated through a surplus of functionally unviable domestic space and empty retail and office space.

Is the natural condition of post industrial or post retail cities always one of spatial super abundance and does this situation automatically set up the pre conditions for the next form of spatial over production. If functional use squeezes out ambiguity and the possibility of cultural re-appropriation, perhaps it is time to move towards post functional planning as an objective?

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## **“Landscape is luxury”: Searching for Images of Sustainability**

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Keywords: landscape theory, visioning, sustaining beauty

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Landscape can give an expressive form to ecological processes, give a vision for “green” policies and plans, and allow the public at large to understand what is at stake. Because most territorial changes are planned on the basis of various forms of representations and rendering, the power of images has grown more and more. What images of change are planners and designers putting forward? Are these images able to represent innovative scenarios of sustainability? The paper presents some case studies.

The landscape is close to the way in which people perceive their own living environment, so it can be a powerful visioning tool for participatory democracy. It is proposed that the landscape debate should be re-oriented, from the prevailing attention paid to the identity, as an heritage of the past, to a stronger focus on the “aspirations of the public” (European Landscape Convention) and to the creation of new landscape identities.

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### **The power of landscape images and the “green methaphor”**

The relationship between territory and landscape has been reversed: the latter is no longer a byproduct of the former, indeed the image of landscape precedes the territory, which can be shaped to reflect our preferred rendering. We have passed from the domestication of nature to its simulation (Raffestin, 2005). Because by now almost all of the manmade environment is the result of planning and design, those who propose images of transformation have an enormous responsibility. What images of change do designers propose? Do they reflect ideals of sustainability, other socially shared ideals, or are they merely the fantasies of a professional elite?

The growing popularity of the term landscape would appear to spring from a demand for “global” answers. What, indeed, does landscape offer, other than the concepts of environment, of territory, of the city? A representation. The illusion of reassembling the fragments of objects and activities that today’s schizophrenia has sundered; the chance to construct a story, a narration of our history, and of our future. The ability to

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reflect, the esthetic and emotional dimension, the relationship with common perceptions and experience, which is also the ability to share something with others.

Environmental issues, images of endangered nature, regions devastated by the hand of man: all now occupy a significant space in the collective imagination. Among the possible “ideals” that landscape design can seek to express, there is thus the environmental sustainability of settlements. There can be no doubt that this is an ideal shared by the international community, though it now seems a bit time-worn, little more than a bureaucratic formula, to which every new project is obliged to give lip service, but does not necessarily believe. In landscape planning, moreover, the question of environmental sustainability is nothing if not delicate, as it stirs the tensions between the concept of landscape as ecosystem, and the concept of landscape as representation. It is from the latter that we take our cue.

What does an environmentally sustainable contemporary landscape look like? Despite the possible variety, as demonstrated by traditional landscapes regarded as being sufficiently in equilibrium with natural resources, the image that springs first to mind is that of a lush green place. For many people, the idea of sustainable landscape evokes strictly traditionalist archetypes, like the self-sufficient village whose inhabitants can go everywhere on foot, but brought up to date with bio-building, energy independence and maybe even growing one’s own food. The press will occasionally report a rare exemplification of this model in Nordic villages or sparsely populated areas. It is unlikely that images of urban or metropolitan landscapes will come to mind.



Project for a Biotower for city farming (from the site [www.verticalfarm.com](http://www.verticalfarm.com)) (SOA Architects)

This utopia, however, is far from the everyday experience of most of the world’s population, and the realization that environmental problems such as diminishing resources and climate change would appear to be moving us towards scenarios of innovation where technology trumps green: new forms of energy generation, bioclimatic construction, “alternative” and collective forms of transport, waste treatment systems, and methods for saving and storing water are a few of the factors that will change the shape of our cities and towns, while other technologies affect rural landscapes. And so we are seeing new proposals, like using “bio-towers” to farm in cities (dubbed “vertical farming”), or, more simply, guaranteeing greenery even for

people who live in skyscrapers through “vertical forests”. Consequently, our “sustainable” city landscape is as likely to grow upwards as outwards.

Landscape solutions to more specific environmental questions are no less contradictory. Take, for instance, energy production: what can we say about setting up wind farms in the Italian countryside, or installing photovoltaic solar systems in the “roofscapes” of our historic cities? For some time now, there have been attempts to develop an esthetic for energy landscapes, and to win acceptance on the part of the community. But even greener policies can have significant impacts on the landscape: for example, urban forestation, which involves creating forested belts fulfilling an ecological function, means canceling the existing agricultural landscape. These are only two examples of the possible contradictions between the content and image of environmental policies. Measures that seem to be the thing to do but do not “look good”, contradictions between ethical sense and esthetic habits, between the needs of the landscape and the needs of the environment, which emerge every day in the chronicles of territorial transformation.

But we can also see the opposite phenomenon at work in the relationship between ecology and esthetics: the “green-washing” of high environmental impact projects, where the drawings depict greenery shielding buildings, production areas and shopping centers from view, and flower beds bordering the new infrastructures. But the ornamental effect masks the irremediable consumption of land, water and energy. And finally, we have projects where nature is reduced to mere symbol: the new artificial islands shaped like palm trees (Arab Emirates), or tulips (the Netherlands). The new landscapes that result are an artificial product, artificially maintained, but one that plays with stereotyped and globalized “green images”.



Project of a Tulip Island for windfarms in Netherland  
(Innovatieplatform, 2007-09)



In the hybridization between architecture, urban planning and landscaping, there are as many reasons for fascination as there are for worry. Other ambiguous alliances contribute, like those between landscape and ecology, or between landscape and greenery. The urgency of environmental issues calls for greater caution, and points to new types of content for urban and regional projects, but there is a dearth of images capable of

giving shape to the myth of sustainability, of offering a vision, of alluding both to a target content and a new form of landscape.

### Success stories

Experiments in sustainable settlements are under way around the world, with sizes ranging from that of the single neighborhood, to the cities for millions of inhabitants planned in China. In Great Britain, the government has launched a program for ten new “Eco-towns”. The program has not been as well received as was hoped, and was thus scaled down after the impact assessment and public consultation. The ecological aspect of the program has been widely criticized, chiefly because the model involves a rather low housing density, and hence a larger consumption of land than the alternative of increasing the density of existing settlements. A clear feature of the program is its reliance on housing models that can be regarded as traditional – stylistically, at least – in order to attract the market. Judging, however, from the stiff opposition mobilized against the program, the image of the traditional British garden suburb, freshly enlivened with porticoed squares lined with shops, is not perhaps strong enough to draw a new community around a shared project. In any case, the program is still at the beginning.

In the meantime, a few considerations are in order concerning proposals that have enjoyed a greater critical success. One is the Internationale Bauausstellung Fürst-Pückler-Land 2000-2010 initiative, a landscape program concerning a former mining district extending over 80x100 kilometers. Using the traces of the area’s industrial past, topography and waterworks, eight artificial lakes have transformed it into Europe’s largest water park, provided with recreational facilities and vacation accommodation. The landscape is also the mirror – or the mirage – of a new economic and social system, and thus holds out hope for the local community.







Internationale Bauausstellung Fürst-Pückler-Land 2000-2010, views of the region, of the mining landscape, and of the project ([www.iba-see.de](http://www.iba-see.de))

Creating landscape can be a way of implementing environmental policies together with social policies: another such case is PlaNYC2030, the sustainability plan for the City of New York. In this case the area involved is one of the most densely populated metropolises on the planet. The part of the plan that deals with urban landscape is not limited to considerations regarding the environmental function of green space, but concentrates on its social functions, on the wellbeing it brings to individuals and groups, and to pursuing the goal of providing every inhabitant with a park no more than ten minutes' walk from home, reclaiming undeveloped sites to create parks and public plazas in neighborhoods that do not have such facilities, opening schoolyards as public playgrounds after school hours, and planting trees wherever possible. There is an extraordinary shift in scale between the complexity of the metropolitan ecosystem and the size of the sites targeted by the plan, which though individually small are spread across the entire city. An interesting aspect is the role assigned to public participation. One of the programs that has attracted most attention is MillionTreesNYC, whose aim is to plant one million trees over the next decade: inhabitants can indicate streets and other public or private spaces where they would like trees to be planted, help with the planting, or make donations to the project. A greener city is a shared dream that stimulates the collective construction of the urban landscape.

It will be noted that the landscape is not at the center of attention in these projects. In fact, it is only a means: the mental picture of a better world. And is this not its most authentic nature? A greener planet, taken care of personally by each of its inhabitants, as in the celebrated metaphor of the “jardin planétaire” (Clément 1999).

### **Landscape visions as tools for public participation**

In these last examples, “creating landscape” is not the same as landscaping. It is a process whose formal outcome is not predetermined, more like spontaneous morphogenetic processes or forms of strategic

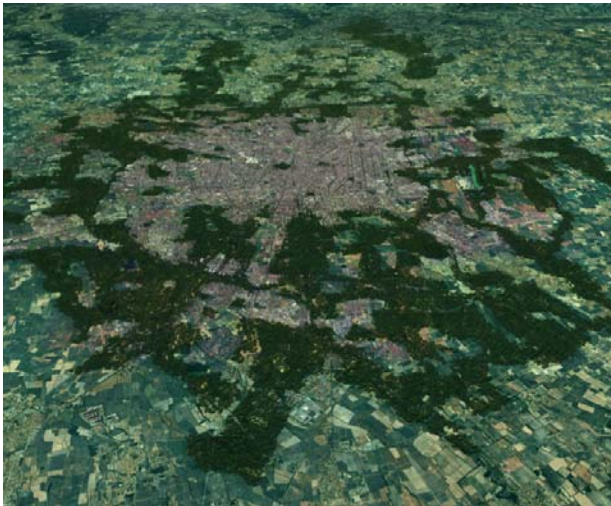
planning. We must now return to our initial question regarding the designer's specific activity and the images constructed, a question which also hinges on esthetics.

In the landscaping debate, after years in which ecology was at the center of attention, esthetics is once again a topic of discussion: now, the emphasis is on the potential relationships and synergies between esthetics and ecology. Considering ecology as only a technique, using form to highlight natural processes, are proposals that were advanced more than a decade ago, but have recently been theorized in a manifesto: the manifesto for "Sustaining Beauty" (Meyer 2008). Beauty is to become a vehicle for raising awareness of the environment: "the experience of designed landscape as tool for sustainability". Esthetics, in accordance with contemporary ecology, must be rooted, not in the concept of harmony as in the past, but on those of resilience against disturbances, dynamic adaptation and process. A similar idea emerged during the last European Landscape Biennial (Barcelona, September 25-27, 2008): if the major social concern of our time is the loss of nature, the culture of the landscape must reassess emotion as a key for accessing nature.

Thus, landscaping culture's answer to the appropriation of the term landscape by many architects, for whom it is chiefly a stylistic factor, has been to return landscape to its meaning as a quest for emotion and beauty, as managing processes and flows of matter and information (the opposite of the culture of design), with a renewed sense of nature that takes phenomena at different scales into account.

In reality, many forms of planning do not permit formal control over their outcomes (landscape planning itself is far from able to do so). Urban planners' forecasts, moreover, lag continually behind the curve of economic and social dynamics... In these cases, one might say, there is nothing we can do. Except trying to influence the ideals and imagination that move the market and its operators, promoting and disseminating innovative visions. The esthetic question, then, is crucial, if it becomes intersubjective experience, capable of representing hopes and aspirations, creating models, orienting collective action and improving, through the quality of the landscape, the quality of the territory, including that which is constructed without landscape designers. We must find images that can stimulate processes of visioning and democratic participation in planning the territory and landscape. A form of strategic landscape planning, where images of the landscape serve to make the public understand the possible scenarios of change, and the effects that decisions will have on their "living environment" (as the term is used by the European Landscape Convention) and, finally, on the environment in the broader sense. See, for example, the Greenpeace's project "Photoclima", concerning the climate change scenarios.

The landscape can thus be a powerful tool for participatory democracy, because it is the way people perceive their environment. Landscape has already been used in visioning experiments, including those that involve planning for entire regions prefiguring alternative landscape scenarios can make the stakes involved understandable to the public at large, creating new visions and guiding collective action.



“Metrobosco” [Metro-wood], a green vision for Milan metropolitan Area (Politechnic of Milan, from the site [www.metrobosco.it](http://www.metrobosco.it))

Simulation of climate change scenarios: “Río Ebro as it flows through Saragossa”; “After few decades with no action taken on climate change.” From: P. Almestre e M. Gómez, Photoclima (Greanpeace 2007)



### The “prospective” identity, a new hypothesis for the landscape planning

This, however, calls for a change in perspective. In Europe, as in the United States, the relationship between the public and the landscape has long been investigated in terms of personal and collective memory and perception. “Landscape and memory” form a particularly effective duo. Thus, in the European Landscape Convention’s call to approach landscape policies with attention to the public’s values and aspirations, the

focus has until now been chiefly on the first of these two factors, giving emphasis and space to the search for local identity, with less of an eye to the “aspirations” and the methods for investigating them.

This conception, though entirely legitimate, is limited in the situations where the important thing is not so much to conserve existing qualities, as to solve knotty problems or promote the creation of new elements of value: in those that for convenience we can call “ordinary landscapes”, the traces of history are reduced to shreds and tatters, and instead of a community rooted in the area, we have rather recent, mobile social groups. Without denying the possibility that a “sense of place” exists and can be passed on, it seems more likely that it arises as a result of ongoing changes rather than from the legacy of the past (Cassatella 2008).

If the widespread desire for landscape, in fact, is not simply desire for roots, but is a desire for beauty and meaning, the role of landscape in designing and creating new living environments is that of offering a new form of legend for a public that cannot identify itself in a common past, but can do so in a shared future, in a project scenario. Communities form and bond when faced with impending changes, often because of their opposition to them (e.g., when mobilizing against “threats” to their landscape), but also when they espouse common goals. Innovative landscape scenarios can be useful in redeeming “ordinary” areas if, rather than seeking an identity in the past, we concentrate more on the public’s aspirations, aiming for a “prospective identification”, in a radically new common future.

The choice of a place to live, no longer bound by the ties of land ownership, is freer than in the past, but precisely for this reason, its quality (environmental and in terms of perception, as well as functional) is an important factor. The added value of the landscape plan or project is the strategic dimension and the satisfaction of esthetic needs. Naturally, there are no universally valid images, only local answers to the questions and general aims we have discussed.

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## **THE LUXURY OF SILENCE, CEMETERIES AS PLACES OF ‘APOSIOPESIS’ IN THE CITY**

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Keywords: place, urbanism, cemetery, aposiopesis

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### **Abstract**

‘Aposiopesis’ derives from the greek word ‘αποσιώπησις’ meaning becoming silent or maintaining silence. It is when a statement or address is broken off, left unfinished, only to be completed in the imagination. Bearing in mind that ‘place’ has been defined as ‘the concrete manifestation of man’s dwelling’, it becomes a paradox that cemeteries are probably the only ‘places’ manifesting very little about their ‘dwellers’. Therefore, they appear as remote urban spaces in aposiopesis of their content and habitation. Someone would be more precise describing contemporary cemeteries as ‘uninhabited’, but yet not ‘empty’, urban places. Viewed as places of expression of our ‘being-in-the-world’, they transcend every aspect of functionality. Therefore the current discussion on the formation of contemporary ‘gravescapes’ as urban territories arise multiple quests about their content and identity in the city.

The research will be based on emerging theories and contemporary examples of cemetery design. The central argument concentrates on the present relation between the city and cemetery formation through social, cultural and aesthetical aspects.

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### **1. Introduction:**

#### **Landscape as a criticism for the city**

I would like to start this paper with a direct reference to contemporary theories on the blurring between urban design and landscape urbanism. According to Charles Waldheim landscape discipline has enjoyed an

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unprecedented intellectual and cultural renewal. For various reasons, impossible to explore within this paper research, landscape has improbably emerged as the most relevant disciplinary locus for arguments historically housed in the eras of architecture, urban design, or planning (Waldheim 2006). Among other authors, Charles Waldheim urges landscape urbanism as implied critique of architecture and urban design's stiffness in offering coherent translations of contemporary urban conditions.

There can be numerous references to statements regarding this newfound relevance of landscape as a model for urbanism. Some believe that the efficiency of producing urban effects enables landscape medium for use in complex territories. On the other hand, rapidly transforming conditions of contemporary urban culture testifies the origins of landscape urbanism.

Within this research, the new potential in landscape initiates an interdisciplinary approach to the qualities of cemeteries revealing interesting perspectives about their relation with urban and suburban context. What is the position of contemporary burial sites in the temporal mutability and extensivity of the urban territories? Are they simply open spaces in rapidly transforming urban sprawls or do they qualify as reflections of the city's entity and limits?

## **2. Burial sites and the urban territory**

The answer to the previous question might seem obvious. Recent theories on architectural and urban design treat city's space as a complex and multi-functional territory. But in the case of cemetery design, issues on functionality and coherence can be doubted. Due to their content the relation between the city and its burial sites has been ambivalent.

Historically, burial sites have been located beyond articulated urban space. During the forming of European cities, the burial ground's potential for spreading disease exiled cemeteries outside city walls. Very few exemptions can be quoted to such conviction. For the sake of scientific accuracy, someone can mention the Towers of Silence and the early Christian catacombs. The first formed multi-level open spaces, where dead could be exposed instead of burying, within the urban matrix of Persian cities. Very few of them are now reserved as monuments. Catacombs form a system of burial places underneath the city level, where Christians would spend most of their religious lives (Gazis-Sax, 1995).

The field dedicated to those who do not live among us spreads beyond inhabited urban territory. Cemeteries tend to be located at areas that seem to act as urban boundaries. There are plenty of references proving designated burial grounds outside European city fortifications, at various times and scales. In traces of Roman London, fortified with strong walls, the early city as visualized in various maps was surrounded by

the river on the south and burial sites on the north, east and west. It seems that inhabited urban space is almost surrounded and defined by a unified zone of burial sites (diagram 1). (Rasmussen, 1991)

In the case of the ancient city of Athens, one of the gates is dedicated to the memory of the dead. Therefore someone could enter the city via the way (*odos*) of the tombs, through the sacred gate. Cemeteries in ancient Greece might be located out of the city but were bound to the urban rituals and city life (diagrams 2a, 2b). (Sennet, 1994)

Cemeteries located at the city's edge have appeared as 'uninhabited' but yet not 'empty' urban spaces. Open land adjacent to the city walls have proved ideal for burial. Someone can tell about the city's entity and limits from early cemetery planning. During urban expansion, burial places tended to follow city's growth and relocate according to urban needs and geographical features. Due to health hazards, burial sites in major European cities had to be relocated in early 19<sup>th</sup> century, in order to create a new network of open spaces in the dense urban tissue. Nowadays it is possible that someone can trace the extents of the urban matrix at the time by their place and formation.

In Paris, four new public cemeteries were designed almost at the same time. Montmartre cemetery in the north, Père Lachaise in the east, Montparnasse in the south and Passy in the heart of the city, replaced the numerous burial places and crowded churchyards in the city. Père Lachaise, completed in 1804, turned to be very influential at its time. The cemetery becomes popular in the sense of a 48 hectares open urban space, bringing the inhabitants of crowded Paris closer to nature. Within the Victorian cultural context, the perception of death changes dramatically and European burial sites offer a well-articulated open urban space.

Similarly, in London the government allows the design of seven new cemeteries at the periphery of London in 1832 (Rasmussen, 1991). Kensal Green (1832), West Norwood (1837), Highgate (1839), Abney Park (1840), Nunhead (1840), Brompton (1840) and Tower Hamlets (1841) form a new network of green remote burial sites.

Among popular contemporary burial grounds someone could mention Furstenwald cemetery, designed by landscape architects Kienast & Vogt in 1996 for the city of Chur. The cemetery is located on a natural plateau overlooking the city and its surroundings (diagrams 3a, 3b). It appears as an exalted terrain acting as an intermediate zone between the city and forest (Kienast 2002).

### 3. Cemeteries as places of ‘aposiopesis’

#### 3.1. The luxury of uninhabited urban space

Burial places, irrelevant of their location, scale, typology or religious rituals, inevitably become places of particular scientific interest. As open spaces reserved for the dead to rest, landscapes of cemeteries withhold their content to prevail stillness and calmness. If space is defined as the boundless, three-dimensional extent in which events occur and objects have relative position and direction, then cemeteries almost represent non-spaces. They have strong boundaries, cutting them off their urban or suburban context, they do not qualify as three dimensional artificial environments and very few events occur within their limits. In this sense, the notion of homelessness that is spontaneously related with burial sites and gravescapes arise multiple issues on whether they can be considered as components of the city.

#### 3.2. The luxury of non-functional space

Death cannot be considered trivially in any aspect. Therefore, cemeteries cannot be encountered as other urban components. Within this paper cemeteries are considered as public places. They appear not as the actual location where death takes place but as the public terrain where someone can address to and come to terms with private loss and bereavement. As fields dedicated to those that passed, they form urban places almost without functional requirements. Due to their reduced activity they become a reflection of articulated urban space. If cemeteries provenly comprise as non-functional places, the question emerging is whether they belong to the shadow of the city or they transcend every notion of urbanity, becoming ideal or visualizations of utopian places.

‘Aposiopesis’ derives from the greek word ‘αποσιώπησις’ meaning becoming silent or maintaining silence. It is when a statement or address is broken off, left unfinished, only to be completed in the imagination. Cemeteries become places of aposiopesis in or at the edge of the city. Bearing in mind that ‘place’ has been defined as ‘the concrete manifestation of man’s dwelling’ (Norberg-Schulz 1980); it becomes a paradox that cemeteries are probably the only ‘places’ manifesting very little about their ‘dwellers’. They appear as remote urban spaces in aposiopesis of their content and habitation.

It has been written that landscape, natural urban or suburban, can be considered as an eloquent language of human being and activity in the world (Spirn 1998). Among various aspects of such conviction, many authors have commented on the meaning of landscape and urban space, confronting artificial environment as

a metaphor. If inhabited space can be viewed as a metaphor of being, it is possible that burial places can be viewed as metaphors of non-being. Burial places perform the ‘material shelter’ of death. If landscape is the ‘house of being’, cemetery truly is the ‘house of non-being’. Viewed as places of expression of our ‘being-in-the-world’, they transcend every possible notion of rationality, becoming an ambivalent case in urban design.

Historically, the relation between burial grounds and cemeteries underwent multiple transitions. European cities, via rapid integral transformations and unprecedented extensivity, relocated burial sites. Through the typological evolution from ‘tender graveyards’ to ‘remote necropolises’ and ‘crisp forest burial grounds’, cemeteries appear as mirrors of rapidly transforming urban conditions. Whether they are considered as spaces or non-spaces, functional or non-functional, inhabited or uninhabited, components or not; burial places are integral parts of urban formations. Due to their relation to articulated urban space they can be divided in two types. The first can be identified as the *exiled* cemetery and the second as the *exalted* cemetery. Paul Valery, in his poem ‘The graveyard the sea’ (original title: ‘Le cimetiere marin, translated by J. F. Nims), is describing a cemetery isolated from the city, in profound dialogue with nature:

*‘This quiet roof, bestirred with pigeon plumes,*

*Seen through the pine is pulsing, through the tombs.*

*Here Noon the just composes, all a blaze,*

*The sea, the sea, the recommencing yet!*

*O recompense, in long abstraction set,*

*Over the gods’ own calm to gaze and gaze.’*

The image of a remote cemetery beyond cityscape is very familiar. There has been little opposition to the fact that the place of the dead needs to be withdrawn from the place of the living. Therefore the cemetery transforms into an exiled place irrelevant of scale or typology. The proximity of the burial site and the natural environment activates different associations between manmade and godmade.

#### **4. Urban space beyond the city**

Paradoxical conclusion: a new urbanism with no urban references. If urban means related to city, then contemporary cemeteries constitute with no doubt urban places. But due to their particular identity, they are in most cases spaces wittingly cut off their urban context.

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(Source: diagram by author, based on maps of 2<sup>nd</sup> century London maps)

### **Diagram 2a.** Kerameikos cemetery location in relation to the ancient Athens' city walls

(Source: diagram by author, based on maps of 400 BC approx. Athens maps)

### **Diagram 2b.** The way of the tombs and the sacred way as entrance to ancient city of Athens

(Source: diagram by author, based on maps of 400 BC approx. Athens maps)

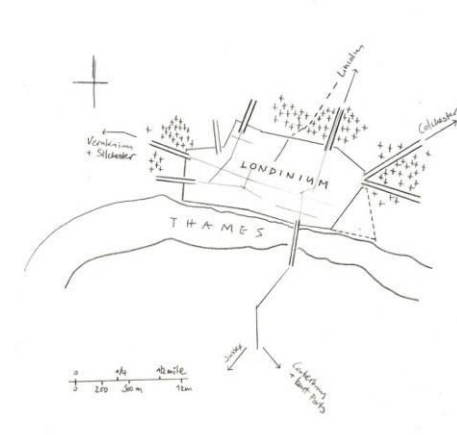
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(Source: diagram by author, based on aerial photos)

### **Diagram 3b.** Location of Furstenwald cemetery in relation to the forest area

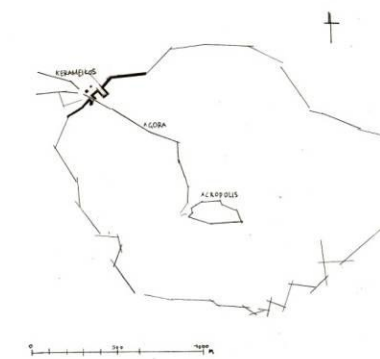
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## Illustrations

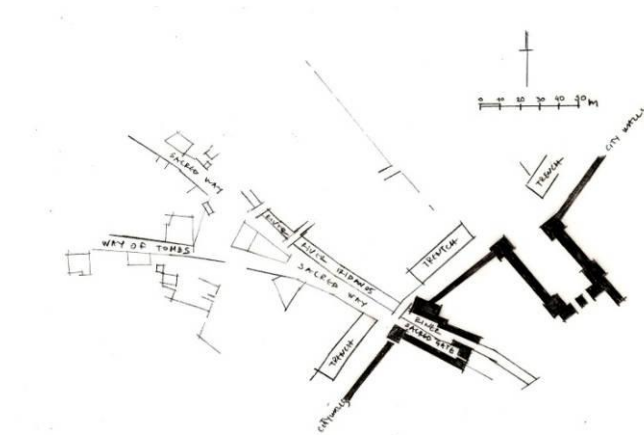


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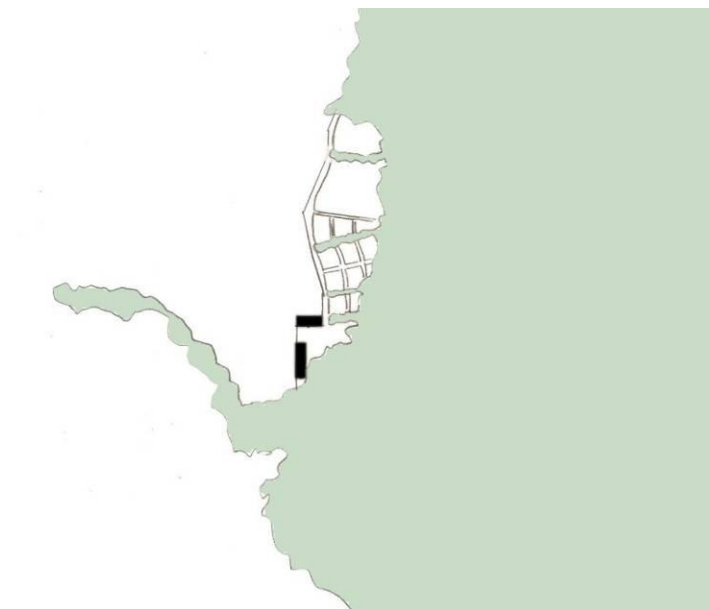


**Diagram 2b.** The way of the tombs and the sacred way as entrance to ancient city of Athens





**Diagram 3a.** Location of Furstenwald cemetery in relation to the urban territory of Chur



**Diagram 3b.** Location of Furstenwald cemetery in relation to the forest area

## **Track 9: Culture, Heritage and Planning**

### **Track Co-Chairs**

Zeynep Enlil, Yildiz Technical University

Mervi Ilmonen, School of Science and Technology, Aalto University

Since a decade or so culture and creativity have been widely recognized to be central when addressing local and regional economic challenges. A creative fever has infected planners and policy makers in Europe. According to the creative city discourse post-industrial cities and regions in Europe will only have a chance to be competitive and successful in attracting investment, qualified labor and events, if their cultural assets are seriously seen as valuable endogenous assets. Such cultural assets include a wide range of things, both tangible and intangible. Tangible elements of the built environment combined with aesthetic and symbolic elements strengthen the cultural identities of spaces and places. While globalization tends to promote homogeneity, competitive cities have a strong individual and particular cultural identity. Thus globalization paradoxically calls for strengthening local and regional identity. Planning and local economic development are now exploring how to benefit from culture and urban heritage as a significant potential for spatial and economic development, for creating and securing jobs, without turning European cities into cultural Disney parks.

European cities, at least most inner cities, are “luxury spaces”. Their cultural heritage is protected and highly regulated. However, conflicts arise, when developers aim to respond to the creative city fever. They do it to benefit from changing values and housing preferences of middle-class households, who wish return to the cities from dull and eroding suburbs. They respond to consumer trends when shifting shopping centres from green-field sites back to inner city locations. And they support universities wishing to expand their inner city campuses to meet the requirements of their knowledge workers. Following mainstream policies for attracting the trendy “creative class” to their cities, city managers and their advisory circles, they support the development of creative spaces and the promotion of creative industries, wherever urban conditions allow. As a rule they are not aware, or they rather tend to accept, that they accelerate gentrification processes and add to the social polarization and fragmentation of the city. Though strengthening the local identity has undesired social implications for those citizens, who cannot afford to live in such luxury spaces, who are driven out to live in the suburbs, where local identity is weak, urban heritage is poor, and access to cultural facilities is limited. This is the experience in many cities all over Europe.

It is not an easy task planners have to face in Europe. Promoting culture, heritage and creative spaces in cities, while avoiding negative social implications, requires much sensitivity and strategic thinking, particularly in times, when cities have to cope with the financial repercussions of the global financial crisis. We invite you to submit papers

exploring such challenges and we welcome both theoretical insights as well as practical case studies. Thereby we have a particular interest in papers, which address strategic solutions to the new challenge.

## **Contested Space in Former Colonies: What is the Role of Representations of European Colonial Heritage Outside of Europe?**

Trevor Budge<sup>1</sup>

Keywords: Colonization, Heritage, Tourism

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### **Abstract**

The implantation and representation of the European interpretation, use and presentation of space through hundreds of years of colonialization has left a built form legacy in all continents. What do we make of such places in the twenty first century? In one interpretation they represent conquest and imposition, in another they are relics of past glories. International tourism, especially that which is packaged, has generated a third interpretation. These places are physically remote from their European origins but in some aspects representative of them.

This paper examines four such places; Portuguese religious zeal in Old Goa India; the Dutch fort at Galle in Sri Lanka; the convict settlement at Port Arthur, Tasmania and the goldfields of central Victoria, the last two in Australia and both episodes in British colonialism. These places are survivors of past eras, but they are also communities where people live and work and they are sites of mass tourism. Interpretation of the history of these places is often a conflict between representations of the suffering that took place, the grandeur created by immense wealth and the desire of the tourism industry to present them as curiosities. The representation of place and space has become a commodity as the reasons for the original settlement and development no longer exist. The suggestion is that much of what is being presented as heritage has been conveniently ‘airbrushed’.

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Representations of the spaces and urban form of Europe and their conservation as built heritage are not confined to a single continent. The implantation and representation of the European use and presentation of space through hundreds of years of colonialization has left a built form legacy in all continents. Some examples represent an attempt to simply transplant form and function at a particular period, in others there has been a considerable attempt at adaptation and modification to meet local circumstances and needs. What do we make of such places in the twenty first century? One interpretation is that these are despised places,

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<sup>1</sup> [Community Planning and Development Program, La Trobe University-Bendigo Australia]

symbolic representations of conquest and imposition. On the other hand some are celebrated as bygone relics of past glories and periods. A third view is of curiosities, with some taking on the elements of almost 'theme parks', in a global tourist market looking for the next new unusual place to visit. The question arises as Staiff (2003) asks, whose heritage is it? The question particularly resonates when these places of heritage are now sites of modern mass tourism.

All these forms and spaces, even those with a contemporary interpretation, present narratives of European themes, of events and forces, of design and creativity, and yet they are all physically, and now politically and culturally remote from their European origins. This paper examines four such themes and places as case study examples. These case studies represent aspects of Portuguese, Dutch and two of British colonialism. In each instance contemporary elements of the development of space represent different versions and presentations of the colonial experience. The four themes and places are; Portuguese Catholic religious zeal in Old Goa, now part of the State of Goa in India; military power and administration as represented by the Dutch forts of Sri Lanka with a focus on the fort at the southern city of Galle; the British penal system and its convict settlement at Port Arthur in Tasmania Australia; and the architecture and urban form of the goldfields towns of central Victoria in Australia, which for a short period with unprecedented wealth, drew inspiration from across Europe. Each place is a representation of a former nation state that was once globally prominent, but now finds itself increasingly in a European setting where borders and colonial pasts are no longer relevant to much of the day-to-day life of society.

The contemporary comprehension, interpretation and exploitation of these four representative places is mixed between their presentation as a survivor of a bygone past and their current ongoing role as places where people live and work. At the same time these places are increasingly being packaged, developed and consumed by mass domestic and global tourism which often presents them as curiosity pieces, while offering employment to local communities who now view tourism as a passing parade of affluent outsiders. As Henderson (2000) notes colonial places often represent disturbing associations and symbolic reminders of oppression. They do not necessarily sit comfortably with the current use of space whether as places of contemporary life or for economic gain through tourism.

Mindful of the economic resource these places now represent, development interests are now in conflict with the local, national and international pressures to preserve such places as sites of truly significant cultural heritage. Lowenthal (1985) in his seminal work suggests that the 'invention' of the past is a construct that only represents those elements which contemporary society wants to see. Hardship, suffering and cruelty are overlooked or are just a component part of the package. These places now attract 'creative classes' on a temporary or permanent basis who have their own version of how space should be interpreted, presented and used. Increasingly such persons are supporting cultural festivals and artistic events to express their new sense of ownership of such places as sites of creativity, as these places are often seen to represent and are portrayed

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in the tourist literature. Sofield (2009:3470) refers to the role of heritage 'touristscape' in a post-colonial milieu.

This almost confusion in roles produces a contrasting set of images and roles. Adams (2010:118) notes that "despite its drawbacks, tourism may be the best hope for economic development in less developed countries." But tourism based on heritage has the potential to debase the resource. Hughes and Carlsen (2010:17) recognise that "while cultural heritage is valued as a community resource, it also often forms the focus for tourism business. The business of cultural heritage tourism essentially requires catering to a market desire to experience the past in an entertaining way."

Systematic programs to conserve and preserve these places through physical restoration and by formal recognition in planning instruments have heightened their profile. Each of the four case study locations is recognized as a World Heritage site or there is an active campaign to seek listing. All are recognized formally at their national level as representational of an important past period. With this recognition and profile, tourism, both mass and special interest, has arisen but largely it has been of the exploitative type. Thus the representation of place and space has become a commodity, as the reasons for the original settlement and development no longer exist or at least only exist to provide a marketing theme for brochures and websites.

Significant ongoing research questions are raised in the subject places. How are these colonial representations to be seen? How can they realistically be preserved when their presentation represents an era long gone and not willingly embraced by contemporary residents? The suggestion is that much of what is being presented as heritage has been conveniently 'airbrushed'. Waitt (2000) provides a detailed examination of an area known as 'the Rocks' in Sydney Australia. It is now a site of up-market shops, restaurants and boutique accommodation at the foot of the Sydney Harbour Bridge looking across the water to the Sydney Opera House. But it was once the site of the city's worst slums in the very buildings that have been converted to these new uses. Waitt notes that much of society is now fragmentary and as a consequence the true meaning of places is conveniently forgotten or overlooked. Logan and Reeves (2008) refer to these situations as 'difficult heritage'.

This paper explores four such places that provide evidence of the themes I have referred to. Each is contrasting in the role and purpose of the colonial settlements and represent three different colonial powers.

Goa is a former Portuguese colony on the Arabian Sea coastline of India. This enclave was founded in the early sixteenth century as a trading post. Religious zeal quickly saw it associated with the imposition of Roman Catholicism and the some of the worst excesses of the Inquisition. As Axelrod and Fuerch (1996:37) describe the role of the Portuguese as "desiring to preserve much of the precolonial village economic

structure, yet determined to force their Goan subjects to total conversion to Catholicism, the Portuguese created policies that had a dramatic impact on Goan culture and identity.”

In a contemporary Indian context the 2006 census identifies that there are still some 360,000 Indians (26% of the population of the State of Goa) who are adherents to the Christian religion. The Portuguese in the city of Old Goa which stood as the capital of the colony for over 300 years quickly went about the business of building churches. Old Goa and specifically its churches have led to its registration on the World Heritage List. The three most significant churches still stand, their size and elaborate internal and external decoration and grandeur are a testament to the imposition of religion. In the words of the UNESCO World Heritage Listing for Old Goa, “the churches and convents of Goa, the former capital of the Portuguese Indies – particularly the Church of Bom Jesus, which contains the tomb of St Francis-Xavier – illustrate the evangelization of Asia. These monuments were influential in spreading forms of Manueline, Mannerist and Baroque art in all the countries of Asia where missions were established.”

What is to be made of this place in the twenty first century? Saldanha (2002:96) notes, “contemporary change in Goa is very much connected to tourism. The palm-ringed beaches, low prices, reliable climate and a certain easy-going way of life attract more than a million visitors yearly, culminating around Christmas.” This leads to what he describes as a struggle over the meaning of Goa’s time and space (Saldanha 2002:97). He observes that such places struggle to define themselves “especially perhaps those places formerly colonized by European powers.” The contemporary scene is strange indeed with poor Hindi female laborers weeding the church gardens, while itinerant sellers with fake Rolex watches pester tourists who visit vast European churches dripping with gold that cater for tiny local congregations.

The second city is Galle, with its dramatic fort on the southwest tip of Sri Lanka facing the Indian Ocean. First established by the Portuguese in 1505 but essentially built by the Dutch who were in command from 1640 for over one hundred and fifty years. The fort features a massive fortified wall of solid granite. The Dutch built Galle from a small local trading port into one the finest examples of a European fort and Dutch administrative centre seen anywhere in the world. In the words of the UNESCO World Heritage Listing citation, “it is the best example of a fortified city built by Europeans in South and South-East Asia, showing the interaction between European architectural styles and South Asian traditions.” Capitalising on a rocky promontory jutting out into ocean the fort was so well built that it has survived largely in tact. Even the 2004 tsunami couldn’t dislodge its inhabitants who watched the water swirl around them and devastate the newer city built on the gentle slopes inland. The old walled city is slowly being brought back to life by some targeted conservation works but the ‘restorative’ action is primarily by tourist operators who are progressively acquiring former shops and houses to convert into boutique accommodation and shops. The inhabitants of the fort now find that their house prices have climbed steeply and that locals can no longer

afford to buy into an area that had fallen into repair.

The third example is drawn from Tasmania – Australia's island state, where at Port Arthur the British built a model penitentiary and generally housed the worst of the worst convicts. Located on an isolated peninsula in an idyllic setting, the prison was physically separated from the mainland by guard dogs. It used such methods as prisoners prevented from seeing or hearing other prisoners and flogging for minor offences. The prison ceased in 1877 and then much of it was burnt in a forest fire that spread to the site. For years all there was to show was an almost ghostly outline of the stone and brick buildings that remained. Then tourism discovered Port Arthur. "The buildings and ruins that dot the landscape also serve as reminders of post-convict uses and meanings; of a thriving tourist town set amidst the ruins of a past that has sat curiously, but uncomfortably, within the present" (Steele 2005:71). All that was shattered in 1996 when a mentally disturbed man from Hobart with a dislike for tourists killed 35 people in a shooting rampage at Port Arthur. Tourists who visit now see not only the site of mass brutality in the nineteenth century but pass the memorials to those gunned down as tourists in the latter years of the twentieth century. How does one make a place of such a story, is it in fact a place? All the remaining relics of the buildings that once housed hundreds of prisoners are mere shells, in a theme park like setting. The place appears to exist without its central purpose. It essentially only exists as a tourist attraction. Ironically the Australian Heritage Places Inventory describes it in these terms, "Port Arthur Historic Site is of great historic cultural heritage value to Tasmania and Australia for its ability to demonstrate the convict period from 1830 to 1877 and its ability to demonstrate the subsequent developments of the site, *particularly as a tourist attraction and the attempts to down play the site's convict history*. (Author emphasis)

The fourth place is the goldfields of Victoria in Australia. These goldfields are extensive and cover an area of about 25,000 square kilometers. It was, from the middle of the nineteenth century, the most productive gold area in the world and it attracted thousands of persons from across the world. The exploitation was of the landscape which was literally pushed aside in pursuit of the wealth that lay beneath it. While there is still limited mining, the reality is that most of it has settled back into cities and towns with their own employment or agricultural base. The area is now home to about half a million people who are largely oblivious to their past and are only reminded by the large dumps of spill from the mines that still dot the urban and rural landscape, and the exceptionally grand public buildings and private houses that were built that represent the wealth of the times but now often sit as reminders of long gone money. Lennon (1997:10) quotes Professor Weston Bate's claim that the goldfields is one of the world's great cultural areas because of its unique role in Australian history, because of the unprecedented inland development and the extensive transplantation of nineteenth century urban culture to this part of the world.

Tourists now come to see these places but they are often points of conflict for local residents, many of whom

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despise these gold heritage landforms. Many of these landforms are overgrown with trees and other vegetation and are now seen as fire traps. This was demonstrated on 'Black Saturday' (February 2009) when significant numbers of heritage properties were burnt and there were calls to clear the landscape. Significantly a particular area of the goldfields, known as the Mount Alexander Diggings, have now been the subject of a call by the Premier of Victoria for an application for world heritage listing.

Each of these four places represents a past period of exploitation of the original native residents, a plundering of resources and systems of wealth and power long gone. Is their future representation to be largely places visited by tourists on package deals that spend a day in such destinations largely unaware of the role and history of such spaces as they move through? Their only reminder when they return home, a collection of digital images and some cheap souvenirs bought to ward off the locals who descend upon them looking for a quick return from the new moneyed classes, ironically many from Europe. Is the fate of these places to now once more be places of exploitation or is it possible that with concerted effort they can be presented as what they truly represent?

Ac that swept across much of the world from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. It touched many places and in some it left almost indelible representations. Much of what was associated with that period in world history is now associated with greed and exploitation. Exploitation of the indigenous population, the landscape, the environment, and the natural resource base. The landscape was seen as something to be transformed for the use of humans and religion was imposed by aggressive regimes on native populations. Vast areas were conquered in the process. In many respects the most lasting impressions and impacts were twofold. Firstly, the mass destruction of forests and vegetation – the clearing of land for agriculture and in those specific places where cities or places were built as sites of power and command. Secondly, sites and places that were totally transformed to serve a specific colonial purpose such as military bases, centres of legal and religious administration, goals and penal settlements or mining. These were places of immense investment and now long after they have served their purpose some remains are still to be found. Enough at least that some have become sites of tourism, much of it international. We now have the irony that places that were once centres of European colonial exploitation are now largely commandeered by the local population who are devising means to 'exploit' the unsuspecting European tourist.

What can we make of such places? Are they in fact real places any more or just overdone tourist places, almost theme park like, where the real dark history that many of them hide has been airbrushed out so that they can present their best side. The fact is that real people live in these places, they are now home to an often unusual mix of indigenous people, descendants of colonialists and people from other nationalities brought in to serve a particular role. They share diverse ethnicities, languages and religions. This mix is now often the basis of an expanding tourist industry that promotes the unusual juxtapositions as an added

attraction. The use of the past as a lure to attract visitors often appears to lack any clear historical interpretation and direction as to what is being marketed as a tourist attraction.

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## REVITALIZATION STRATEGY FOR HISTORIC CITY OF JAIPUR

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### Abstract

The current trend of urbanization has brought new opportunities to the approach in conservation of heritage cities in India. The integrative approach to urban conservation and urban development brings reforms in policy for development and a design concept of 'Public realm' as an important tool to resolve issues of heritage and infrastructure. Tourism has emerged as an important social and economical force to mediate conservation and urban development, and to revitalize the essential structuring elements of built environment for the new challenges of urban change. The revitalization plan integrates the infrastructure needs, strengthen the historical elements, layering the tourism needs, creating neighborhood spaces, decongesting the traffic and improving the quality of space to allow both the people of the city and tourist to enjoy the experience.

*Keywords: Jaipur, Inner City Revitalisation, Chaupar, Rajasthan, Conservation*

### Track : Bracket C Policies & Fields : 9. Culture, Heritage and Planning

#### 1 The Changing scenario

##### 1.1 Urban Conservation - A Paradigm shift

Since creation of the Civic Amenities Act in 1967 and the Town and Country Planning Act in 1968 in United Kingdom, the concept of conservation is shifting to the new realm of integrated urban planning (Dobby Allan, 1978, p.17). The formation of tourism activity has brought the need to look at the 'Public realm' of the city along with the series of historical buildings and urban development in a more integrated mode to augment both the tourism experience and the urban life of the precinct. The process of modernization has led to a large scale social and economic change in the urban life and physical environment, creating an urgent need for strategic intervention against the threat to all the historical buildings and environments. Tourism has emerged as a new social and economic force in support of conservation in all parts of the world under the phenomenon of change.

“Tourism is a unique economic opportunity, but like industrialization before it, it is a significant cause of lifestyle change. Tourism potentially brings vitality and economic and cultural dynamism to a place and for heritage, the benefits of appreciation, preservation and conservation.” (Orbash Aylin, 2000, p.3)

India represents an interesting case of diversity through its socio-cultural patterns with a predominant practice of religious pilgrimage as a part of the tourism activity and bringing a new dimension to the conservation approach.

“Conservation encompasses not only the physical urban fabric, but also an understanding of the spatial morphology and a social dimension which makes urban Heritage so distinct from the more ‘object’ qualities of the singular built heritage.” (Orbash Aylin, 2000, p. 8) The Heritage precincts need to renew its form and meaning mediating through the public realm into a new urban equation. Urban Renewal is emerging as the new approach to tackle the conservation of historical cities. It is a continuous process and is statutorily incorporated in physical planning. In some countries there is a participation of non-profit special companies, which operate in partnership with local authorities.

## **1.2 Change in National Policy**

Most Indian old cities have been marginalized in the process of urban growth. The walled city segment of the old cities languishes from multiple deprivations such as poor urban infrastructure, poor income and employment. Efforts at understanding the concept of urban conservation in the old cities of India gained momentum. However, all these efforts have been for the conservation of the architectural heritage of its walled cities, they have largely remained as more fragmented approaches to the growing problem of old city conservation.

In 2005 Ministry of Urban development, Government of India launched the JnNURM (Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission) scheme to arrest the growing problem of deteriorating urban condition in the country. The mission is to encourage reforms and fast development of the 63 selected cities with the help of community participation and Urban Local Bodies (ULB). The Scheme along with the focus on the urban infrastructure also defines redevelopment of the old city areas with a view to upgrade urban infrastructure and relocate industrial and commercial activities to conforming areas. The strategy of the mission is that every city will prepare a City Development Plan (CDP) defining policies, programmes and strategies and financial plans, followed by Detailed Project Reports (DPR) for the selected projects in areas defined by CDP. The duration of the Mission is seven years.

## **1.3 Emerging concept of Revitalization**

Jaipur walled city planned in 1727 is one of the important case of a living heritage city. The urban design and rich architecture are the important characteristics of this great city. The nine square grid plan representing the symbolic urban structure constructed by market streets, the Chaupars (squares) and monumental gates, articulated with beautifully designed institutional buildings and the carved façade of streets with colonnade make the city a wonder in the world. The threat the city faces is the rapid conversion of land use and congestions due to vehicular movements, parking requirements and the basic infrastructure needs of the residential areas. The Walled city with its thriving markets streets is still a economic centre to the total city which is grown ten times in size. The imbalance is forcing the environment to deterioration and possible collapse of the heritage fabric if not intervened urgently. On the other end Tourism has emerged today as the important urban activity world over, strongly attached to the heritage sites and has led to restructuring the social, economical and spatial framework of the urban environment. Both the urban elements and the urban structure need to revitalize its potentials and engage into a new relationship. Rajasthan with no critical industry is strongly dependent on tourism since long time. It is also one of the most important tourist region in India and is thus responsible for wholesome revenue during the tourist season. Reviving the historic value into new economic relationship will strengthen the residential life and tourism, leading to a more sustainable form. The city is not dead place;

it is the case with over use and chaotic functioning threatening the very basic life of the area. A Revitalization plan will address the issues critically, improving the situation qualitatively and conserving the heritage value of the Walled City as it is one of the rare examples of urban planning and architecture in the world history.

## 2 Jaipur as Urban Heritage

### 2.1 Historical Significance

‘Jaipur’ means the city of victory. The city was built in 18th century; approximately 280 years back (1727 A.D). The city has been named after Maharaja Jai Singh II of Kachchwa clan of Rajputs. Amber, the capital of Kachchwa Rajputs was unable to cater to expanding economic and administrative functions on accounts of its location. It was the vision and determination of Maharaja Jai Singh to shift the capital from Amber to Jaipur. Another major reason for shifting the capital to Jaipur was his intension to safeguard the people of Amber by avoiding confrontations with the Mughal kings. Scarcity of water at Amber also added a reason to shift the capital to Jaipur. The king himself was much influenced and knowledgeable regarding astronomy and architecture. He invited famous Bengali architect Vidhyadhar Bhattacharya to prepare a plan of the city. Vidyadhar laid down the plans according to ancient Indian planning principles on architecture called ‘*Shilpa Shastra*’ (*Vastu Shastra*- The Indian canon). The city was planned in a grid system, enclosed by the city wall and seven gates. The maharaja also built an observatory in the year 1728 A.D. known as *Jantar Mantar*, which attracts a large number of tourist today from the world. Thus the value of walled city of Jaipur lies as much as in its planning, urban design and building process management as in its monuments. This remarkably planned city was able to attract merchants and artisans from all across the country. Even today the traditional crafts like jewellery, metalwork, enameling etc. patronized by the ruler in the 18th century continue to thrive in the city. The city was reorganized as a municipality in 1926 and a new Municipal Act was prepared in 1929. Even though the city has grown and expanded much beyond the original boundary ‘the wall’, the Walled city still remains the major destination in terms of daily needs for the residents and an enchanting tourist destination.

### 2.2 Jaipur Walled City - A Case of Urban Planning and Design

#### 2.2.1 Evolution of the City Plan and the planning principles

The evolution of the city plan represents the shifting ideology of the more protected medieval settlement at Amber to the more growing, prospering and communicating trading city at Jaipur. Jaipur Walled City was created as the capital of the Kachchwaha Kingdom moving from Amber to the picturesque valley site by Maharaja Jai Singh with his architect Vidhyadhar Bhattacharya. The city is planned in the plains, 11kms south of Amber on a dry, flat bed of lake between the rivers Amanisha and Dhond. Apart from the terrain which was flat, strategic position, availability of water, good drainage conditions, availability of stone for construction and better communication with outside due to the ancient trade route from Delhi-Agra to Ajmer were the main criteria’s for the selection of the site. The northern and the eastern sides of the new city are defined by the hill ranges leaving the city to expand towards the south. The selection of the new site for the city was the indication of changing concept of the capital, from a military retreat cut off from invading forces to a trading centre for good communication. It is the case of evolving a new ‘Urban Form’ and the concept of ‘Public Realm’ in the form of nine square grid structure constructed by the Street bazaars and squares (Refer Figure no. 1).

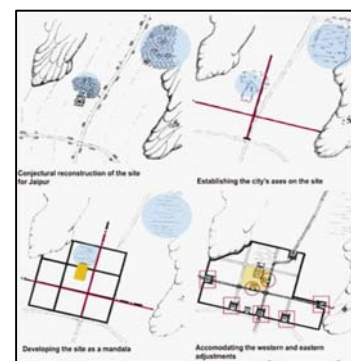


Figure 1: Evolution of Grid Plan

The two features evolving the plan were the North-South and East-West trade routes. The other critical natural feature of the site was the presence of a ridge parallel to the Agra – Ajmer route aligning east-west and deviated 15 degree from the cardinal axes, resulting in the adjustment of the angle of the city plan.

The Walled City Plan of Jaipur is based on the urban structure synthesizing the natural features of site, urban form, urban systems, image of the city and the *Vastu Purusha Mandala* of the ancient Hindu Planning treatise (Figure 2). The *Mandala* is the simplest form with a 3 x 3 square grid called *pitha*, as well as the commonly used 9 x 9 square grid form called the *paramashayika*. The city plan also reflect the use of the grid as the ordering principle, which has been one of the significant principle used from ancient time in the history of settlement planning right from Mohenjodaro in Indus and Olinthus in Greece. The nine square grid is laid with the ridge identified at the site as the base line for one of the main street.

The primary roads divide the city into nine *chowkris* (quadrants), the central two are occupied by the palace complex and tank. The intersection of the main street forms the public squares called '*chaupars*'. The city is enclosed by a city wall with seven gates. The gates also form a public space for transition into the city. The rest of the *chowkris* are occupied by the various communities for residence and subdivided into *mohallas* (neighborhoods) with smaller streets (Figure 3).

### 2.2.2 Urban character

The Walled city of Jaipur represents the synthesis of great economic, political and spatial model. In order to sustain the urban city, traders from different parts of the country were invited to open shops in the city and create good markets. The adjusted nine square plan of Walled City Jaipur was a grid defined by the main streets running north-south and east-west. The main streets were defined by continuous line of shops with colonnade creating various specialized markets encouraged by the King (Figure 4).

The streets formed three intersections in the centre creating the important public squares called the '*Chaupars*', namely Badi Chaupar, Choti Chaupar and the Ramganj Chaupar. The *Chaupars* are the great public places for social, cultural and economic activity. The space had a tank in the centre for storing water for people of neighborhood, brought through an underground canal systems from outside the city.

The main temples, academic institutions like colleges and library etc constructed by the King are located along the main streets and *Chaupars*. The city wall constructed around the city is punctured by seven gates. The longest axis i.e. East-West axis traversed through four *chowkris* and three *chaupars*.

The Gate on the Western end of the axis, the direction of sun set is called the Surajpol Gate and the opposite Eastern end is called the Chandpol Gate (Representing Moon). A typical block consisted of number of *mohallas* according to castes, economic status and the trade of its occupants. The block is defined by the neighborhoods forming dense morphology with both the formal pattern with linear streets and the more organic pattern with clusters of houses around common space.

The street network in the walled city was planned with precise hierarchy. The houses ranged from one small single courtyard to *haveli* type houses (large houses) with six courtyards. In order to maintain

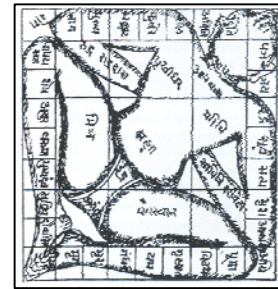


Figure 2: Vastu Purusha Mandala

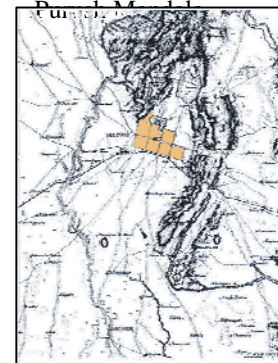


Figure 3: Setting of the Walled City Jaipur in Landscape



Figure 4: Main Street, Jaipur; Source: Gobindram Oodeyram,

cleanliness and level of hygiene, narrow service lanes were placed between these houses on the back side called '*Gandi Gali*' and were used to collect night-soil manually.

### 2.2.3 Urban Elements

The Walled City Jaipur plan is structured by the primary urban elements creating a strong urban image, urban experience and hierarchy in urban system, a typical medieval model. They are the artifacts of the city, which through their relationship construct the whole urban form and even today are most significant in their presence and supporting the urban life and tourism. The primary urban elements that constituted the physical structure of the walled city are: The Palace Complex, The *Chaupars*, The Main Bazaar Streets, The Fort Wall and Gates and the *Chowkris* (Residential wards). The Palace Complex occupies the central position in the city plan covering the central two sectors. This is the typical medieval planning structure where the seat of power controls the urban structure. The palace complex constitutes of several monuments like the famous internationally known as '*Jantar Mantar*' a observatory, the patronage of King Jai Singh, the *Hawa Mahal* a architectural splendor of Rajasthan style, Palace buildings housing the Museum today, The *Govindji* temple for its religious significance in the country, *Jaleb chowk* and the Talkotara lake. All these are the historical monuments for the tourist and socio-cultural activities of the city and hence still an important centre. The ensemble of several monuments in close proximity still has the potential of continuous public realm for city level cultural activities redefining the urban experience.

The three *Chaupars* (Badi Chaupar, Choti Chaupar and Ramganj Chaupar) were planned as the great urban space at the intersection of main market streets for social, cultural and economic activities. The *Chaupars* help create sub scale of the public realm structure of the city into a meaningful urban form. It is the *Chaupars* where all the market streets converge and hence the great public spaces become important structuring elements. The *Chaupar* had the dual character of daily activities of filling water from the tank in the centre of the space and hawkers selling things on the floor along with traffic and festival events celebrated round the year. The Main Bazaar Streets forming the nine square diagram of the city plan were created not only for the economic activity of the city, but also an important urban form with colonnade and controlled façade to give the city its important urban image of pink city. The 33m wide street with wide pavements and terraces served as great public realm for royal processions and shopping experience. The major markets of walled city were *Johari Bazaar*, *Sireh Deori Bazaar*, *Kishanpol Bazaar*, *Gangori Bazaar*, *Chandpol Bazaar*, *Surajpol Bazaar*, *Tripolia Bazaar*, *Ramganj Bazaar* and *Ghat Bazaar*. The City wall and the seven Gates correspond to the nine square plan as the medieval structure for protection, but today remain as elements for tourist interest and public spaces.

## 2.3 The Tourism Potential

Tourism has emerged as the global phenomenon influencing both the spatial and socio-economic structure of Urbanism. "Tourism is a 20<sup>th</sup> century phenomenon, you cannot put it aside. One must accept it as a phenomenon that exists, good or not so good. Millions of people travel. One cannot stop them. They will come, so let them be used as a source of development" (Kuban, 1978). It brings a new dimension to the cultural practices of the urban life. The Religious practices, the Economic policies, the Social changes, the Market and Physical planning are strongly shifting to embrace Tourism in the era of consumerism. This is done to widen the consumer realm and in the process create an important move for a new urban space and conservation opportunities. Owing to its rich and varied topography, vibrant culture and captivating festivities, the State of Rajasthan offers immense tourism delights to the visitors in the State. The state is known for the chivalry of its rulers; the palaces as evidence of the royalty that reigned for centuries. Rajasthan is also known as the abode of the kings, that is, *Rajasthan* (place of kings). One can still get a ravishing experience and the royal treatment through the many heritage hotels in the State and the Palace of Wheels - the best luxury train in the world. Other than its royal ambience, Rajasthan also is home to variety of birds and animals that are rare and even endangered, like the desert fox and the caracal. The City Palace of Jaipur forms the cynosure of attraction, both literally and metaphorically. It



comprises the Olympian palace, the *Jantar Mantar* and the *Janana mahals* or the dwelling of the *Maharanis*(queens), an insignia of his political maneuvering. A fervent devotee of Lord Krishna, the King reestablished the idol of the God 'Krishna', at Jaipur in the year 1719. Rajasthan has emerged, during the last decade, as one of the favorite tourist destinations in India for both domestic and foreign tourists. While in the year 1973 the total arrivals of tourists to Rajasthan were about 2 million, it increased to 8.4 million by the year 2000-01(Ministry of Tourism,India). The State receives 0.60 million foreign tourists annually. Additionally, over 7 million domestic tourists visit Rajasthan annually. Tourism here expands beyond one city and creates rich experience of several places due to the better connectivity and transport systems. The world famous "golden triangle" comprising of Delhi-Agra-Jaipur has put Jaipur on the world tourism map.

Almost 60% of international tourists visiting India, come to these places. It is this position of Jaipur that emphasizes on the potential interface of tourism with urban conservation. The rate of growth of tourism in Rajasthan has been phenomenal in last few years. Annual rate of growth for domestic tourists has been 7% and for international tourists has been 5%. Jaipur attract around 10% of the total tourist flow in Rajasthan. In terms of tourist breakup, domestic tourist arrival in Jaipur is 10% of the total tourist flow in Rajasthan. Total number of foreign tourist coming to Jaipur were in range of 23% to 28% of the total tourist flow in Rajasthan. Jaipur attracts majority of the tourist coming to Rajasthan followed by Udaipur (range of 10 to 13%). Thus tourist arrival in Rajasthan shows that the foreign tourist at Jaipur is the highest.

### 3 Proposal for Revitalization

#### 3.1 Defining critical Issues – Public realm vs building conservation

The Revitalization of the Walled City Jaipur is an important project to resolve the critical issues threatening its existence. Integrated approach to Conservation and sensitive Urban development is the approach to the problem of such historic settlement. The charter of Venice in 1964 defined the need for conservation of urban setting along with historic monument for cultural continuity. Tourism is the new link for conservation and urban development. The public realm is the constant which holds both the traditional and modern life of the civilization and hence an important tool for continuity. The Public realm can mediate the issues of traffic, tourism, conservation, culture and commerce in a more meaningful way. The detailed study of the existing situation of the walled city of Jaipur established several issues about its deteriorating conditions and potentials of being an important heritage and economic living city. The Project will have to work on these critical issues of the Walled City. The issues identified for intervention are:

1. Traffic and transportation of the old city area (reducing traffic)
2. Heritage listing and development (heritage zone)
3. Strengthening the economic base (markets, handicrafts, small scale industry)
4. Conservation of the urban aesthetics of main streets (facade controls and physical development of street)
5. Strengthening the infrastructure (main bazaar streets and neighborhoods)
6. Solid Waste management (garbage collection, *gandi galli* etc)
7. Redeveloping the existing urban spaces (*chaupars* and gates)
8. Improving the residential areas (conserving heritage houses, building regulations, open space, waste management, streetscape and community facility)
9. Incorporating and developing Tourism infrastructure (heritage walks, information centre, signage etc)

An intervention in historic settlements has been a challenging task for urban development. The historic precincts with rich architecture, urban form and cultural values are constantly subjected to the more rigorous forces of industrialization. Conservation and development of the historical precincts form an important issue as it needs to protect the historical values and spaces as much as integrate the new

emerging modern needs of urban life. The urban development has largely proceeded with expansions of the new city around the old historical settlement making it the city core and loading the precinct with all the pressures of urbanization for which it is not planned and hence leading to deterioration and destructions. The urban structure and urban elements of the walled city are never appropriate to the new modern large scale needs of urban life. The issue in Walled City Jaipur established the major problem of vehicular congestion, parking requirements and unorganized hawkers in the main streets, *chaupars*, and gates threatening the character. The under used potential of the Palace complex area and infrastructure for residential sectors and Tourism are the other critical issues for design. The residential areas face problem of the old building typology with courtyard houses and the modern needs looking for the new facilities. The narrow service lanes, which were planned for the time when the city was constructed, are today dead spaces. Today the new infrastructure needs to be integrated into the fabric carving out spaces for parking and other social needs.

### 3.2 Strengthening the urban elements and infrastructure

The issues were analyzed and a revitalization plan proposed to resolve these issues to strengthen the potentials of the great heritage city. The emphasis is on a comprehensive traffic and transportation strategy to reduce vehicular load and thorough traffic, pedestrianization, strengthen the tourism infrastructure, create good quality public spaces, strengthening and upgrading the urban elements of the city and upgrade the heritage buildings precincts and residential sectors. The drainage and electricity up gradation in the walled city area is under execution and needs to be integrated with the proposal. The proposed revitalization plan focus on two strategies for the project

- a. The strengthening of infrastructure – Traffic and transportation, Waste Management and Tourism facilities
- b. The physical development of the major urban elements of the city

The second strategy of physical development has identified several projects as an approach to develop the whole walled city area in a phased manner. Revitalization of Old City Jaipur involves upgradation of the Architecture and Heritage precincts and a comprehensive Traffic and Transportation strategy. Under the physical development of Architecture and Heritage there are several elements, which structure the city as a historical urban form, are identified to be addressed for detailed Urban Design proposal. The Elements are the Major Streets, *Chaupars*, Gates, Crafts streets, Palace Complex area, Talkotara tank, Heritage walks, Albert Hall Park and the Residential *Chowkdi*. The Design of these projects will focus on restoring the heritage character, upgrade the physical aspects organize and accommodate the vehicular movement and parking, add infrastructure facility for the residents of the old city and the tourist visiting every year. The projects identified for the Walled City Revitalization are (Refer Figure 5):

1. MAJOR STREETS – Chandpol bazaar, Tripolia bazaar, Ram Ganj bazaar, Suraj Pol bazaar, Kishan Pol bazaar, Gangori bazaar, Chaura rasta, Jauhari bazaar, Sire Deori bazaar
2. CHAUPARS – Chhoti chaupar, Badi chaupar and Ramganj chaupar
3. GATES – Suraj Pol gate, Chand Pol gate, Ajmeri gate, New gate, Sanganeri gate, Ghat gate,

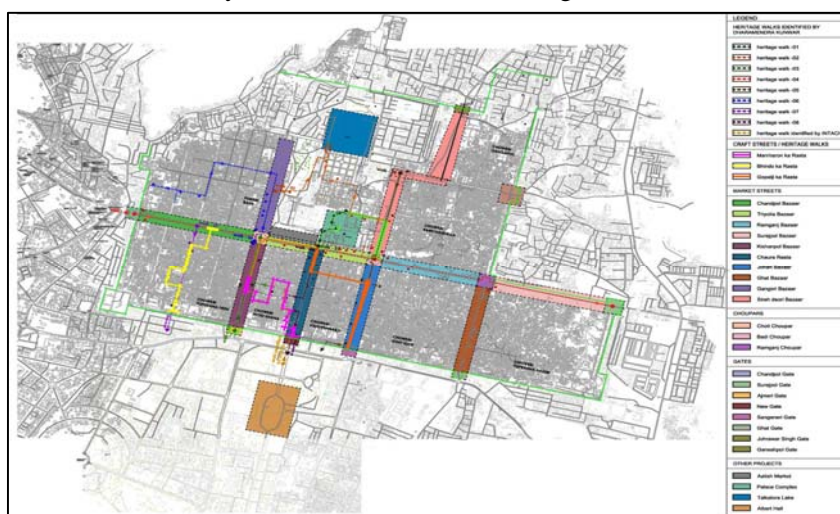


Figure 5: Identified Development Projects- Walled City Revitalisation

*Johrawarsingh gate and Char darwaja*

4. CRAFT STREET – *Bhindo ka rasta* (stone carvings), *Gopalji ka rasta* (jewelry, precious stone), *Maniharo ka rasta*
5. PALACE COMPLEX AREA – Atish market, Jantar Mantar, City palace, Jaleb chowk and Hawa Mahal
6. WATER BODY – Talkotara tank
7. PARK – Albert Hall area

### 3.3 Specific Projects

#### 3.3.1 Physical Interventions

The Walled City of Jaipur is an urban structure of nine square plan, resulting into grand avenues in the form of Main Bazaar Streets running north-south and east-west. These streets are the major elements to give the city its urban image of well planned city. The three *Chaupars* at the intersection of the street and the seven gates of the city are the other major elements structuring the city. The central area of the Palace complex with great monuments, spaces and water body form the significant centre. The Proposed Revitalization Plan defines strengthening these elements to rejuvenate the walled city. It is proposed to undertake Urban Design of the major elements of the city. The elements are not only the major physical features, but represent vibrant public spaces, commercial activities, a rich architecture created by beautiful street facades and monuments. The upgradation of the elements will create a qualitative public realm for both the residents of the city and the tourists. This will be helped by the Traffic and Transportation plan of reducing the vehicular congestion in the city.

The Palace complex area with relocation of some of the function will create large open space in the form of Jaleb Chowk, Atish market other courts near Hawa Mahal and City Palace. The Urban Design plan of upgrading these spaces and linking them to create a significant heritage walk in the area and transformed the central area of the city into a major socio-cultural place. This will redefine and rejuvenate the historical centre of the heritage city. The three *Chaupars*, *Badi Chaupar*, *Choti Chaupar* and the *Ramganj Chaupar* today are reduced to traffic island from the grand pedestrian spaces of the past. It is proposed to develop the *Chaupars* as major pedestrian friendly public place and reorganize the hawkers to recreate the grand urban space for people. The eleven identified main bazaar streets are the important commercial streets for everyday economic activities and the significant contribution to the image and urban experience of the great historical city. The major issues of parking, hawkers, street landscape and façade control form the aspects of design. The other inner streets which constitutes of important traditional craft workshops, form important heritage experience and will be addressed for its physical upgradation to become heritage walks of the city.

The seven gates are also great urban spaces occupied by parking, encroachments and hawkers. The revitalization plan proposed to clear the encroachments, remove the parking and redesign the space with controlled hawking space and public amenities to recreate the urban space. The Talkotara water body in the Palace complex is the neglected element. The dry condition of the water body and better accessibility are the critical aspects to be dealt in the design intervention. The element can be the significant public place in relation to the other important elements of the Palace Complex area and the neighborhood life developed in the proximity. The Albert Hall Park forms an important project, which allows the old city to connect to the outside new city. The element is the sensitive contribution of the Colonial period and an important monument marking the respect for the great city. The large open green space with cultural facilities forms an important transition public realm between the old and the new city.

The various listed projects when completed in a phased manner will rejuvenate the cities past glory and become a stronger urban structure to live and sustain for longer times.

### 3.3.2 Traffic and Transportation

The Walled City of Jaipur is congested with vehicular movement and haphazard parking on streets. The problem is compounded by poor public transport system. The major roads in the walled city area are approximately 30m wide. However, the chaotic use of street reduces the carrying capacity and the pedestrian space. The surveys have shown that the carriageway width for vehicular movement on main streets range from 45% to 65% of the total road width. There is substantial volume of through traffic, which if diverted can create space for other use. Existing Cycle Rickshaws as a transportation mode has many positive points like fuel-free, pollution free and provides employment opportunities.

The Proposed Revitalization Plan emphasizes to reduce vehicular load with introduction of battery operated small buses and a bypass connection to divert through traffic. Also Underground parking is proposed at the Atish market and Albert precinct and reduced on street parking on all the main streets. The Major Street design projects identified will look into detailed parking layouts and hawkers zones to organize the street space and bring back the character of the great streets. The Gates with the large open space will be developed as transit nodes, incorporating the bus stops for the battery operated small buses to turn back on the routes and other public amenities for people and few hawkers spaces.

### 3.3.3 Architectural controls and Urban Design Guidelines

In the rapid changes taking place under the urbanization, the built environment is constantly under the influence of change. The heritage precincts will need to be controlled and guided for its conservation and appropriate development. Under the Rajasthan Municipal Act, 1959; The Municipal Council of Jaipur had notified the Building Bye-laws in 1970 for the Walled City area. There were prohibitions regarding alteration in the building (specially on front road side and the main street bazaars). The notification in 2000 under the guidelines of section 171 of Rajasthan Municipal Act 1959: modifications and recommendations there were additions for Land use control, Height of the building and Façade control. The Rajasthan Heritage Conservation Act, 2007 had given powers to the Authority/Municipal Commissioner/ Collector to declare Buildings, Artifacts, Structures, Streets area and precincts of historic/ architectural/ aesthetic/ cultural/ environmental significance etc. to be protected under this act and grade them. The existing framework is not adequate for the revitalization project. It is suggested to create two Conservation zones for the two distinct character areas of The Palace Complex and The Commercial and Residential areas in the Walled City. This will need to be supported with amendments to the Architectural and Urban Design controls.

### 3.3.4 Heritage Walks

The Heritage walk is an effective tool which enables the tourist to explore the built fabric, and experience the life style of the people so as to enhance their understanding of the local culture and help develop the economy of the city. Its intention is to showcase the living city with the built fabric as the background. Some initiatives were taken in Jaipur towards this end they are: In 2001, INTACH initiated the Heritage walk in *Modikhana chokri* to promote public awareness on the residential architecture and its conservation through public participation to sustain the local economy of traditional handicrafts and to develop tourism inside *chokris*. According to this initiative, JDA (Jaipur Development Authority) had provided a budget for restorations of small temples along the heritage walk. Under the revitalization proposal heritage walk is identified as important tool and suggested to extend the experience to more number of streets of heritage significance across the walled city.

### 3.4 Conclusions

Revitalization of Walled City Jaipur is one of the important exercises to understand the critical directions and issues for the great task of conservation of the vast wealth of historic cities in India. The project has raised critical question of the approach to conservation and opening a new area of looking at the 'public realm' in the historic cities as a significant tool to integrate the historical built form with thriving urban life and growing commercial activities. The development of the public realm will bring a better synthesis of history and modernism. The integration brings a new dialogue between the social needs, cultural activities, urban space, architecture and history and revives the built environment with a new energy. This has been dealt with the new theoretical position in bringing tourism the new economical force, to sensitively bridge heritage and urban development.

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## **Track 10: Sustainability: Climate Change, Risks and Planning**

### **Track Co-Chairs**

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Awareness of climate change has increased and, as a result, more and more mitigation strategies are being developed and implemented. Notwithstanding these efforts to reduce CO<sub>2</sub>-emissions, the effects of global warming cannot be stopped instantly. Consequently, adaptation to climate change is high on the political and societal agenda. Adaptation strategies focus on anticipating upon the impacts of climate change in three respects: monitoring potential damage (risks); coping with the consequences; and taking advantage of opportunities.

Spatial planning can be of major importance in making urban and rural areas more climate-proof. We need to plan in a sensible way, in order to both prevent dangerous climate change and protect present and future societies from the climate change that undoubtedly will occur.

From the perspective of mitigation, careless use of space is becoming a luxury we can no longer afford. In the near future, both policy options and our everyday choices are increasingly measured by their carbon footprints. In planning, issues such as urban sprawl and car-dependency are challenged by peak oil and carbon reduction targets. Overall, the need to accommodate increasingly stringent climate policy and energy efficiency goals is a huge challenge for planning. We know that we need to reduce carbon emissions, but there are obstacles and complexities in the way of implementation.

Adaptation, on the other hand, requires space for absorbing climate impacts and resulting risks. Climate impacts call for measures such as flood retention areas or the relocation of vulnerable groups and functions to safer places. Developing and implementing adaptation options is complex for several reasons. First, the knowledge base for defining the problem and identifying possible solutions is both insufficient and disputed. Second, the processes of autonomous change that are concurrent contribute to the uncertainty and unpredictability. Societies change too, not only the climate. Third, investments in adaptation are not only a matter of infrastructural adjustments, like building dikes; they also involve broader issues such as ecology, agriculture, urban and regional planning, nature preservation, and energy supply.

Climate change is a global phenomenon and therefore requires collective and international agency. Here “global” does not mean “elsewhere” but everywhere and everyone. This implies scaling problems, as the effects are felt at the national, regional, and local levels. Threats and chances deriving from climate change differ from place to place; moreover, climate

adaptation takes place in a multi-actor setting. Together, these processes are blurring the traditional boundaries between countries, between administrative scales, and between the public and private sectors. At each of these levels, the actors bring in a variety of values, interests, and resources. The problem cuts across jurisdictions and routines of organizations and sectors. The multifaceted problem of climate change could thus provoke divergent policy impulses and conflicts when different governments are involved. Moreover, the dynamism of social and ecological processes requires long-term horizons, which in turn demand a specific commitment by taxpayers, politicians, and scientists. Long-term investments seem to be needed, though it should be realized that today's solution could become tomorrow's problem.

## EFFECTS OF LOCAL CULTURES ON THE TERRITORIAL MANAGEMENT OF FLOOD RISK AREAS IN THE BANGKOK METROPOLITAN REGION

SUWANNA RONGWIRIYAPHANICH<sup>1</sup>

Keywords: local cultures, flood risk management, Bangkok Metropolitan Region (BMR)

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This paper examines the applicability and limitations of the proposed analytical framework. The framework was developed to facilitate an analysis of territorial development processes taken culture as an important element shaping planning processes and spatial outcomes. Five main principles underpin the proposed analytical framework are the concept of social-ecological system (Folke *et al.* 2005), culture-changing dynamics (Gullestrup 2006), Institutional Analysis and Development framework (Ostrom 2005), five dimensions of cultures (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005) and cultural theory (Thompson *et al.* 1990). The analysis of territorial development of the Bangkok Metropolitan Region, with special emphasis on the impacts of local cultures on policy initiatives and spatial outcomes in relation to flood risk management in the region, is taken as an example for investigation. The analysis shows that despite its potential subjectivity resulted by heuristic interpretation, the proposed analytical framework tends to be a promising approach.

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### INTRODUCTION

Planners and policy makers have recently increased their concerns regarding effects of climate change on sustainable development of urbanised delta regions, in which approximately half of the world population lives and works (Aquaterra 2009). Flood risk management is an essential issue for development of these sensitive urbanised areas. Reformation in territorial management has been informed by transfers of technology, knowledge and policy to deal with common problems. Nevertheless, previous experiences have shown that applying a successful policy from one case to others do not always produce successful outcomes (Friedmann 2005; de Jong *et al.* 2002). Many scholars have argued that development processes are shaped not just by development plans and policies, but also significantly by local conditions, including cultures (Friedmann 2005; Ostrom 2005).

In order to improve territorial development goal achievement generated by transferred policies, developing notions on dynamics of cultures and their roles in shaping territorial development through planning and implementation processes appears to be of great importance. An understanding of such issues can be

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enhanced through a systematic analysis of territorial development processes from a cross-cultural comparative perspective. A number of studies address crucial roles of planning cultures in territorial development processes (Knieling and Othengrafen 2009; Sanyal 2005). Knowledge of such issues regarding cultures in a broader sense than just planning cultures is, however, still limited.

This paper is a working paper as part of a PhD research project *Dynamics of Cultures and Territorial Management of Urbanised Delta Regions* that aims to provide a systematic analytical framework and methods to take cultural dimensions into account for policy analysis. The study takes territorial development regarding flood risk management as a pioneer aspect for analysis. The paper explores the applicability and limitations of the proposed analytical framework to explain actual phenomena through an empirical analysis. Effects of cultures on the territorial development outcomes regarding flood risk management in the Bangkok Metropolitan Region (BMR) are investigated, using the proposed analytical framework.

The paper is divided into four sections. The first section summarises the proposed analytical framework by explaining the main components and their place in the institutional transformation processes. Section 2 provides a background of the BMR along with introducing the three periods of analysis. Section 3 investigates the territorial development processes, focusing on aspects relating to flood risk management in the BMR, in three periods of development. The last section addresses the applicability and limitations of the proposed tentative analytical framework resulted from the empirical testing.

## **1 THE PROPOSED ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK**

The analysis is carried out from planners and policy makers' point of view to understand the places and roles of cultures in development processes, focusing on influences of informal institutions on shaping development policies (formal institutions) and spatial outcomes. The term *institutions* in this paper refers to a broader meaning than just organisational forms. It refers to 'the prescriptions that humans use to organize all forms of repetitive and structured interactions at all scales' (Ostrom 2005: 3).

The proposed analytical framework is underpinned by five main theoretical frameworks, which are a concept of social-ecological system (Folke *et al.* 2005), culture-changing dynamics (Gullestrup 2006), Institutional Analysis and Development (IAD) framework (Ostrom 2005), five dimensions of cultures (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005) and cultural theory (Thompson *et al.* 1990).

### **1.1 Structure of the Analytical Framework**

The proposed framework (see Figure 1) combines two building blocks for two action situations that interact, which will be called hereafter as 'planning situation' and 'implementing situation'. Each building block consists of three main components, namely conditioned factors, action arena and outcomes. The framework represents dynamic processes, with all components performing as dependent variables.

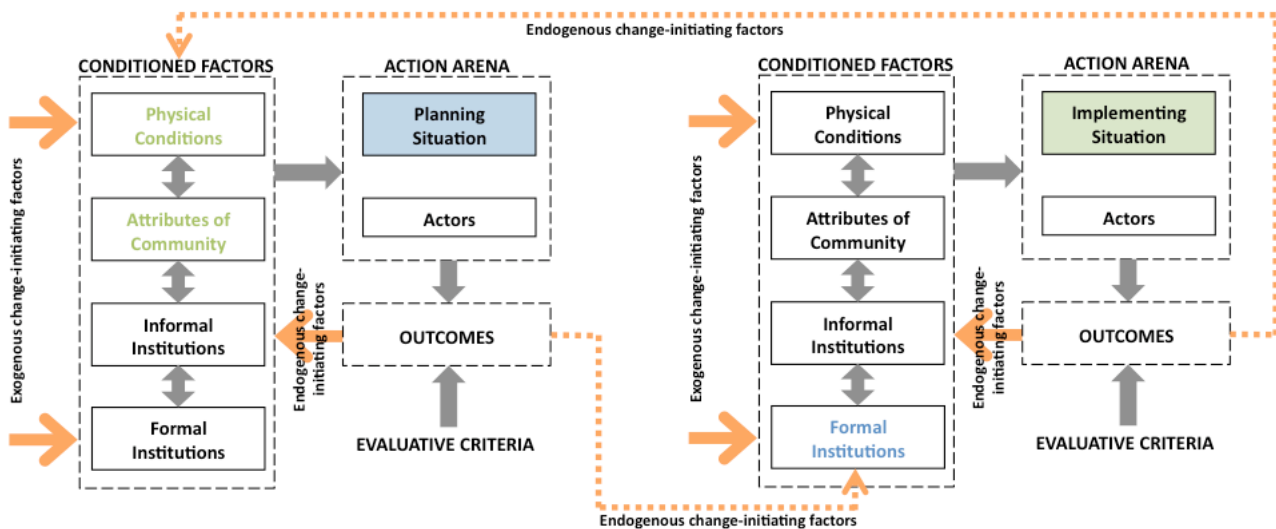


Figure 1 Structure of the proposed analytical framework

The structure of the proposed analytical framework is based on the Institutional Analysis and Development (IAD) framework developed by Ostrom (2005), with some modifications. The major modification is made to the so-called exogenous variables in the IAD framework, which is replaced by the term '*conditioned factors*' in this paper. The three elements of the exogenous variables are reclassified into four elements: physical conditions, attributes of community, informal institutions and formal institutions. This reclassification results from the integration of the IAD framework and concepts of culture-changing dynamics developed by Gullestrup (2006) to fit the research's purpose.

*Physical conditions* refer to attributes of the bio-physical and material world of the resource units (Ostrom 2005) - which are, in this case, land and water (in the sense of flood) of the urbanised delta regions. *Attributes of community* refer to Gullestrup (2006)'s 'difficult-to-perceive structural layers', which include social, economic, political & administrative and language & communication structures. *Formal institutions* refer to Gullestrup (2006)'s formalised layers of norms and rules, such as legitimised regulations, instructions, precepts and principles in a form of rules, laws, constitutions and contracts. This includes legitimised rules and laws that regulate the forms of structural layers. These three elements are called in Gullestrup (2006) as manifest culture layers. All layers of Gullestrup (2006)'s core culture layers are considered in this study as *informal institutions*. This includes worldviews and general accepted values and beliefs, both in partly legitimised or non-legitimised forms.

Conditioned factors are significant variables that structure or condition the action arena. They are continuously changing, influenced by either endogenous or exogenous change-initiating factors or both (Gullestrup 2006). In this study, exogenous factors refer to the driving forces generated or conditioned by agencies or factors outside a given territory, with special focus on technology, knowledge and policy transfers. This includes both voluntary and imposed transfers. Endogenous factors refer to all the changes or

conditions generated by local agents or local conditions, including effects induced by exogenous factors that turn to local conditions. Examples are changes in social class and discourses generated by economic development or political shifts. Despite of their dynamics, the conditioned factors are assumed to be constant within a certain period of time. This is for the purpose of analysis (Gullestrup 2006).

**Action arena** refers to activities created by actors in the action situations (Ostrom 2005). As mentioned earlier, there are two linking action situations in this case. The outcomes of one action situation lead to changes in the conditioned factors of another situation (see Figure 1). *Planning situation* refers to processes of policy preparation, whereas *implementing situation* refers to processes of policy implementation. In this study, actors are classified into four main groups: providing agent, intervening agent, affecting agent and monitoring agent. Some situations may not comprise all groups of actors.

**Outcomes** are identified according to the resource systems and units together with the governance systems and users for the analysis. The outcomes are evaluated by evaluative criteria, which in turn effect the adaptations of the conditioned factors and action arena (see Figure 1). Examples of evaluative criteria are efficiency, equity and adaptability. It is important to be clear which group will evaluate the outcomes from which perspective. This is because evaluative criteria may differ between actors.

When outcomes are evaluated by the involved actors as productive or positive, they may increase their commitment to following the institutions that have evolved over time; institutional transformation takes place as a way to change the structure of the situations in the action arena when the outcomes are evaluated as destructive or negative (Ostrom 2005). This refers to changes created by endogenous change-initiating factors. Institutional transformation sometimes occurs due to other reasons, such as, the imposition of a powerful actors. This refers to changes created by exogenous change-initiating factors

## 1.2 Analytical Approaches and Parameters

Territorial development in this context is considered as a result of the complex and dynamic institutional arrangements of interconnected social-ecological systems in a given territory. This study, therefore, applies two approaches for analysing of governance, which are in terms of human-nature relationships and human-human relationships. Each approach consists of different sets of parameters. Each parameter is analysed and interpreted using common set of cultural dimensions, basing mainly on the combination of Douglas (1970) and Thompson *et al.* (1990)'s cultural theory and part of the Hofstede (2005)'s five dimensions of cultures. This is to make the parameters comparable. The study applies only three dimensions of cultures, which are power distance, integration and uncertainty avoidance.

The *power distance* (PD) indicates degree of control of a unit in the system over others, ranging from symmetrical to asymmetrical transactions. The *integration* (In) indicates level of contact between units in the systems, ranging from individualised to collectivised relationship. The *uncertainty avoidance* (UA) refers to

degree of (in)tolerance of ambiguity, ranging from tolerance to intolerance. The application of these dimensions still requires great efforts for further development. Some tentative applications are, however, proposed and explained along with parameters as shown in Table 1.

Table 1 Summarised parameters and their cultural dimensions for analysis

	<b>Human-nature relationships (H-N)</b> - resource management -		<b>Human-human relationships (H-H)</b> - social organisation -	
	<i>Parameters</i>	<i>cul.dime.</i>	<i>Parameters</i>	<i>cul.dime.</i>
<b>Physical conditions</b>	Land: topography, soil type, settlement patterns and urbanisation level (population size and density) in terms of limitation, opportunity and risk for development in relation to flood risk Water: characteristics of rainfall, rivers and sea in terms of degree of severity, uncertainty and probability of flooding		Characteristics of land and water in terms of excludability and subtractability of flow: for instance, as public goods, common goods, club goods or private goods	
<b>Attributes of community</b>	Civil society and private sectors: GDP and employment by sectors Public sectors, governments and lobbyists: involving departments and their funding	PD, In	Relationships between social groups and their positions in the community, presenting in accordance to the 2D diagram of (Thompson <i>et al.</i> (1990)'s <i>Cultural Theory</i>	PD, In
<b>Informal institutions</b>	Conceptions of H-N: principles in religious, rituals, idioms, agricultural practices, meanings given to some terms such as flood	PD, In, UA	Conceptions of H-H: social and economic model of the society, idioms, the principles in religious and language	PD, In
<b>Formal institutions</b>	Legitimised rules, laws, constitutions and contracts relating to land use, flood risk, water and environmental management	PD, In, UA	Legitimised rules, laws, constitutions and contracts relating to land tenure/ownership	PD, In
<b>Development outcomes</b>	Planning Situation: same as the formal institutions Implementing Situation: patterns of land utilisation and land value	PD, In, UA	Planning Situation: same as the formal institutions Implementing Situation: patterns of land tenure/occupation	PD, In

Apart from actors, all parameters are identified in accordance to the two approaches of analysis. Parameters for planning situations and implementing situations are separately identified if they are different; otherwise it means they are similar. Formal institutions between both situations are generally the same set of institutions. Development outcomes of planning situations are basically formal institutions of implementing situations.

### 1.3 Institutional Transformation Processes and the Change-determining Factors

In this study, an analysis of institutional transformation determination is mainly applied from a concept of culture-changing dynamics developed by Gullestrup (2006). The term 'cultures' in Gullestrup (2006) is interchangeable with the term 'institutions' in this context. Gullestrup (2006) addressed that institutional changes are driven by change-initiating factors, but whether and to which direction that changes will actually occur depends on change-determining factors. Actual changes refer to changes that take effects to a broad scale in a society across actors and across levels of institutions. In this study, whether a real culture change does take place is evaluated from reflections of the change initiatives (emphasising on changes in formal institutions) in spatial outcomes.

The probability of actual culture change/institutional transformation (P.CC) is determined strongly by the relationships amongst four factors, which are degree of integration (DI), degree of homogeneity (DH), contents of change-initiating factors (CiF) and culture-internal power relations (CIPR), as shown in Figure 2 and Figure 3. Figure 2 indicates two different P.CC values at a given combination of DH and DI, influenced by two other factors, which are explained as follows.

The probability of actual institutional transformation is first determined by *degree of homogeneity* (DH). It presumes that a community associated with more diverse knowledge, experience and practical skills will provide more chances for change initiatives to penetrate into and reach a stage, where actual institutional transformation can (but may or may not) take place (Gullestrup 2006). Degree of homogeneity can be assessed from analysing attributes of the community. If the community is greatly uniform, the content of the change-initiating factors (CiF) have to be tailor-made to fit the existing attributes of the community (Gullestrup 2006); otherwise the change initiatives will be rejected from the community.

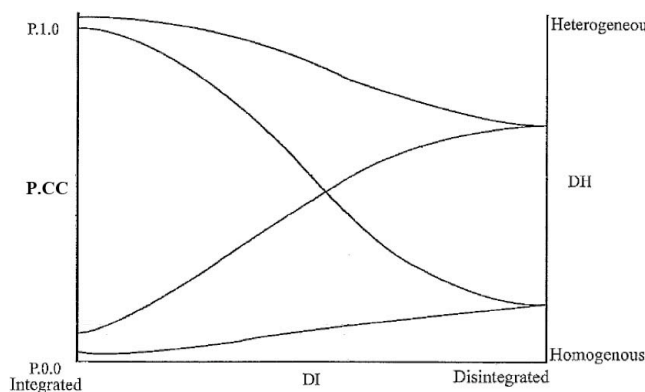


Figure 2 A theoretical relational diagram of change-determining factors

Source: Modified from Gullestrup (2006: 145)

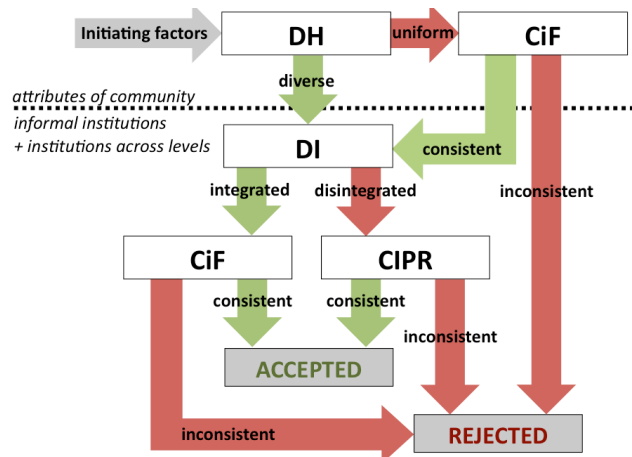


Figure 3 A relationship diagram of four determining factors and their impacts on institutional transformation

The next step is to analyse *degree of integration* (DI) in terms of (i) integration of informal institutions across actors and (ii) logical reflections across levels of institutions. The more integration the cultures/institutions, the higher tendency the institutional transformation will take place to react, either positively or negatively, towards the change-initiating factors (Gullestrup 2006). Positive or negative reaction crucially corresponds with the CiF. The higher corresponding between the CiF and the existing institutional settings, the higher probability is that positive reactions can be expected (Gullestrup 2006), and vice versa (shown in Figure 2 as the above line and the underneath line accordingly).

If the existing institutional settings are highly disintegrated, it is then essential to consider culture-internal power relations (CIPR). CIPR refers to power of a specific group to determine changes over other groups in the community. The decisive factor in a highly disintegrated condition is degree of integration of the change initiatives to the existing institutions of the most powerful actors.

## 2 SIGNIFICANT SHIFTS OF TERRITORIAL MANAGEMENT IN THE BANGKOK METROPOLITAN REGION

The Bangkok Metropolitan Region (BMR) is located on the lower delta of the Chao Phraya River Basin, where the river meanders through the city and extends to the gulf of Thailand. Its territory is defined in accordance to the administrative boundary, covering six provinces: Bangkok Metropolis, Nonthaburi, Pathumthani, Samutprakan, Samutsakhon and Nakhonpathom (see Figure 4). Since Bangkok was established as the capital of the kingdom in 1782, a small commercial community covering an area of 4.14 km<sup>2</sup> (BMA 2009) has developed into a large diversified and growing industrial metropolitan region. The BMR now covers an area of 7,761.50 km<sup>2</sup> and accommodates more than 10 million people (BMA 2009). The region has continued to expand its connection to other more peripheral provinces, particularly to the north and the east within the distance of 80 km from the Bangkok CBD since 1990s, and consequently formulating the extended BMR.

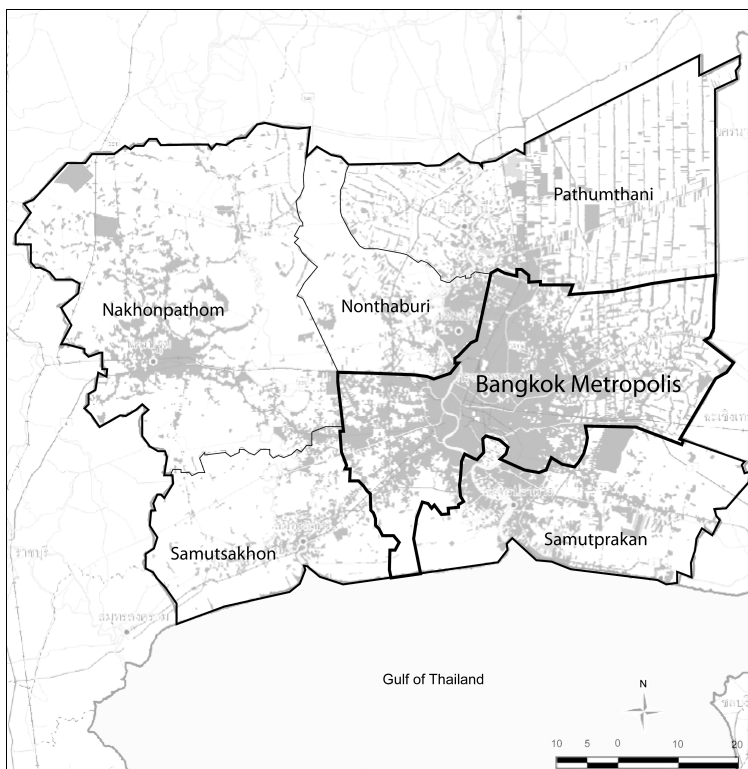


Figure 4 Administrative boundary and settlements in the Bangkok Metropolitan Region in 2002

Source: Reproduced from the map provided by the National and Regional Planning Bureau, Department of Public Works and Town & Country Planning – DPT (2008)

The traditional Thai social and territorial organisations had been maintained until around the turn of the nineteenth century. This includes the decentralised structure of social organisation under the absolute monarchy and the Thai traditional economy, which was based on subsistence economy. Radical shift of the Thai social and territorial development started in the mid of the nineteenth century, underpinned by the development objectives to modernise the country and the liberalised trade agreements first signed in 1855 with the United Kingdom, followed by many other countries.

This resulted in a shift of the Thai economy from subsistence to export-oriented agricultural economy integrating into the world market, and consequently the expansion of land reclamation for rice production further a field, especially into swampy lowlands. The modernisation of the country included changes in administrative structure, social structure as well as political structure. Many strategies for territorial management and regulation were introduced. The society dramatically adapted to the new conditions for development through institutional arrangements. Impacts on spatial development, resulting from these changes were not evident in this period; it became more apparent in the following periods, soon after the World War time.

After World-War II, the country experienced another significant shift in institutions, driven by three main forces: (i) financial and technical aid from international agencies, such as the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank, (ii) dramatically increasing investment of Sino-Thai communities due to political changes in China and (iii) induced effects from the money spent by the American Army, which had military camps in Thailand during the Vietnam War. These factors initiated a rise of middle class with a high purchasing power, changing life styles of urban families and an influx of rural immigrants drawn by economic development in Bangkok. These effects were important factors driving rapid urban expansion in the BMR started in the 1970s, including the expansion to the former swampy lowlands initially reclaimed for agricultural purposes.

The third significant shift occurred in the 1990s. This started clearly first time in the Seventh National Economic and Social Development Plan (1992-1996). It called for a more balanced development, concerning social, economic and environmental aspects, fostered by global trends in sustainable development. Although spatial development in this period is mainly a product of institutional arrangements in the previous periods, significant changes have been observed both in planning sphere and spatial outcomes.

### **3 LOCAL CULTURES AND TERRITORIAL DEVELOPMENT IN RELATION TO FLOOD RISK MANAGEMENT**

The results illustrating in this section are still on a process of development. It contains not all the elements mentioned in the analytical framework. However, it provides a good overview for an application of the proposed analytical framework to explain actual territorial development processes. The analysis is divided

into three parts, according to three development periods in the Bangkok Metropolitan Region (BMR). The periods of development are classified according to major shifts in formal institutions and their significant impacts on spatial transformation as earlier explained. They are (i) the period of country modernisation (1850s-1940s), (ii) the beginning of international agencies and rapid growths period (1950s-1980s) and (iii) the period of reorientation towards balanced and sustainable development (1990s-2009).

### **3.1 The Period of Country Modernisation (1850s-1940s)**

#### ***Change initiatives and their reflections in formal institutions***

This period was affected mainly by exogenous change-initiating factors, which led to transformation of the modes of land control as well as capital and labour (Phongpaichit and Baker 1995; Molle 2005). A significant shift in formal institutions during this period was the administrative modernisation, taking a model from the colonial apparatus of administration established by the British in India (Arghiros 2001). The process started in 1892 to ensure effective central control of rural areas. Major changes were related to new forms of territory division and the transformation of the traditional administration to a more western-like ministerial system. A rather decentralised with area-oriented development approach was reformed to a more centralised with sector-oriented development approach. As a result, common sector-oriented development policies were created by the ministries at the national level and implemented to the whole country.

Furthermore, a modern legislation for land ownership, of which occupancy by utilisation was replaced by title deeds, was introduced. As a result, land, which was recognised as a factor of production, acquired value in itself and became a tradable commodity. Additionally, a new land policy that granted ownership of land to the land developers (concessionaires for canalised projects), subject to whether or not the land has already been utilised and claimed, was introduced in the 1880s (Molle 2005). This created an enormous expansion of land reclamation in the region. This expansion processes were enhanced also by the gradual abolition of *nai-phrai* system (the Thai traditional hierarchic social structure with some similarities and differences comparing to a feudal system) from 1874 to 1905, which generated increasing demand of land. This is due to increasing of monetisation of the peasant economy brought by the independence of *phrai* (commoners) and *that* (slaves).

After a few decades of launching the aforementioned new land policies, awareness of potential inconsistencies in development approaches created by landlordism within the Thai traditional mode of agricultural subsistence were raised. This led to the reorientation of the land policy in the beginning of the twentieth century. In 1936, the government fixed the limit of land ownership at 50 *rai* (8 ha) per household (Peleggi 2007), aiming to prohibit large-scale concession of land and promote small-scale concession to peasants.



***Analysis of the conditioned factors and their influences on the change determination***

As mentioned earlier, the social, economic and political reforms in this period encouraged the rise of a middle class. The abolition of the *nai-phrai* system and the influences from increasing associations with westerners made the community a more diverse society. Although the main player guiding development of the region remained the state (or in other words, the aristocracy), private investors and civic society gradually gained more power and involvement in territorial organisation. This created a high probability to accept transferred technology as well as development concepts and policies in the following periods.

The new land policies created different spatial development patterns in different parts of the region. This depended mainly on relationships between physical conditions and attributes of the community who occupied the land. Despite conflicts of the new development approach with traditional conception as living in harmony with nature, a development policy to transform swampy lowlands into cultivated lands using technology to drain and control water was implemented. This is mainly because of its consistency to the institutions of the aristocrats, which were the most powerful in territorial development of the region in this period. They played a role of both policy makers and land developers (concessionaires). They were western-trained technocrats, and thus rather easily agreed and adopted those transferred ideas. Concessionaires chose swampy lowlands, which remained free from occupation, as the priority areas for development. Lands were then parcelled and rented out to tenant peasants who were just free as a result of the abolition of *phrai* and *that* system a few years before (Peleggi 2007). This led to urban expansion to unattended areas, starting in the 1880s.

However, this did not apply to the peasant groups, with which traditional conception as living in harmony with nature was closely associated. This explains why they chose the fertile with low flood prone as priority areas for their settlements, and left the unfertile areas with high flood prone rented from the landlords after a few years (Molle 2005). This is underpinned by their close relationship to physical conditions of the land as a production factor for agricultural uses.

**3.2 The Beginning of International Agencies and Rapid Growths Period (1950s-1980s)*****Changes in conditioned factors resulted from development in the former period***

As mentioned earlier, the former period created conditions that enhanced the rise of middle class. It generated also an expansion of land reclamation, initially for agricultural uses and became urbanised areas during this period. Settlements took place in various high flood prone areas in the region. Those high flood prone areas were left unattended mainly for speculative purposes at the beginning of this period; however, urbanisation started taking place in such areas at the end of the period. This was partly due to a great shift of the Thai economy from an export-based agricultural economy towards a more service and manufacturing-

oriented economy (Askew 2002). This reduced the level of integration regarding human-nature relationships that was closely related to perceptions of people connecting to agricultural practices.

### ***Change initiatives and their reflections in formal institutions***

In this period, development direction was influenced by development approaches suggested by the international development agencies and western-trained technocrats. These technocrats formed a significant professionalised subculture within the customary bureaucratic polity (Askew 2002). This resulted in the establishment of various planning agencies, including the National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB), the Board of Investment (BOI) as well as the Department of Public Works and Town & Country Planning (DPT), in the 1950s. The new approaches were associated with a higher level of controlling (PD) both in terms of human-nature relationships and human-human relationships with lower uncertainty avoidance (UA) and degree of integration (In) of human and nature. This represented in a form of land use plans with regulations that promoted development in flood risk areas with flood prevention measures.

In addition, the National Economic and Social Development Plans during the 1980s emphasised the significant of privatisation and increasing in engagement of private sectors in development planning (NESDB 2008). This resulted in increasing of establishment and engagement of private agencies, such as chamber of commerce, in development planning processes. In other words, spatial development during this period was oriented by a new form of economic and political organisation in the Thai society, led by market forces and the technocrat governments.

### ***Analysis of the conditioned factors and their influences on the change determination***

In this period, the society consisted of diverse groups of actors in both planning situations and implementing situations. This created a high probability to accept the policy initiatives. The contents of the new technocrat-oriented development approaches were rather conform with the informal institutions of policy makers and upper-middle class groups, which were the most influential groups in the society in shaping territorial development in the region. Despite their inconsistency to physical conditions of the proposed development areas in terms of flood risk, the plans were still taken into actions.

How plans and projects were implemented was, however, another story. Rather than shaping development through comprehensive planning, the state employed the provision of main transport networks and basic infrastructure as a principal measure to encourage economic growth and direct spatial development (RIDA 1996). This development strategy, of which only the main networks were constructed by the state and the communities were in charge to extend those services to further areas on their own, was rather similar to the strategies employed in the former periods. Yet they associated with two main different features: (i) change in types of infrastructure provision from canals excavation to road construction and (ii) change from community-led organisation to private sector-led investments. This clearly showed inconsistency between

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Considering the social structure, the number of middle class people and their power in shaping development of the region essentially increased. This partly led to significant shifts of formal institutions in this period as explained below.

***Change initiatives and their reflections in formal institutions***

The shifts in formal institutions in this period resulted from both endogenous change-initiating factors (increasing in number and roles of middle class groups) and exogenous change-initiating factors (sustainable development discourses - including green movements, balanced development, and cooperative and participation planning). The former extremely centralised state power gave way to a higher degree of devolution and public engagement, as explicitly focused in the 1997 Constitution. These changes are the consequences of the struggles of the middle class through key civic movements in 1973 and 1992. The rise of the middle class resulted in a number of changes, reflecting both directly in the governmental administrative reforms and through indirect interventions. A number of NGOs-based for green movements and public engagement initiated by the middle class were examples of such indirect involvements. In other words, a bureaucratic polity was shifted towards a civic polity and was apparently in sight since the 1990s (Arghiros 2001).

These driving forces resulted in the governance and ministerial reformations as well as enacting of laws and regulations, aiming to enhance sustainable development. Major relevant organisation and legislative changes regarding territorial development in relation to flood risk management were, for examples, the Seventh National Economic and Social Development Plan (1992-1996) – the first plan that explicitly addressed balanced and sustainable development concepts as the main objective for development, the 1997 Constitution – which strongly enforced devolution, public participation and citizen engagement processes, and other consequential actions, such as the establishments and legislations of Local Administration Authorities and Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment, Environmental Protection Act 1992, Land Appropriation Act 2000, Land Readjustment Act 2004, Land Development Act 2008.

Trends in spatial planning also moved towards a more civic approach. Apart from controlling spatial development through *phang-mueng-raum* (a land use zoning plan with restrictions), the Department of Public Works and Town & Country Planning (DPT) began to cooperate with private investors through negotiation processes, soon after the 2003 Land Readjustment Act was launched. Furthermore, the role of the DPT under the central government was changed according to the 1999 Devolution Act. The role of planning was greatly transferred to local authorities. The role of the DPT was changed into preparing the regional and the national level as to provide strategic development frameworks to the locals. This approach was well cooperated by the local communities in which the customary social organisation was maintained.

Furthermore, the most recent significant change initiative was the introduction of the philosophy of ‘sufficiency economy’ by His Majesty the King. This concept was stated first time as a development approach for the country in the Ninth National Economic and Social Development Plan (2002-2006). The concept was applied not only to economic field, but rather to a broader aspects of development. Regarding flood risk management, it reflected in various new measures of dealing with flood at different scales, such as using of flood retention at the regional scale, replanting mangrove at the district scale and regulations and guidelines for green-blue-brown coverage ratio at the plot scale.

***Analysis of the conditioned factors and their influences on the change determination***

Considering the shifts of formal institutions in terms of human-nature relationships, the concepts that increased level of integration (In) to nature resulted by the sustainable development concepts, were likely well accepted in planning situations. However, the degree of acceptance was different amongst actors. For instance, the DPT noticeably applied the concepts in the most recent strategic plan for the BMR; the preventive measures, however remained dominant in flood risk management approach of the Royal Irrigation Department. In implementing situations, the degree of acceptance varied also amongst different actors. This highly connected to their attributes of community. Actors whom their occupations were closely related to nature were likely to accept the new approach more than actors associated with urban life styles. In addition, those who lived in well flood-protected areas were less likely to take the new approach as necessary.

Nevertheless, explanation of the rather high degree of acceptance of new approaches that encourage less control (PD) over nature and being more integrated (In) to nature is quite complicate. Analysis of spatial outcomes alone does not inform whether the acceptance resulted from the consistency of informal institution regarding human-nature relationships or human-human relationships. This is doubtful because the concepts were introduced by H.M. the King, which is greatly respectful in the society; they are also conform with the conceptions of human-nature relationships representing in Buddhism – the main religious of Thai people. Further investigation on relationships between effects of informal institutions on decision-makings thus appears necessary.

Regarding the shifts of formal institutions in terms of human-human relationships, the concepts of devolution and public engagement in planning, which lowered the level of control (PD) and encouraged a better integration in the society (In), were currently not quite well implemented. This was likely to cause by inconsistency between the policy initiatives and the dominant informal institutions in the society. The customary social organisation at all scales, from a family to the national scale, was based on a high power distance (PD) model with different levels of integration (In) of each social group. The inconsistency regarding power distance to the constitutional level of institutions of the society thus played a crucial role in preventing successful changes to take place, despite the significant changes at the structural level.

#### 4 OBSERVATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

This paper presents preliminary results of the first test of applicability of the proposed analytical framework to explain the actual phenomena, taking territorial development regarding flood risk management in the Bangkok Metropolitan Region (BMR) as a pioneer case for analysis. The analysis interpreted cultures and their effects on territorial development processes, mainly from spatial outcomes as well as organisation and policy analysis. This may involve significant deviations resulting from the author's interpretations.

Nevertheless, the analysis shows that the proposed analytical framework tends to be a promising approach to explain territorial development processes from a cultural perspective, despite its potential subjectivity resulted by heuristic interpretation. It shows a high correlation between the four conditioned factors and development outcomes, both in terms of development policies and plans and spatial outcomes. The three cultural dimensions employed to categorise cultures regarding flood risk management also help to facilitate a better understanding on determination of policy acceptance according to the four change-determining factors proposed by Gullestrup (2006).

Further investigation by other methods that may help improving subjectivity of cultural interpretations, particularly of informal institutions, appears necessary. This includes interviews of focus groups, such as planners, policy makers and real estate developers, and questionnaires to civic sectors living in focused areas. In addition, more case studies and issues for investigation of effects of local cultures in territorial development processes would help to improve and assure the validity and applicability of the proposed analytical framework for policy analysis to apply to a broader scope of territorial management in diverse institutional settings and cultural contexts.

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## **RESILIENCE AND/OR VULNERABILITY? RELATIONSHIPS AND ROLES IN RISK MITIGATION STRATEGIES**

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Keywords: Vulnerability, Resilience, Risk mitigation

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### **Abstract**

Resilience and vulnerability represent two core-concepts in the disaster field, widely invoked as basic means for supporting risk mitigation strategies. Vulnerability has been in-depth investigated since the Seventies; resilience has been largely widespread in the disaster field over the last two decades, although a shared theoretical and operative approach to this concept is still missing and the relationships between vulnerability and resilience are still a nebulous matter. This paper, based on a research work developed within the 7<sup>th</sup> FP Ensure Project, has been addressed to:

- in-depth investigate the concept of Resilience, in order to provide a conceptual model of its main components by integrating different disciplinary perspectives;
  - explore, grounding on both scientific literature and the proposed conceptual model of resilience, the relationships between vulnerability and resilience, and highlight common aspects and peculiarities, in order to better understand their respective roles in achieving risk reduction goals.
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### **Introduction**

The concept of vulnerability has been largely widened over time, according to different disciplinary perspectives: from the Seventies, when it was generally used as a synonymous of damage (AA.VV., 1979), up to the more recent definitions, focused on “the characteristics and circumstances of a community, system or asset that make it susceptible to the damaging effects of a hazard” (ISDR, 2009). Currently, grounding on the shared interpretation of vulnerability as “an internal side of risk” and “an intrinsic characteristics of a system or element at risk” (Birkmann, 2006), the concept has been characterized as a multifaceted one. It includes, indeed, not only physical features of buildings and infrastructures which make them susceptible to be damaged (which is usually the core of the engineering perspective to vulnerability analysis), but also other

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aspects, as well as social, economic or institutional features affecting the capacity of a community to withstand, cope with and adapt to a hazardous event. The inclusion of other concepts as coping and adaptive capacity within the vulnerability one has driven toward a growing mess referring to the differences and the relationships between vulnerability and resilience, which is going to be more and more widespread in the disaster field.

According to Villagràn de Leon (2006), “literature review regarding vulnerability reveals that the term has been used in many different contexts by many different authors, demonstrating the fact that the field is still unsettled”. Similarly, Rose (2007) states that, also due to the heterogeneity of approaches and to the different disciplinary perspectives, the concepts of resilience “is in danger of becoming a vacuous buzzword from overuse and ambiguity”.

Up to now, no further steps toward a deep understanding of meanings of and relationships between the two mentioned concepts have been made, although such understanding seems to be crucial for defining the potential roles of vulnerability and resilience in the reduction of the overall risk of communities dealing with natural, technological and na-tech hazards.

On the other side, in face of the growing rates of natural and technological disasters all over the world, the need for practical approaches to risk reduction has been more and more emphasized by the several actors in charge of risk prevention and mitigation at different levels (international agencies, national, regional and local governments, etc.), pushing toward a simplification of the scientific debate on vulnerability and resilience in favor of operational tools and effective guidelines to resilience and/or vulnerability assessment, as key-tools for developing risk mitigation strategies.

Therefore, this contribution focuses on the resilience concept and is addressed to provide a conceptual model of its main dimensions, as starting point for better understanding both the relationships between resilience and vulnerability and their roles in reducing the overall risk in face of different hazards.

In the last decades, indeed, a nourished scientific literature has been developed according to the idea that reducing vulnerability in face of a given hazard should have surely led to enhance resilience and reduce the overall risk. Nevertheless, the meanings of, and the relationships between, the two concepts are still nebulous and past disasters analysis clearly reveals that mitigation measures addressed to reduce vulnerability do not necessarily result in an enhancing of resilience and vice-versa.

In detail, this paper briefly presents the evolutionary path of the resilience concept, the reasons leading to its spreading into the disaster field and the most common interpretations of the debated relationship between vulnerability and resilience. Then, by integrating different disciplinary perspectives, the main components of resilience and their mutual influences have been singled out; then, in respect to the main phases of the disaster cycle, they have been arranged into a ring-shaped framework. This conceptual model of resilience underlines its dynamic features, provides a systematization of its main components and highlights that these components come on stage in different phases of the disaster cycle and most of them are largely time-related.

Starting from this conceptual model of resilience, the relationships between resilience and vulnerability have been unraveled, highlighting peculiarities and common aspects between the two concepts and, above all, the different roles they may play in risk mitigation strategies.

### **Roots and evolution of the Resilience concept**

The term resilience, although initially adopted in physics to describe the resistance of a material to shocks, found wide room in Ecology in the first Seventies. In this field, Resilience was defined as a “measure of the persistence of systems and their ability to absorb changes and disturbance and still maintain the same relationships between populations or state variables” and it was clearly distinguished from the concept of stability, defined as “the ability of a system to return to an equilibrium state after a temporary disturbance” (Holling, 1973).

About twenty years later, Holling refined his theory by distinguishing two typologies of resilience: the engineering and the ecological one. In detail, he defined the ability to return to a stable steady-state following a perturbation as engineering resilience, which “emphasizes conditions far from any equilibrium steady state, where instabilities can flip a system into another regime of behavior” (Holling, 1996). Therefore, whereas the engineering resilience focuses on aspects such as efficiency, constancy and predictability, the ecological resilience focuses on aspects as persistence (maintaining the existence of functions) and robustness (preservation of the structure of the system in face of perturbations).

According to these definitions, engineering resilience can be measured “by a return time, the amount of time taken for the displacement to decay to some specified fraction of its initial value” (Pimm, 1991), whereas ecological resilience can be expressed by the magnitude of disturbance that can be absorbed before the system changes its structure by modifying variables and processes that control its behavior (Ludwig et al., 1996; Gunderson and Holling, 2001).

The aspects related to resistance and absorption of disturbance were more properly included in the “stability” concept by Berkes and Folke (1998), underlining that resilience is mainly referred to the opportunity for the recombination of modified structures and processes after a disturbance. The latter aspects became preeminent when discussion on resilience moved from the ecological to the socio-ecological field. Resilience has been officially introduced in the disaster field in 1994, within a UN document, namely the guidelines for the World Conference on Natural Disaster reduction. This document emphasized the need for strengthening “resilience and self-confidence of local communities to cope with natural disasters through recognition and propagation of their traditional knowledge, practices and values as a part of development activities”. A lot of documents published under the umbrella of relevant international institutions and NGOs followed the 1994 UN one. Starting from the Nineties and according to different disciplinary perspectives, a large variety of resilience definitions has been provided and the main properties, attributes or capacities able to make a system resilient in face of adverse circumstances have been identified. For example, Bruneau et al.

(2003) defined the community seismic resilience as the ability of social units (e.g. organizations, communities) to mitigate earthquakes, to contain the effects of disasters when they occur and to carry out recovery activities in ways that minimize social disruptions and mitigate the effects of future events. Moreover, they provided a framework for analyzing and measuring community seismic resilience, which has been considered a benchmark for numerous scholars and practitioners.

In 2004, resilience was introduced into the ISDR glossary on Disaster Risk Reduction and defined as “the capacity of a system, community or society potentially exposed to hazards to adapt, by resisting or changing in order to reach and maintain an acceptable level of functioning and structure” (ISDR, 2004). One year later, the Hyogo Framework for Action 2005-2015 (UN/ISDR, 2005) identified the goal of building resilience of nations and communities to disaster as the overarching one for achieving a substantive reduction of disaster losses by 2015.

In the last updating of the ISDR glossary on Disaster Risk Reduction the definition of resilience was refined as follows: “The ability of a system, community or society exposed to hazards to resist, absorb, accommodate to and recover from the effects of a hazard in a timely and efficient manner, including through the preservation and restoration of its essential basic structures and functions” (ISDR, 2009). In such a way, the definition embodies both the ecological resilience meaning, by “the preservation and restoration of structures and functions”, and the engineering one, through the introduction of efficiency and time as key-variables to be taken into account in assessing resilience.

Thus, both institutional documents and the most recent approaches developed by scholars from different disciplinary fields seem to converge towards an interpretation of resilience as a set of interrelated adaptive capacities enabling systems to deal with both expected and unexpected changes (Norris et al, 2007; Paton and Johnston, 2008; Chapin et al. 2009).

Nevertheless, the overuse of the term resilience – probably related to its positive meaning in opposition to the negative one attributed to vulnerability – highlights that resilience is currently referred to as a “panacea” within the disaster field, even if some scholars stress on the fact that resilience should not be treated always as a desirable attitude (Sapountzaky, 2007).

### **Relationships between Resilience and Vulnerability in scientific literature**

Resilience and vulnerability are linked core-concepts in the disaster field, as well as in the climate change one, although as mentioned above their relationships are still unclear. Thus, not surprisingly, in scientific literature it is widely accepted the idea that the reduction of losses due to hazards, which represents a primary goal for pursuing both risk mitigation and sustainable development, can be achieved through strategies aimed at reducing vulnerability and enhancing, in the meanwhile, resilience. According to this perspective, the two concepts seems to be two sides of the same coin even if this interpretation is only one among the different

ones provided up to now. The review of studies and researches devoted to this issue highlights at least three main schools of thought:

- resilience as the flip-side of vulnerability;
- resilience as a component of vulnerability;
- resilience and vulnerability as separate concepts.

For a deep understanding of the complexity of the issue, a brief snapshot of each mentioned approach is provided below.

#### *Resilience as the flip-side of vulnerability*

In 1981, Timmermann defined vulnerability as the level “to which a system acts adversely to the occurrence of a hazardous event. The degree and quality of the adverse reaction are conditioned by a system’s resilience, meant as a measure of the system’s capacity to absorb and recover from the event”.

Fortune and Peters (1995) provided a conceptualization of the vulnerability of a system as “the obverse of its ability to absorb disturbances, which in turn can be considered to be an indication of its resilience”.

Both examples, although referable to a flip-side approach, do not identify a clear direct and opposite relation between the terms.

More explicit and highly simplified is the flip-side perspective provided by the EVI Research Project, aimed at setting up an environmental vulnerability index, according to which resilience is defined as the “ability of an entity to resist or recover from damage”, underlining that “vulnerability and resilience are two sides of the same coin. Something is vulnerable to the extent that it is not resilient”. Moreover, the vulnerability concept as flip-side of resilience “applies equally well to physical entities (people, ecosystems, coastlines) and to abstract concepts (social systems, economic systems, countries)” (EVI Project, 1998).

The flip-side approach has widely spread in the socio-ecological field too. Folke et al. (2002) argue that “vulnerability is the flip side of resilience: when a social or ecological system loses resilience, it becomes vulnerable to change that previously could be absorbed” and, furthermore, “the antonym of resilience is often denoted vulnerability. Vulnerability refers to the propensity of social and ecological system to suffer harm from exposure to external stresses and shocks”.

Moreover, as stressed above, the flip-side approach seems to be related to the “desire to emphasize the positive side of things (enhancing resilience in opposition to reducing vulnerability)” (Klein et al., 2003).

According to Villagran (2006), the flip-side approach can be related to the definition of resilience as “an intrinsic ability of a system, an element, or a community to resist the impact of a natural or a social event”. Resilience and vulnerability can be interpreted as “the two ends of a spectrum. High levels of vulnerability imply a low resilience, and vice-versa” (Cannon, 2008).

According to the flip-side approach, risk mitigation strategies, by decreasing vulnerability, would directly contribute to improve resilience in a given system.

*Resilience as a component of vulnerability*

Many authors refer to an “inclusive” relationship between the two terms, defining resilience as a component of the vulnerability concept. For example, McEntire (2001) identified the four variables which determine vulnerability as follows:

- risk, proximity or exposure to hazards, which affects the probability of adverse impact;
- susceptibility, proneness of individuals to adverse impacts of disasters, based on social, economic, political and cultural variables;
- resistance, the ability of physical systems to withstand the stress produced by hazards;
- resilience, the coping capacity and ability to recover quickly from impacts of disasters.

Moreover, in order to manage the relationships among these concepts and achieve a comprehensive risk reduction, he proposed a proactive holistic approach called “invulnerable development”, which involved “decisions and activities that are intentionally designed and implemented to reduce risk and susceptibility, and also raise resistance and resilience to disaster” (McEntire, 2001).

Similarly, Pelling (2003) recognized a priority role of vulnerability with respect to resilience and suggested an interpretation of vulnerability as result of exposure, resistance, and resilience: “exposure is related to the location of the system or element with respect to the hazard and the environmental surroundings; resistance is related to the economical, psychological, and physical health of systems of maintenance, as well as the capacity of individuals or communities to withstand the impact of the event and is related with livelihoods; while resilience is defined as the ability to cope with or adapt to the hazard stress through preparedness and spontaneous adaptations once the event has manifested itself”.

A key-element to better understand the “inclusive” approach is related to the different interpretations of the relationships among the concepts of coping capacity, adaptive capacity and resilience. The widening of the vulnerability concept implies, indeed, that coping and adaptive capacity are at present generally interpreted as components of vulnerability. Therefore, some authors have represented the three mentioned concepts as nested within the wider concept of vulnerability (Turner et al., 2003; Gallopin, 2006); others have stressed that, since resilience is totally included in the adaptive capacity, it is also a component of vulnerability (Adger, 2006; Birkmann, 2006; Folke, 2006; Cutter et al., 2008).

Villagràn de Leòn (2006) emphasized the temporal relationship between coping capacity and resilience; in detail, he defined the resistance as the “capacity of the system to remain unchanged for an interval of time after the event manifested itself”; the resilience as “the capacity of the system to recover to its state prior to the disaster” and the coping capacity as the combination of resistance and resilience.

Also according to this perspective, risk mitigation strategies, by decreasing vulnerability, would directly contribute to improve resilience in a given system.

### *Resilience and vulnerability as separate concepts*

The “discrete or separate” approach has been supported by numerous scholars, who have proposed an interpretation of vulnerability and resilience as distinct, although connected, concepts.

According to Manyena (2006), “we can possess characteristics that can make us vulnerable and that can influence our capacity to adapt at the same time. Until it can be demonstrated the contrary, I think they should be viewed as discrete” and, therefore, “the absence of vulnerability does not make one resilient”.

Some scholars have clearly stressed that resilience and vulnerability are independent processes which do not necessarily lead to opposite outcomes even though sometimes one can clash with the other. For instance, in poor communities characterized by a strong social structure, sometimes the low access to resources produces a strong social cohesion and participation which, in turn, increases the community adaptive capacity. In such a case, as noticed by Paton (2008), vulnerability features coexist with other characteristics that improve the adaptive capacity. On the contrary, in disaster literature, it is often assumed that the higher is the resilience of a community, the lower will be their vulnerability in face of hazards. Paton (2008) highlights that hazard impacts cannot be reduced only to direct damage, but they have to be connected to the community features which “increase susceptibility to experiencing loss from exposure to a hazard (i.e. increase vulnerability) and those that facilitate the capacity to adapt or adjust (i.e. increase resilience)”. Thus, according to this perspective, adaptive capacity is included in the resilience concept, but is not included in the vulnerability one. Therefore, resilience and vulnerability are considered as independent factors, acting in different phases after the event (preparedness, response and recovery) at individual, community and institutional level in order to contribute respectively to improve adaptation and minimize disruptions (fig. 1).

On the opposite, within the wider interpretations of the vulnerability concept, “vulnerability and resilience have common elements of interest: the shocks and stresses experienced by the social and ecological system,

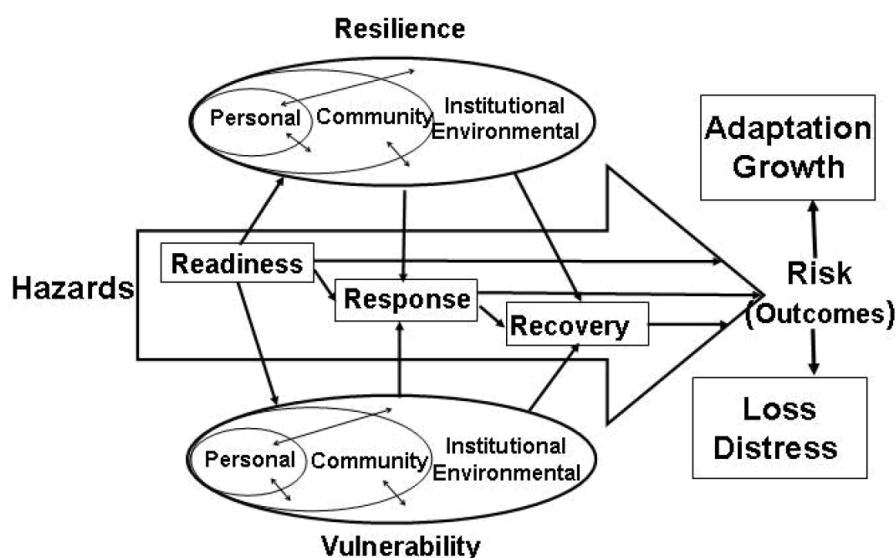


Figure 1: A Risk-Resilience-Vulnerability management model (Paton, 2008).

the response of the system, and the capacity for adaptive action”; consequently, “the points of convergence are more numerous and more fundamental than the points of divergence” (Adger, 2006).

Some scholars identify adaptability as the overlapping part between vulnerability and resilience (Chapin, 2009), highlighting that the two concepts can be interpreted neither as opposite nor as included one into the other, but as separate ones, although partially overlapping (fig. 2).

In both the mentioned interpretations (resilience and vulnerability as separate or partially overlapping concepts), it is clear that these concepts play a different role in risk mitigation processes and that strategies aimed at reducing vulnerability do not necessarily contribute to improve resilience in a given system and vice-versa.

### The conceptual ring-shaped model of Resilience

Beside the different interpretations of the relationships between vulnerability and resilience, the multidimensional character of resilience makes even more unclear which features of a system effectively induce resilience or which variables have to be taken into account to assess it (Cumming et al., 2005).

Hence, it is also difficult to understand if actions aimed at reducing some aspects of vulnerability may contribute to enhancing resilience or on which variables it is possible to act in order to increase resilience and reduce, in the meanwhile, vulnerability.

As mentioned above, currently resilience is widely recognized as a set of interrelated capacities and numerous conceptual models have been carried out according to different disciplinary perspectives (Norris, 2008; Gibson and Tarrant, 2010).

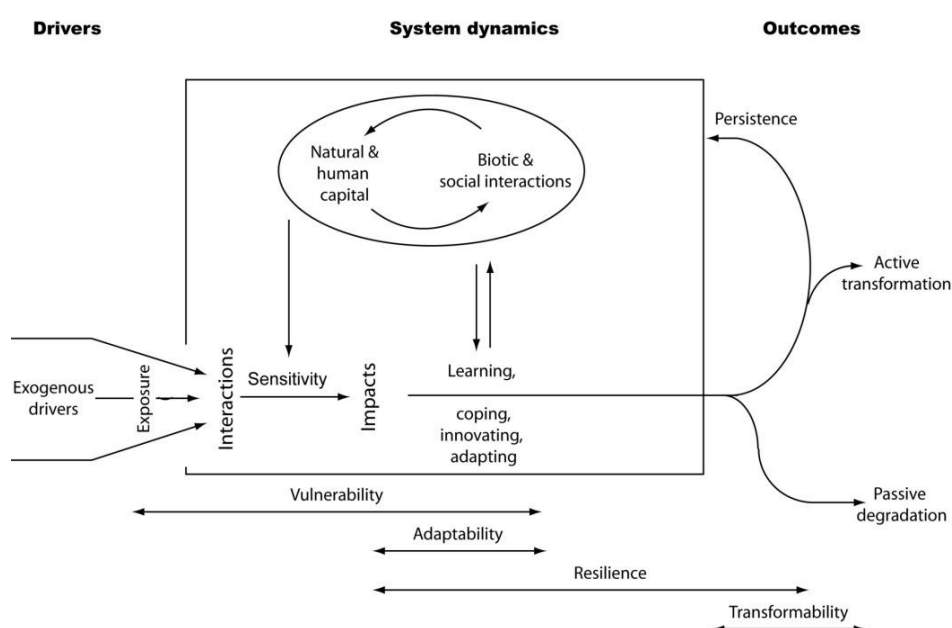


Figure 2: Vulnerability, adaptability and resilience (Chapin, 2009).

Nevertheless, these capacities/attributes/resources making a territory or a community resilient are still blurred and unshared.

To fill this gap, a careful review of current scientific literature has been carried out in order to better understand the concept of resilience and its key-components, as the starting point for defining the relationships between resilience and vulnerability and the roles that each of them might play in pursuing risk mitigation goals. In detail, the main studies developed in different scientific fields and focused on resilience have been analyzed and the main capacities or properties, which may influence the resilience of a given system, have been collected.

As shown in the table 1 – in which the main features stemming from scientific literature have been collected according to different typologies of systems – the ecological field and its extension into the socio-ecological domain offer fundamental remarks for singling out such characteristics (Folke et al., 2002; Walker et al., 2004). Fiksel's contribution (2003) grounds on a clear system perspective and couples the aspects of resilience with those referring to sustainable development. Godshalk's researches (2003), based on a planning perspective, provide some principles characterizing a resilient response of cities in face of natural hazards and terrorism.

In the same line, Chuvarajan et al. (2006) investigate how the improvement of resilience can be a strategy to reach sustainability and provide implementable measures to achieve resilience and sustainability goals. Maguire and Hagan (2007) recognize resistance, recovery and resilience itself as the main properties of a resilient community. In fact, in an ongoing process, a resilient community predicts and anticipates disasters, absorbs, responds and recovers from the shock and improvises and innovates in response to disasters. According to an economic perspective, the concept of redundancy in terms of "ability to respond to a disruption" has been introduced with a clear reference to the resilience concept (Van der Veen and Logtmeijer, 2005) and the properties of efficiency, rapidity and flexibility have been singled out as core elements for economic resilience (Briguglio et al., 2008).

The Multidisciplinary Center for Earthquake Engineering Research (MCEER) has provided a relevant contribution on resilience too, by developing the R4 model (robustness, rapidity, redundancy, resourcefulness) related to the resilience of social system in face of earthquakes (Bruneau et al., 2003). Chang and Shinozuka (2004) refined the Bruneau's approach by reframing the measure in a probabilistic context. Davis (2005) explored the concept of resilience before, during and after disaster impact and presented numerous case studies to highlight how resilience operates or fails.

Tierney and Bruneau (2007) reaffirmed the validity of the R4 framework in order to provide a range of strategies to enhance resilience, including mitigation-based ones, such as the development of a robust organizational and community capacity to respond to disasters, and the improvement of the coping capabilities of households and businesses.



AUTHORS	CAPACITIES/PROPERTIES	SYSTEMS
<b>Folke et al. (2002)</b>	Diversity, redundancy, adaptability, self-organization, transformability	Complex Adaptive Systems
	memory, experience and knowledge, innovation, learning capacity	
<b>Fiksel (2003)</b>	Diversity, adaptability, cohesion, efficiency	Systems
<b>Godshalk (2003)</b>	Diversity, redundancy, strenghts (resistance), adaptability/flexibility	Cities
	collaboration, interdependence, autonomy, efficiency	
<b>Bruneau et al. (2003)</b>	Redundancy, robustness, resourcefulness, rapidity	Communities
<b>Chang et al. (2004)</b>	"	
<b>Davis (2005)</b>	"	
<b>Tierney &amp; Bruneau (2007)</b>	"	
<b>Adger et al. (2005)</b>	Diversity, redundancy, spatial pattern	Ecosystems
<b>Van der Veen et al. (2005)</b>	Redundancy (including substitutability and transferability)	Economic systems
<b>Chuvarajan (2006)</b>	Diversity, redundancy, self-organization, memory, networks	Communities
	innovation, individual capacity, spatial scale interaction	
	temporal scale interaction, self-reliance, feedback	
<b>Maguire and Hagan (2007)</b>	Resistance, recovery, creativity	Social systems
<b>UNESCAP (2008)</b>	Redundancy, robustness, resourcefulness	Socio-ecological and economic systems
<b>Briguglio et al. (2008)</b>	Efficiency, rapidity, flexibility	Economic systems
<b>McDaniels et al. (2008)</b>	Robustness, rapidity	Infrastructures

*Table 1: The “Capacities/Properties” of Resilient Systems*

Based on the MCEER’s framework, the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific took into account only robustness, redundancy and resourcefulness as key-factors, coupled with resource efficiency, for strengthening efforts aimed at improving economic growth sustainability (UNESCAP, 2008). They excluded rapidity due to the fact that it largely depends on the degree of shock experienced. Finally, McDaniels et al. (2008), focusing on the infrastructural systems, developed a conceptual framework for understanding both the factors that influence resilience and the type of decisions that can be pursued to foster them.

The mentioned capacities and properties are clearly not exhaustive and other researches providing similar components in respect to different systems could be mentioned (Norris, 2008; Gibson and Tarrant 2010; Bahadur et al., 2010). Nevertheless, the main question to be faced here seems to be which role each capacity or property might play in enhancing systems’ resilience and how they are linked together. To answer these questions, the mentioned capacities have been in-depth analyzed (ENSURE Project, del. 2.2): some of them – being very similar to, or included in others – have been left out; others have been synthesized in one concept; then, the selected ones have been sorted into a ring-shaped model, articulated in three concentric rings, following the main phases of the disaster cycle (preparedness-impact-response-recovery).

Resilience has been placed in the core of the ring-shaped model, since it represents the final aim of the process addressed to enhance capacities, properties and resources that make a given system resilient.

Thus, in order to drive and support strategies and actions for enhancing resilience, the selected capacities and properties have been placed into the three rings according to a hierarchical structure – widely applied in planning – which links goals, objectives and strategies or actions. In other words, starting from the inner ring, capacities and properties placed in each ring represent a specification of the ones placed in the previous ring (fig. 3).

The inner ring includes robustness, adaptability and transformability: they represent, in our view, the main components of resilience, mirroring the end point of the evolutionary path of the concept itself. These components, related to different phases of the disaster cycle, can be also viewed as the main goals to pursue for enhancing the resilience of a system.

The intermediate ring includes capacities related to one or more of the three main components: these capacities can be interpreted as objectives to be achieved for enhancing the resilience components.

Finally, the outer ring includes properties or capacities which can be interpreted as strategies to be implemented for achieving the different objectives and enhancing resilience.

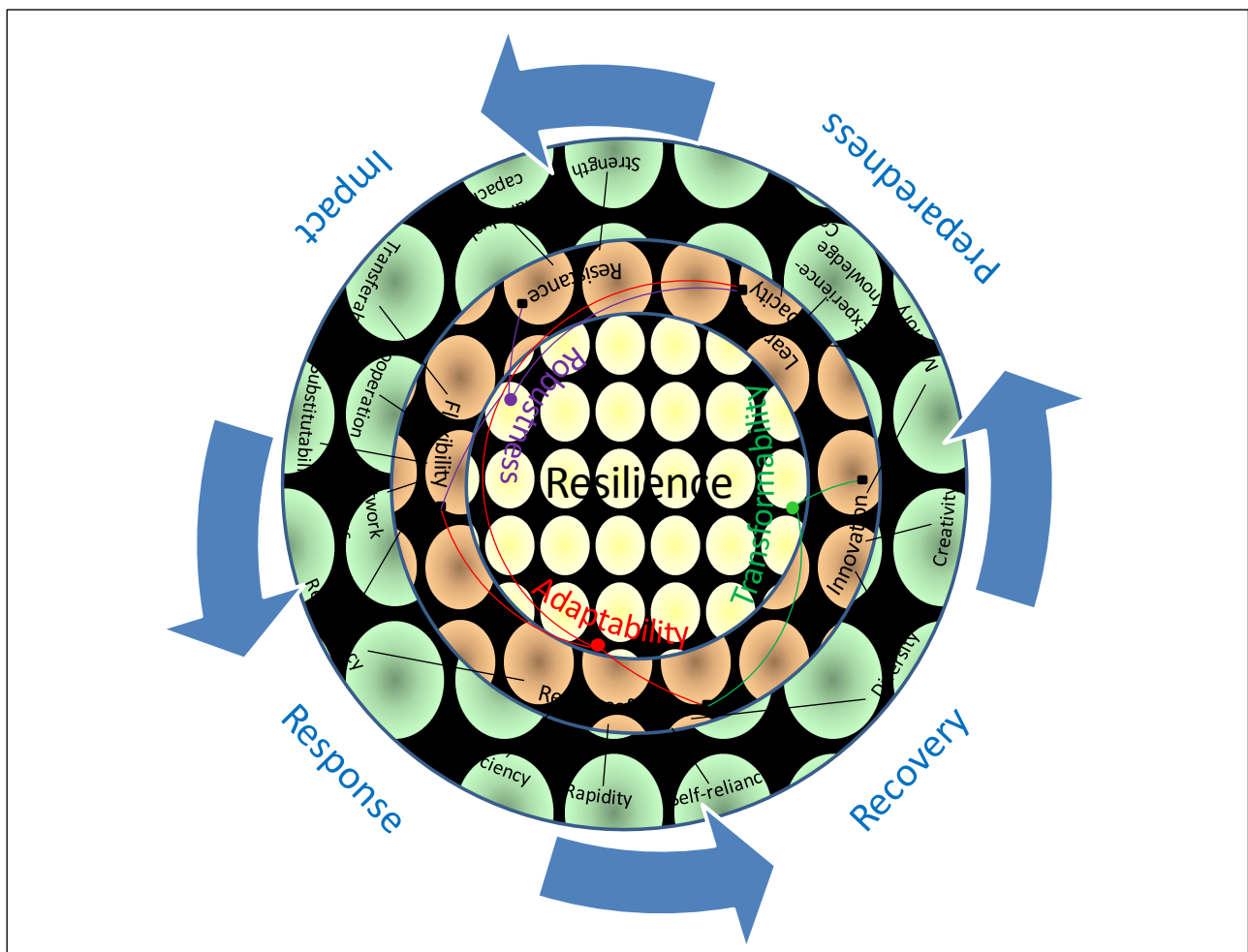


Figure 3: The ring-shaped model of resilience

### *The inner ring*

The meaning of resilience has evolved, as mentioned above, from an interpretation fairly close to the ability of a systems to withstand a given level of stress without suffering losses or failures (robustness), toward the capacity of a system to adapt in face of the consequences (in terms of losses or failures) of a hazardous event (adaptability), up to the possibility to turn a disaster into an opportunity, by creating new conditions, different and sometimes more desirable in respect to the pre-impact ones (transformability).

Thus, the three mentioned components – which are not linked together since they can be considered as three distinct sides of the resilience concept, gaining relevance in different stages of the disaster cycle – represent the main goals to be pursued for making a system resilient in relation to a wide variety of external stresses.

In detail robustness – which according to Gallopín (2006) can be interpreted as the flip-side of vulnerability – is particularly relevant at the impact “time”: a system can resist to the impact without showing any mark of weakening or suffering, at most, a temporary gap from its ordinary structural or functioning conditions.

Adaptability gains prominence in the short-medium term after the impact (response phase): according to its different levels of adaptability, a system can bounce back to the previous state or shift toward new ones. Finally, in the long term and namely during the recovery phase, there is room for change and innovation: hence, transformability comes on stage.

### *The intermediate ring*

Some of the capacities included in this ring are related only to one of the components mentioned above, others to more than one. In detail, closely related to robustness is resistance, which represents the capacity of a system to withstand a given stress or pressure or, in other words, how much a system can be displaced (or disturbed) by a given physical force. Resistance has been recognized as an important dimension of resilience by different authors; nevertheless, although it surely represents a positive feature at the occurrence of a hazard, it might also represent a negative feature during the response or recovery phases. For example, the resistance of an institutional system to adapt or change in face of an un-expected large size event may largely frustrate quick decisions and actions, as it happened during the emergency following the Kobe earthquake (Menoni, 2001).

Flexibility is recognized as crucial both for enabling a system to bounce back after being adversely affected by a shock (Briguglio et al., 2008) and for ensuring the adaptive capacity of a system (Godshalk, 2003). Thus, it contributes to increase, on the one hand, the adaptability and, on the other hand, the robustness of a system, by limiting the loss of functioning resulting from the impact. In this sense, it might include the concept of reliability, interpreted as the capacity of system to maintain its key-functions after a disturbance, which is clearly crucial for adaptation.

Resourcefulness has been identified as a key property for improving both adaptability, in the response phase, and transformability, during the recovery one. Moreover, transformability has been also related to the

innovation, which represents the ability of a system to reorganize itself in face of a disturbance. Innovation – arising over a long time span after the impact of a hazardous event – mainly characterizes the recovery phase. Finally, the capacity of learning from past events in order to foresee and cope with the future ones (Folke et al., 2002) has been recognised as a key-capacity, in relation to the preparedness phase, for increasing both robustness and adaptability.

### *The outer ring*

Each of the above mentioned capacities has been specified through a set of properties and capacities included in the outer ring. In detail, strength and individual capacity represent the main properties that might be improved for enhancing resistance. The former refers to the strenghtening of the built environment in face of hazards, the latter to the strengthening of individual actors within a system: from a social perspective, indeed, if individuals are healthy and have good individual resources, they will better deal with hazardous circumstances.

Flexibility can be enhanced through different properties or mechanisms aimed at overcoming dependency. Among them, transferability and substitutability (Van der Veen et al., 2005), relevant mainly to economic activities; spatial and organizational network patterns – designed or spontaneous – which can be singled out as properties ensuring a higher flexibility in respect to the hierarchical or monocentric ones; cooperation among the different actors within a system, especially by an institutional perspective; redundancy, relevant mainly to strategic activities and infrastructures. It is worth noting that cooperation can be also interpreted as a form of redundancy, in that it provides a multiplicity of opportunities that are very useful, especially in the immediate aftermath of a disrupting event.

Reundancy is widely recognized as key-property not only for increasing flexibility and reliability of a system but also for improving resourcefulness. Other key-properties to improve resourcefulness have been recognized in rapidity, viewed from an organizational perspective; efficiency, aimed at optimizing the available resources, making a rational use of them and self-reliance, which implies autonomy, satisfaction of needs through local resource, lack of dependency linkages.

Diversity is another property to strenghten for enhancing resourcefulness; it supports the richness and the variety of available resources. Diversity has been widely recognized as a crucial property of a system for coping with uncertainty and surprise, facilitating redevelopment and innovation following a crisis (Folke et al., 2002). Therefore, diversity has been also linked to the capacity for innovation. The latter depends also on another intangible resource, the creativity, which gains prominence after the end of the emergency phase, namely in the period generally defined as “window of opportunity” (Christoplos, 2006). Creativity plays an important role in the preparedness phase too: it should favor, indeed, the design of anticipatory scenarios taking into account events or synergies among them and among their impacts, characterized by a low probability of occurrence.

Memory and experience have been recognized as key properties for improving learning capacity; these properties are relevant both for the re-organization of a system after a disaster and for preventing future events, and largely contribute to increase knowledge (of events, damages, mitigation measure, best practices, etc.) which is crucial for an effective learning process too. Finally, learning capacity is also influenced by the level of cohesion existing within the community: in case of a good cohesion level, indeed, experience is more easily communicated and memory more easily preserved.

## **Conclusions**

Based on numerous studies and researches on resilience, the set of capacities and properties that make a system resilient in face of hazardous events and their mutual relationships have been identified and systematized into a conceptual model, aimed at driving and supporting strategies and actions for enhancing resilience. Such a model allows also to highlight common features and main differences between the two concepts under investigation in this contribution: resilience and vulnerability. In detail, the conceptual model of the main capacities and properties which determine the resilience of exposed systems allows to overcome the widely shared interpretations of resilience as the flip-side or as a component of vulnerability, by highlighting their overlapping and distinct aspects and the consequent relevance of both vulnerability and resilience in the different phases of the disaster cycle.

Thus, even though the flip-side approach is currently the most widespread one, the in-depth analysis of resilience interpreted as a set of interconnected capacities and properties lead us to conclude that resilience concept, since it includes the opportunity for change and transformation after hazardous events, goes far beyond the vulnerability concept. Therefore, elements and systems may be vulnerable to a given event and, in the meanwhile, they can be resilient in that they can turn disasters into opportunities for future developments.

In detail – as it clearly arises from the work carried out – some of the capacities and properties which make a system resilient, namely the ones coming on stage in the first phases of the disaster cycle, partially overlap to some aspects of vulnerability. These capacities refer to the potential of a system to withstand the impact of a hazardous event, in terms of capacity both of preventing or mitigating damage (robustness) and of reducing losses through an effective management of the emergency phase (coping capacity which is part of the wider concept of adaptation). Hence, capacities and properties enabling a system to resist change can be investigated in terms of vulnerability or, at the opposite, in terms of robustness.

Other capacities and properties, specifically related to the potential of a system to innovate itself after a disaster and to learn from experience in order to be prepared in face of change, can be better investigated in terms of resilience, since they are specifically related to the capacities or properties of systems allowing them, even though hit and damaged by a hazardous event, to adapt or change according to new conditions, modifying and sometimes improving their previous state. These capacities and properties are not directly

related to the vulnerability of the system itself but to general features of systems – such as the available territorial and social capital or the reliability of institutions, or the trust of communities in the institution themselves – which make them more or less capable to rebuild themselves after a calamitous event and to improve their capacity to withstand or cope with future events (Vale and Campanella, 2005). As stressed by Lynch (1990), “a city is hard to kill, in part because of its strategic location and its persisting stock of physical capital, and even more because of memories, motives and skills of its inhabitants”.

Transformability and the related capacities and properties come on stage, as mentioned above, in the recovery phase. Nevertheless, according to the features of the disaster cycle, they can influence vulnerability of a community to future hazardous events, in that reconstruction processes may facilitate the arising of new vulnerabilities or also the transfer of vulnerability from one area to another or from one group to another (Sapountzaki, 2007). Moreover, learning capacity – which represents a key feature of a resilient system, mainly in respect to the pre-event phase (preparedness) – may influence both robustness and adaptability and, consequently, all the aspects of vulnerability (from physical, to social and systemic ones).

Thus, resilience and vulnerability should be separately investigated over the different phases of the disaster cycle, even though – due to the fact that vulnerability can be largely influenced by some aspects of resilience – the influences that some capacities or properties of a resilient system might have on vulnerability facets (physical, economic, institutional, etc.) should be taken into account.

The choice to analyze the overlapping aspects of resilience and vulnerability under the lens of vulnerability is mainly due to the fact that relevant progress toward an effective assessment of the different facets of vulnerability has been done - even though an integrated assessment of vulnerabilities is still matter of on-going researches (e.g. Ensure Project) - whereas methods and tools for an effective resilience assessment are still at an early stage. Nevertheless, the choice to widen the focus from vulnerabilities to resilience is in line with the choice to shift policies “from an attempt to control change and create stability to managing the capacity of a system to cope with, adapt to, shape change” (Bahadur et al. 2010).

*Note:*

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## **Track 11: Housing and Regeneration Policies**

### **Track Co-Chairs**

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The repercussions of the recent global financial crisis created a new set of challenges for the actors engaged with regeneration and housing. Gone is the (misguided) certainty of economic growth fuelled by cheap credit and real estate price inflation. For many advanced capitalist economies the aftermath of that era will be unsustainable levels of public debt, over-leveraged households and a dysfunctional banking system that may hamper growth for years to come. It also appears that the unquestioned faith in market-led solutions which underpinned housing and regeneration policies during the last two decades has been seriously eroded. New social visions guiding regeneration policies and practices have to be formulated and with these new visions a different balance will have to be struck between the market and the state, between public and private, between the individual and the collective. What will the role of regeneration and housing policies be within that context? Will there be space for luxury in that new era and what will the new luxuries be? Will things like public space and social infrastructure, social and economic diversity, environmental standards, energy usage, design quality, construction quality, fitness for purpose and user friendliness become even more of a luxury themselves?

The track welcomes papers focusing on the following themes/questions:

- How have the existing housing provision models fared out and what new models are emerging, especially regarding the provision of high quality affordable housing in regeneration areas?
- In what ways are the roles of the state and the market in housing provision and in regeneration changing? What solutions are emerging for balancing risk, efficiency, affordability, quality and quantity of output? Which trends are currently emerging with regard to the importance of and the balance between new-built and adaptive re-use/renovation?
- What is currently the scope for housing and regeneration policies to affect the physical, social and cultural diversity/richness of regeneration areas? Has the discourse of mixed use, mixed community schemes gone out of fashion or is it becoming an even more crucial focus for policy in future? Are there indications that regeneration and housing policies are rebalancing their approach to satisfying household needs and preferences according to life cycle, household type, ethnicity, lifestyle or demographics?
- How much is there to be hoped for from alternative means and models? What kind of housing and regeneration initiatives are developing from the bottom up in an era of limited public and private resource availability? How could such bottom up community-led schemes be funded in the short run and maintained in the long run? What is the current policy response to such alternative models?

- What could the role of public goods be in future regeneration and housing schemes? Will good quality public space, the provision of hard and soft infrastructure and other public facilities become a luxury we are unable to afford or are these factors going to play a more important role in creating long term value in regeneration schemes? How could art play a role within such a regeneration context? Similarly, what could urban ecosystem services have to offer?

Academic contributions as well as more practice-oriented or policy-oriented papers are welcome. Interdisciplinary approaches tackling the transformations of regeneration milieus and associated processes would be particularly valued.

## **The New Localism: Evaluating the importance of Neighbourhood Governance in delivering Regeneration Strategies**

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Key words: neighbourhood governance; public services; central – local relations; community involvement; regeneration

### **ABSTRACT**

Neighbourhood governance is a particular institutional response designed to achieve a variety of civic, social, political and management objectives. Although it takes different forms, the core aims are: to engage residents, create partnerships, enhance representation and improve service delivery. It also reflects broader changes in the way an increasingly globalised society is regulated including the changing role of the state; the growth of partnership, the shift from government to governance and the increased focus on citizen-centred or network governance. This paper reviews the rationale and forms of neighbourhood governance which have been applied to a number of recent policy initiatives. It evaluates the lessons learnt from two recent government-funded programmes in England: the Neighbourhood Management Pathfinders and the New Deal for Communities programme. In addition, a detailed evaluation of one of the Pathfinders in the City of Westminster is drawn on. The paper concludes that neighbourhood governance has a number of different rationales but all have a common focus on the delivery of services and community engagement at the local level. A key finding is that it is a particularly important strategy for urban regeneration because of its holistic approach and commitment to community involvement. But there is no ‘best fit’ in terms of a model which can be applied uniformly in all contexts.

*Neighbourhood management is both the nagging thorn that prompts action and the facilitator that enables it.* (Basildon evaluator, quoted in SQW Consulting, 2008a: 89)

## Introduction

The neighbourhood has taken on increased significance since the 1990s as a focus for policy making, the primary building block for democracy and the arena for encouraging greater community participation in the planning and delivery of services. In Britain special teams, initiated by central and local government, have been established in areas of deprivation in order to develop generic strategies to address a wide variety of social, economic and environmental problems. Similar trends have been observed in European states such as France and Denmark (Smith *et al.* 2007, SQW Consulting 2008b). As will be discussed later, this focus on 'localism' brought together several sets of policies aimed at very different aspects of 'neighbourhood'. For instance, these include neighbourhood as local community, as a locus for service delivery and as a focus for civic engagement and democratic renewal. In England, various approaches to neighbourhood governance have been adopted. While the common characteristics are a focus on deprived areas, co-ordinating service delivery, leveraging resources and engaging residents, different initiatives have adopted a variety of rationales. Two different forms of neighbourhood governance to be discussed here are the New Deal for Communities (NDC) and the Neighbourhood Management Pathfinders.

More broadly, the neighbourhood has been drawn into the much wider debates about the changing role of the state: the growth of partnership, the shift from government to governance and the increased focus on citizen-centred or network governance (Klijn and Skelcher, 2007).

Yet as residents become increasingly drawn into the process of policy making and delivery, questions remain about accountability and transparency.

As some of these large programmes began to be evaluated it soon became evident that, while real benefits were being achieved in responsiveness and the quality of services, there are also significant barriers and limitations to working at this level. Furthermore, the neighbourhood was becoming a congested policy space where a multitude of different strategies were being applied. Much depended on the negotiation strategies of different professional and community interest groups.

This paper sets out to explore the centrality of neighbourhood in recent policy initiatives and will examine both the opportunities which arise for improving service delivery through community involvement and the barriers which this approach to regeneration creates. The paper will draw on the findings of two national evaluations of neighbourhood governance<sup>1</sup> (SQW Consulting, 2008a) and the New Deal for Communities (CLG 2010a, 2010b, 2010c). In addition, an evaluation of neighbourhood management in the City of

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<sup>1</sup> Neighbourhood governance is used here as a generic term that includes a variety of different approaches which: focus on localities of up to 15,000 residents; apply different forms of local representation; co-ordinate the delivery of services through partnership arrangements; and actively engage local communities.

Westminster (London) will also be referred to (Pill and Bailey 2010)<sup>2</sup>. The first section will include a brief description of neighbourhood governance and discuss the broader policy context. The second section will describe the rationale for the neighbourhood focus and the forms of neighbourhood governance. The third will illustrate the strengths and weaknesses while the conclusions will set out the dilemmas for the future.

In sum, the paper will be investigating the following questions: why has neighbourhood governance featured so heavily in British urban policy? What is the rationale for it and what combination of objectives are being addressed? Which aspects have proved most successful and which issues are less susceptible to change at the local level? The paper concludes by arguing that there is no standard unit for local administration and that 'best fit' emerges over time through the interplay and interactions of key stakeholders in neighbourhood governance.

### **What is Neighbourhood Governance?**

Although there had been earlier experiments carried out by local government, neighbourhood governance emerged as a new strategy in the UK with the election of the Labour government in 1997. The establishment of the Social Exclusion Unit and the publication of a National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal (SEU, 1998) heralded a strong commitment to 'bridging the gap between deprived areas and the national average' (SEU, 2000: 7) and addressing four key targets: worklessness, crime, health and better qualifications. Linked to this strategy, was the creation of a number of cross-departmental Policy Action Teams (PATs) to review the evidence and put forward recommendations. PAT 4 (SEU 2000) was set up to consider neighbourhood management.

Neighbourhood governance was seen as a priority at the time because it involved addressing issues of deprivation at the local level by working through local authorities and other service providers. It could also be linked closely with other initiatives such as the modernisation of institutions, the achievement of 'best value' in delivering services and the active engagement of residents over and above traditional democratic processes. This convergence of attention towards the neighbourhood level is reflected in wider trends in society. Widening differentials in income and local housing allocation policies were tending to aggregate the most disadvantaged populations in particular localities. Meanwhile, engagement with local democratic processes was in decline and there was a feeling that local government was becoming remote and failing to address local needs. The loss of a sense of 'community' stimulated a revival in the debate about building capacity and social capital in deprived areas (see Taylor 2007).

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<sup>2</sup> The author was involved in an evaluation of three Local Area Renewal Partnerships in the City of Westminster, one of which was also a central government funded Neighbourhood Management Pathfinder. See Pill and Bailey, 2010.

Above all, neighbourhood governance was seen as a way of recreating responsive and effective service delivery at the local level. ‘Its role should be to help deprived communities and local services improve local outcomes, by improving and joining up local services, and making them more responsive to local needs’ (SEU 2000: 7). The PAT 4 report goes on to define five principles:

- Someone with overall responsibility at the neighbourhood level;
- Community involvement and leadership;
- The tools to get things done;
- A systematic, planned approach to tackling local problems;
- Effective delivery mechanisms. (SEU 2000: 8-9)

The report also recommended setting up a series of neighbourhood management partnerships in deprived areas in order to test these ideas and identify best practice. In 2001 the Government funded 35 pathfinder partnerships in two rounds from 2001 for seven years each at a total cost of approximately £100m. The areas selected were both urban and rural and were chosen from proposals submitted by local authorities. Each area was awarded £3.5m over seven years to cover core management, running costs and to leverage projects. Each had an accountable body to manage the financial arrangements and while most were local authorities, a few were third sector organisations or registered social landlords. From April 2007 all pathfinder funding is delivered through Local Area Agreements, overseen by the Local Strategic Partnership in each local authority. Thus funding was fully integrated into mainstream central and local funding streams for the lifetime of the pathfinders. Projects were managed by boards made up of local authority officers and elected members, representatives of service-providers and local residents.

A parallel experiment in neighbourhood management was launched in 1999. The New Deal for Communities (NDC) involved transforming 39 of the most deprived areas of England over a 10 year period. The areas selected, with populations averaging about 10,000 each, received approximately £50m to address place-related outcomes: crime, community, housing and the physical environment; and people-related outcomes; education, health and employment. Partnership boards were set up in each area with members drawn from the local authority, service-providers and in most cases, local residents in the majority.

The neighbourhood management pathfinders and NDC projects were very similar in many ways in that they both addressed deprivation at the local level and developed innovative approaches to increasing the responsiveness of local service delivery. Both were staffed by officers who in many cases were seconded or

transferred from the local authority or RSLs and who reported to local boards. Since the NDCs were based in areas which fell within the 10 percent most deprived wards in the country, funding levels were higher and ran for a longer period of time. Another main difference was that NDC boards often had a majority of local residents and the scrutiny of funded projects was significantly greater. Because of the extent of central government funding, scrutiny of the NDCs was provided by the regional Government Offices and ultimately the Department of Communities and Local Government.

Another common characteristic of organisations engaged in neighbourhood governance is that they deploy what Johnstone (2008) calls ‘strategic added value’, where the focus is on targeting resources, engaging partners, identifying synergies and leveraging additional resources. The key dimensions are summarised in Table 1.

**Table 1: Neighbourhood Management: Forms of Strategic Added Value**

<p><b>Strategic leadership and catalyst:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Making things happen that would not otherwise happen</li> <li>• Acting as a spur to local partners to give higher priority to improve neighbourhood services and outcomes</li> <li>• Stimulating innovation</li> <li>• Initiating research/improving the evidence base on effective means of neighbourhood services and outcomes</li> </ul> <p><b>Strategic influence:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Encouraging local partners to think differently about resource allocation and multi-agency working</li> <li>• Prioritising action to tackle worklessness in theme partnership and locality plans</li> <li>• Mainstreaming neighbourhood renewal and community engagement in partner organisation policies and practices</li> </ul> <p><b>Leverage:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Leverage of resources for action to improve neighbourhood services and outcomes</li> <li>• Developing shared priorities with the local authority and partner agencies</li> <li>• Leverage of knowledge: sharing and developing knowledge in neighbourhood renewal and community engagement across partner organisations, including front line staff in agencies and the third sector</li> </ul> <p><b>Engagement:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ability to engage communities (neighbourhoods and communities of interest) in recognising the need for action and mobilising resident effort to make a difference</li> </ul> <p><b>Synergy:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Helping partners manage resources at neighbourhood level in ways that generate value for money gains</li> <li>• Using neighbourhood level budgets as a means of making collaborative action happen</li> <li>• Enabling partner organisations achieve and exceed their own targets</li> </ul>
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Source: Johnstone, 2008: 6



### **The Rationale for the Neighbourhood Focus**

The neighbourhood has particular attractions to policy-makers because it is manageable in size and has many 'taken for granted' attributes of sociability, familiarity and convenience in providing services and generating data. Assumptions are made about the interactions between residents and the extent to which they depend on local services in the immediate vicinity. Wider discussions about the impact of globalisation and the rise of the knowledge economy have hardly dented the commitment to this basic unit of democracy and community. The debates about the social construction of 'neighbourhood' (Jacobs 1994) and the complex interplay of the global and local (Brenner 2004) have still had relatively little impact. On the other hand, large amounts of policy-related research, such as by Burgess *et al.* (2001), have been putting the case for devolved approaches to local governance as part of a broader modernisation strategy. As Wallace (2010) argues, one of the major criticisms of New Labour's turn to community is that there has been insufficient research into how best to address neighbourhoods which are dysfunctional and discriminatory (Cantle 2005).

Despite the diversity of neighbourhoods, reflecting broader national and global social and economic trends, there remains a strong commitment to the concept. It will be argued here that this is because of arguments relating to convenience, familiarity, representation and efficiency.

#### *Convenience*

Fundamentally, the neighbourhood has the advantage of convenience in that it is a readily understood unit of social life and (sometimes) of administration which has immediate relevance to those living within its boundaries. It is easily accessible to citizens and it is convenient for those administering it to consult with interested parties. It is also likely that residents will feel most strongly about the quality of the environment and provision of services and will be able to contribute tacit knowledge to planning and service provision. Neighbourhoods are more likely to have a homogenous community which can express collective interests and locally elected representatives can get to know institutions and individuals identified as representing the community. The residual commitment to the neighbourhood may well reflect former eras where populations were less mobile and more homogenous than in many towns and cities today.

#### *Familiarity*

The rationale relating to familiarity is that the neighbourhood is perceived as the fundamental geographically defined social unit in towns and cities and is therefore the most important arena where social interaction takes place. It is argued that not only do residents know each other but are willing to interact in order to achieve public goods such as an improved environment and better quality services. The concept of social capital assumes that reciprocity and trust between citizens creates a resource which can be used to achieve wider societal goals such as regeneration. Where both bonding and bridging social capital exists, neighbourhoods may prosper but one or both are often largely absent in areas of greatest deprivation. The

existence of strong social ties (and bridging social capital) means that local governance is likely to be more effective and that new ‘governance spaces’ (Gaventa 2004) can be created which enhance the quality of life in the area. Experiments in different forms of neighbourhood governance are much easier to establish where strong social ties exist between residents and where service providers are already familiar with the needs and issues in the area.

#### *Representation and Accountability*

There are three key propositions here regarding local representation and accountability (Lowndes and Sullivan 2008). First, local residents are aware of the issues which affect them and can access the governance system more easily. Second, elected representatives are more accessible and therefore more likely to be responsive to local opinion. Third, local democratic processes are likely to be more transparent, the consequences of different actions at the local level are likely to be more visible and therefore it is easier to hold representatives to account. Again, these are very much suppositions which do not hold true in all areas. The debate about the ‘democratic deficit’, the new localism and the need to empower citizens reflect a range of responses to contrary evidence.

#### *Efficiency*

Arguments about subsidiarity often include assumptions about greater efficiency and effectiveness in the delivery of services. It is argued that at the local level services can be targeted towards specific groups and policy objectives, thus reducing waste. At the same time, governance institutions can be designed to reflect local interests and to engage those stakeholders or interests that might be excluded if services were provided at a higher level. The use of information technology means that data can be collected more readily and processed more effectively to support local policies. Building on this base, it is argued that the quality of services can be enhanced by moving towards co-production (Boyle and Harris 2008) and citizen-centred governance (Barnes et al. 2008). While financial evidence on the impact of different forms of governance is hard to come by, there is substantial evidence that increased expenditure through various forms of neighbourhood management can lead to higher levels of resident satisfaction and reduced expenditure at a later date (for example through crime reduction, improved health and life expectancy and savings on financial transfers such as unemployment benefit and tax credits).

It has already been established that neighbourhoods are socially constructed by those attempting to promote change in governance arrangements or quality of life. Although boundaries tend to be arbitrary, the assumption is often made that they contain between 1000 and 10,000 residents. Once defined, they then become a basic unit of administration. Lowndes and Sullivan (2007) identify four forms of neighbourhood governance, each accentuating different priorities for change. These are summarised in Table 2.

This table represents four ‘ideal types’ which help clarify the objectives of neighbourhood governance initiatives. In reality, they reflect the complex and frequently contested local policy environment where different stakeholders are operating and where outcomes reflect their institutional priorities and views of the world: A balance of power is struck between the competing interests. The two national neighbourhood governance programmes under consideration here (Pathfinders and NDC) are atypical in that rules of engagement and priorities are largely determined at a higher level of governance and then ‘imposed’ with additional funding offered as an inducement.

**Table 2: Forms of Neighbourhood Governance**

	Neighbourhood empowerment	Neighbourhood partnership	Neighbourhood Government	Neighbourhood management
Primary rationale	Civic	Social	Political	Economic
Key objectives	Active citizens and cohesive communities	Citizen wellbeing and regeneration	Responsive and accountable decision-making	More effective local service delivery
Democratic device	Participatory democracy	Stakeholder democracy	Representative democracy	Market democracy
Citizen role	Citizen: voice	Partner: loyalty	Elector: vote	Consumer: choice
Leadership role	Animateur, enabler	Broker, chair	Councillor, mini-town halls	Entrepreneur, director
Institutional forms	Forums, co-production, third sector asset transfer	Partnership, management board	Town councils, area committees	Contracts, charters, action plans

Source: adapted from Lowndes and Sullivan 2008: 62

Neighbourhood empowerment seeks to promote active citizens who willingly participate in community affairs and local decision-making and to shift the balance of power in favour local communities (Bailey 2010). The key leadership role is one of community development where groups are encouraged to work together to attain an improved quality of life in the area. An important objective is social cohesion where priorities include creating bridges between different sections of the community and engaging hard to reach or seldom heard minorities. From this form of governance new initiatives of co-production emerge and in some cases community-based organisations take over assets from public bodies which are then managed in the interests of the local community.

Neighbourhood partnership expresses the intention of bringing together disparate interests in an area in order to 'join-up' services and address those issues which in the past have proved too difficult or fallen outside the remit of any one organisation. By brokering between competing and possibly factional interests, stakeholders can be persuaded to work together towards collective goals and in order to maximise the use of existing resources. Key attributes are trust and consensus building between stakeholders and these qualities may well emerge through social interaction between individuals who agree to work in partnership. If boards or other institutional arrangements are set up, much depends on the leadership and brokerage skills of key players such as the Chair.

Neighbourhood government reflects the political priorities of working at the local level. An important corrective to the perceived failings of democratic accountability is to establish smaller, local forums or area committees which to some extent recreate the transparency and accountability of local government. Earlier attempts at decentralisation achieved limited success and proved unduly expensive (Burns et al. 1994).

Neighbourhood management stresses the importance of re-ordering and combining local services in accordance with an agreed strategy to meet the needs of a particular locality. It 'empowers front-line managers, enabling them to respond to citizens' needs and so improve allocative efficiency by 'joining-up' separate services, developing new services and even abolishing outmoded modes of delivery' (Lowndes and Sullivan 2008: 66). A high level of community involvement is essential to inform policy-making. Local strategies often stress consumer choice and a greater emphasis on prevention and reducing higher levels of expenditure at a later date (for example through crime prevention, reducing drug dependency and teenage pregnancy, healthy living and measures to increase access to employment). Effective management also depends on having a committed, inter-disciplinary staff team based in the area. Research carried out as part of the national evaluation of the Pathfinders suggests that neighbourhood management is now operating in 27% of local authorities in England, covering an estimated population of 4.2 million people in nearly 500 neighbourhoods (SQW Consulting 2008a: 79).

### Assessing the Strengths and Limitations of Neighbourhood Governance

This section discusses the key findings from recent national evaluations of neighbourhood management pathfinders (SQW Consulting 2008a), the NDC programme (CLG 2010a, 2010b, 2010c), and a local evaluation of neighbourhood management in the City of Westminster (Pill and Bailey 2010).

Tables 3 and 4 below summarise the key findings from these three studies.

**Table 3: Research Findings identifying the Strengths of Neighbourhood Governance**

	Neighbourhood management pathfinders	NDC programme	NM in Westminster
Organisation	Works best in areas of 5-15,000 people	Natural boundaries hard to identify	4 most deprived wards selected as LARPs with max. of 12,000 population
A local area team	A good calibre team is essential.	Having a strong local presence is important; effective leadership skills essential	Very committed and mainly seconded from LA and RSLs, sub-contracted to Paddington Development Trust
Partnership working	Police, LA services, PCT active partners. Evidence of joining up and holistic approach	Partners with a local area focus tend to be more engaged Evidence of joining up and holistic approach	Good but varying inputs from national agencies.  Evidence of joining up and holistic approach
Community involvement	A strong commitment, average of 37% residents on boards	A strong commitment, residents in the majority	A strong commitment. 6 residents out of 22 on Church St board
Policy issues best addressed through NM	Police, community safety, environmental services and private rented housing show most improvement	Different policies require different time scales. Most impact on place-related issues. Mental health improved	Works well where links are through the council or where individuals are particularly committed
Action plans and targeting resources	Systematic programme with a limited range of priorities	Annual delivery plans prepared	Neighbourhood plan agreed by the LSP
Links with local government	Must be good but additional costs often hard to justify	The most important relationship	Well established through personal contacts and seconded staff
Links with central government and agencies	A source of additional funding subject to central government requirements and evaluation	a source of additional funding	Only through centrally funded agencies, eg NHS
Accountability and transparency			

Role of elected members		Represented on board	Strong support from MP and some councillors. 3 ward councillors on Church St board
Funding period	7 year funding period	10 years but continuation strategies being prepared	From 2003 to present
Monitoring and appraisal	National evaluation – lessons learnt across 35 areas	National evaluation – lessons learnt across 39 areas	

The strengths of neighbourhood governance relate to the allocation of staff and resources to specific locations with populations of less than 15,000 residents, whose role is to develop a strategy to reduce deprivation and improve service delivery. Key stakeholders and residents are represented on a board which oversees strategy and implementation. Community involvement is a major aspect of neighbourhood management in order to respond more effectively to local needs. Adopting a holistic approach is a major strength yet evidence suggests that place-related issues are easier to address at the local level. Also different policy objectives may require differing time periods to achieve the required outcomes. Good organisational links with the local authority and other agencies are vital for the success of the programme (preferably on a one-to-one basis). However, the presence of new forms of governance may require elected members to adjust to new circumstances and act more as facilitators than as representatives of the community. Continuity of funding is obviously an advantage but evidence suggests that fixed term programmes require careful thought about continuation strategies.

**Table 4: Research Findings identifying the Limitations of Neighbourhood Governance**

	Neighbourhood management pathfinders	NDC programme	NM in Westminster
Organisation	Limited funding period	Limited funding period	Limited funding period
A local area team			
Partnership working			
Community involvement		Difficult to assess the impact. Some confusion about aims and objectives	Recreated very positive attitude towards council and service providers
Policy issues best addressed through NM		Limited impact on worklessness and education	
Action plans and targeting resources			Produced but not distributed widely; many policy objectives

Links with local government	Uncertainties about how improved services will be maintained	Uncertainties about how improved services will be maintained	Uncertainties about how improved services will be maintained
Links with central government		Changing policy context; increasing importance of national targets	Only through public agencies, eg NHS
Accountability and transparency	Mainly good for those in relevant networks	Mainly good for those in relevant networks	Mainly good for those in relevant networks.
Role of elected members			Often uncertain of NM and how to relate to it
Funding period	Central funding for 7 years – future uncertain	Funding expires after 10 years	Uncertain future
Monitoring and appraisal	Most partnerships lack skills for this task and should seek help from larger organisations	These should be introduced from the beginning	Little monitoring of impact or outcomes. Lack of data to provide evidence of impact. Internal and through LSP

The initiatives discussed here have all the limitations of time-constrained area-based initiatives. Teams and representative boards are established and additional funding is available for a fixed period. Resources can thus be targeted effectively but in the longer term, questions arise about whether the higher level of resource input can be justified and where revenue funding will be found for the future.

Other limitations of neighbourhood management relate to the difficulties of collecting measurable data, for example on the impact of community involvement strategies. The NDC national evaluation found that some policy areas were difficult to address effectively at the local level and they highlighted education and employment. In the Westminster case, the annual action plan contained a large number of objectives with low levels of resources attached and the plan was used mainly for internal purposes and not widely publicised. The NDC evaluation also identified the changing central government policy context as a major constraint. In all three cases, transparency and accountability were significant issues since only those with direct contact were aware of the projects. In all cases researchers identified weaknesses in procedures of monitoring and evaluation so that evidence of outcomes was not always collected on a regular basis. In Westminster, there was evidence that local councillors were not always aware of the benefits of what neighbourhood management was and how it was integrated into the administration of the City Council. As with all fixed-term funded projects, how the momentum is maintained becomes an important political issue.

## Conclusions

In this concluding section four major themes relating to neighbourhood management are discussed. These both reflect on the research reviewed earlier and suggest possible directions for the future.

The first theme relates to the multiple objectives of neighbourhood governance which often are overlaid and may become confused in the same project. As Lowndes and Sullivan (2008) note, the focus on the neighbourhood can take four forms: Empowerment, partnership, government and management, but the majority of examples include more than one of these. The Pathfinders and NDC are in some ways exceptions because of their origins as central government policies with a particular set of rules and funding procedures 'imposed' on designated areas from above. Yet even these two initiatives combined improvements to services with empowerment of local communities and better working relationships between stakeholders.

A second theme concerns what Pierre (2009) calls network governance. He asks 'is network governance compatible with traditional democratic government'? (p.600) It can be argued that the trend towards new forms of governance and 'stakeholderism' has accentuated consumer choice and service quality at the cost of democratic accountability. Pierre argues that there has been a shift in the role of the state leading to the intrusion of a variety of informal, intermediary organisations between the state and citizen:

Whether inclusive or exclusive, networks cater only to the interests of their members and not those of the larger polity. An additional problem is the transparency of networks. These organisations may be internally open but offer little transparency to those outside the network'. (Pierre 2009: 600)

Thus while these new forms of governance may bring real benefits to the areas they cover, they may well lack the formal mechanisms for ensuring democratic accountability and conflict resolution for the wider polity. What has been called 'New public Management' has been with us for almost three decades but the wider implications for central-local relations has received relatively little attention (Laffin 2010). Neighbourhood management can be seen as both a response to shifts in national policy and the failure of central government to deliver joined-up policy at the local level.

Third, neighbourhood governance is a particularly appropriate organisational framework for delivering urban regeneration policies. It encourages innovation and holistic approaches to service delivery; it engages partners in devising strategies to achieve collaborative advantage; and it emphasises the importance of the role of communities in planning and implementing area-based regeneration.

The importance of establishing a local base and engaging the local community is the fourth theme. All the examples discussed above have developed very good working relationships with particular localities and applied effective, face-to-face social skills in encouraging effective partnership-working. Understanding the area and its needs, exploiting the tacit knowledge of residents, engaging local voluntary and community



organisations in a single strategy are all important parts of neighbourhood management. Indeed, these are probably the crucial factors in achieving successful outcomes.

Finally, where does neighbourhood governance go from here? The first point to note is that local government needs to appreciate the benefits of neighbourhood governance and to be aware of the whole-life savings resulting from preventative interventions. Thus although the staff costs and overheads may appear greater than with the remote, centralised provision of services, the wider benefits of responsive services based on community consultation need to be taken into account. Second, community organisations, such as social enterprises and development trusts, should be encouraged to play a much bigger role in the management of assets and the provision of services. Many of the NDC projects are converting into these kinds of third sector organisations as part of their continuation strategies. Some have acquired assets, such as land and office space, which will part-fund them as independent organisations.

As part of much larger, longer-term structural changes between the citizen and the state, the consumer and service provider, and central and local government, two recent developments are worth noting. The first is Total Place (HM Treasury and CLG 2010) where a number of local authorities are reviewing the way different sources of public funding impact on their areas. The second is co-production (Boyle and Harris 2009) where the normally unequal relationship between service provider and consumer is equalised so that both roles change. Thus:

No longer obsessively looking inwards to targets and procedures, but increasingly looking outwards to local neighbourhoods, to create supportive social networks, seeking out local energy where it exists to help deliver and broaden services, and seeing clients for what they can do, not just what they need. The idea is that by working alongside the people they are supporting, public services can dramatically increase their resources, extend their reach, radically transform the way they operate, and be much more effective. Co-production makes strengthening the core economy of neighbourhood and family the central task of all public services. (Boyle and Harris 2009:14).

The real challenge will be to see if this can be achieved in a period of severe restraint on public sector expenditure. The prospects of further central, top-down projects, such as those discussed here, are very unlikely. Yet early indications after the May 2010 General Election suggest that, with national deficit reduction being the key policy driver, a new debate will ensue about centralisation versus localism. The previous government was advocating 'double devolution' which is the transfer of power 'not just to the town hall, but beyond, to neighbourhoods and individual citizens' (ODPM 2006:8). More recently the Conservative party has argued for varying degrees of localism with a greater emphasis on community self-help (The Conservative Party 2009). However, three influential local authority leaders have recently advocated the transfer of responsibilities for unemployment benefits, community care and crime prevention

from central to local government but with no reference to neighbourhood governance (Barrow *et al.* 2010). No doubt this debate will continue within the new coalition government.

All the evidence indicates there is no best fit solution and that the debate will continue in the UK and elsewhere as to the level at which particular services can most effectively be delivered. Context is all and each locality needs to work out for itself how best to balance the competing demands of efficiency, effectiveness, responsiveness and accountability. But political philosophy, expenditure reduction and value for money will be the primary considerations.

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## **HARMONIOUS COEXISTENCE OF HOUSING AND MANUFACTURING IN INDUSTRIAL AREAS OF JAPAN**

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Keywords: regeneration of industrial site, compact city, space for living and working

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This paper examines current approaches to and challenges of town design and management in industrial areas with a large number of small and medium size factories in Japan. We focus on a detailed case study on town design and management in the Takaida district of Higashi-Osaka City. In this paper, the term "Harmonious Coexistence of Housing and Manufacturing" is defined as a conceptual aim of achieving sustainable development and building a "compact city" in an area with a mix of housing and workplaces. The preliminary findings of the study revealed that industrial area has decreased 29%, while residential area has increased 34% between 1983 and 2003, and the mixing of residences and factories has progressed. A large number of stakeholders has made it difficult to build consensus for a master plan of the district and there is therefore a need of introducing a new mechanism for drawing up the master plan.

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### **1. INTRODUCTION**

This paper examines current approaches to and challenges of the 'Harmonious Coexistence of Housing and Manufacturing' concept of town design and management in industrial areas with a large number of small and medium size factories in Japan. We focus on a detailed case study on town design and management involving housing and manufacturing in the Takaida district of Higashi-Osaka City in Osaka Prefecture. In this paper, the term "Harmonious Coexistence of Housing and Manufacturing" is defined as having the aim of achieving sustainable development of a 'Compact City' (DETR 1999) in an industrial area. The term 'Compact City' is a relatively new concept within the urban planning in Japan, but it has risen in importance since the introduction of the sustainable development. The motivation of this research is as follows.

- Sustainable development and a 'Compact City' through the coexistence of residential and working interests can be considered as global concepts, but little or no research has sought to achieve "Harmonious Coexistence of Housing and Manufacturing" in the Japanese context."
- There are many areas with a mix of residential and manufacturing property in Japan, because residential building is not prohibited in an industrial area under Japan's urban planning Act (Shimizu 2007).

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- In industrial areas with many small and medium size factories, there has been a mixed land use of residential and manufacturing since the 1980s, and many studies have been carried out (Ando, 1985). However, the findings of the research is only based on the time during the booming economy in the 1980s and also limited to prosperous industrial locations. Thus a new policy of mixed land use of residential and manufacturing is earnestly awaited based on new research.

This paper focuses on the Takaida district in Osaka Prefecture, which has many small and medium size factories, because the local government has proactively promoted "Harmonious Coexistence of Housing and Manufacturing" there.

## 2. OSAKA PREFECTURE

Osaka Prefecture is located in the centre of the Kansai region. As the capital of Osaka Prefecture (with an area of 1,869 km<sup>2</sup>), Osaka City (with an area of 221 km<sup>2</sup>) is the administrative, industrial, cultural, and traffic centre of the western part of Japan. It is the third-largest city in Japan, with a population of 2.7 million, and its gross domestic product (22 trillion yen), is second only to Tokyo. Figure 1 shows maps of Japan, Kansai Region and Osaka.



Figure 1 Maps of Japan; Osaka and the Kansai Region

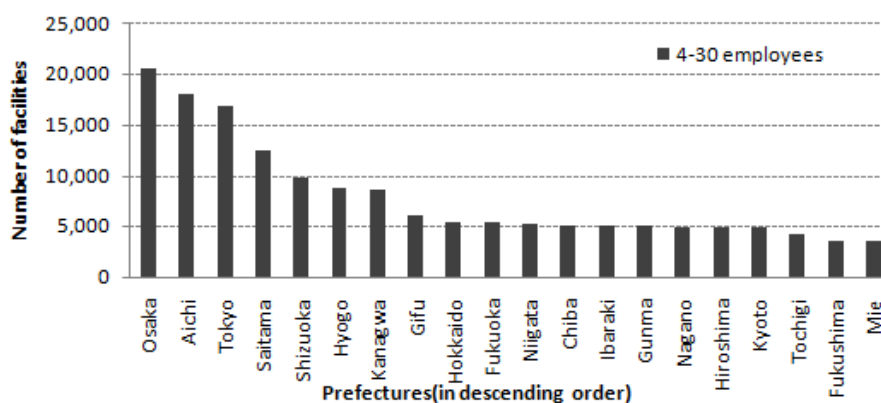
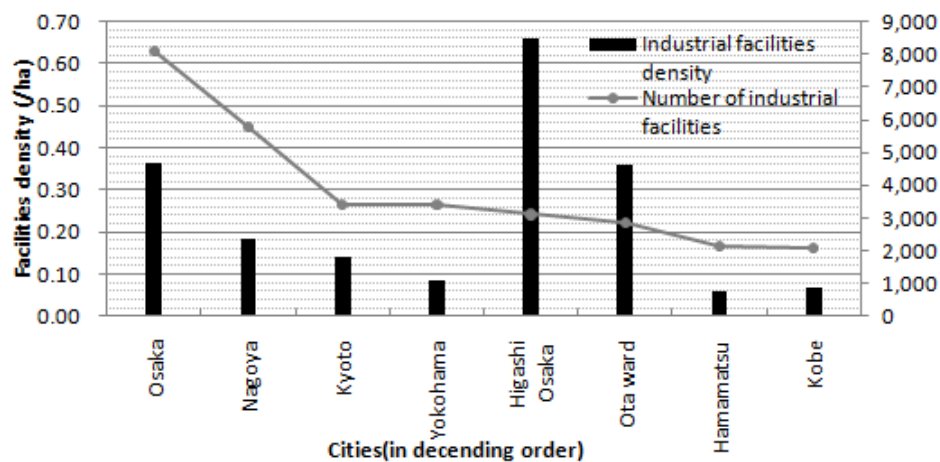


Figure 2 Number of manufacturing facilities in Japan (MoE 2007)



**Figure 3 Density of manufacturing facilities of key industrial cities (MoE 2007)**

Figure 2 shows the number of small to medium size manufacturing facilities (with 4 to 30 employees) in Japan for the top 20 prefectures. Osaka Prefecture contains the most manufacturing facilities for small and medium size businesses in Japan with 20,562 units (MLIT, 2009a). Figure 3 presents the density of manufacturing facilities in the key industrial cities in Japan. The density of manufacturing facilities in Higashi-Osaka City is 0.66 (number of factories/ha) which is the highest figure in Japan. Higashi-Osaka City (with an area of 61.81 km<sup>2</sup> and a population of 515,000) is located in the east part of Osaka Prefecture, and the east side of the city borders Osaka City. Takaida district, which is the target area of this research, is located in the west part of Higashi-Osaka City (Fig.4).



**Figure 4 Higashi-Osaka City and the Takaida district**

### 3. METHOD

Two stages are involved in this study to identify current approaches to and challenges of ‘Harmonious Coexistence of Housing and Manufacturing’ town design and management in an industrial area with many small and medium size factories.

- Stage 1 examines the perception of 81 local governments with respect to ‘Compact City’ and ‘Housing Close to the Workplace’ by a questionnaire survey.
- Stage 2 focuses on a case study of the Takaida district, which has many small and medium size factories. This stage will;
  1. identify the transition conditions of land use in the Takaida district by reviewing literature.
  2. identify the current approaches of local governments by interviews and field surveys.
  3. identify the awareness of administration and relevant stakeholders by interviews.

#### 4. PERCEPTION OF "COMPACT CITY" IN JAPAN (STAGE 1)

In the Stage 1, we have examined the perception of the local governments regarding ‘Housing Close to the Workplace’ and ‘Compact City’ by means of a questionnaire survey. The targets of this research are 81 local governments all over Japan. In Japan, the concept of "Housing Close to the Workplace" is, like "Compact City", which have spread across the nation (Japan?) with expectations of revitalising [for activation in] city centres. The contents of the questionnaire are shown in Fig. 5. We had distributed questionnaires to local governments and received from 65 return answers with a response rate of 80%.

Title	: <u>The survey of 'Compact City', 'Housing Close to the Workplace' and 'Activation in the city centre'.</u>
Survey item	: ① General questions about 'Compact City' ② Question about Attitudes towards 'Compact City' ③ Question about Problem of town development in your city
Objects	: 81 cities
Method	: Mail-in survey
Date	: 9.Dec.2009~24.Dec.2009
Answer	: 65 cities (80%)

Figure 5 Contents of questionnaire

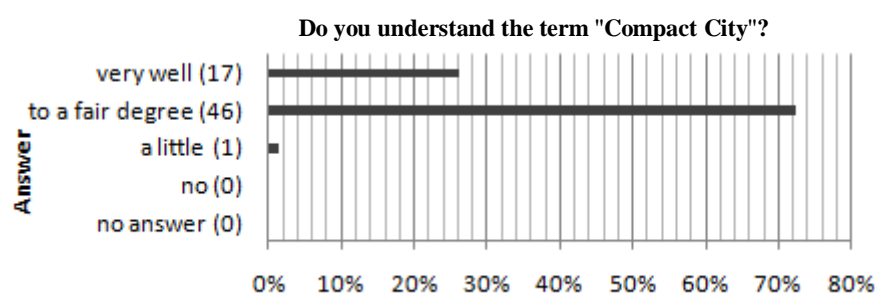


Figure 6 Results for Question 1

Figure 6 shows the results for Question 1; “Do you understand the term of Compact City?” It indicates that 27.0% of the local governments are "very well". And 70.8% of local governments are “to a fair degree”. Thus 98.5% of local government understand the term “Compact City” fairly well.

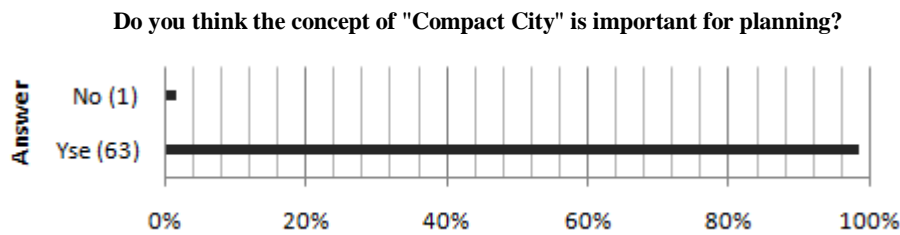
**Figure 7 Results for Question 2**

Figure 7 shows the results for Question 2; “Do you think the concept of Compact City is important for planning?” It indicates that proportion of “very well” and “to a fair degree” exceeds 98%.

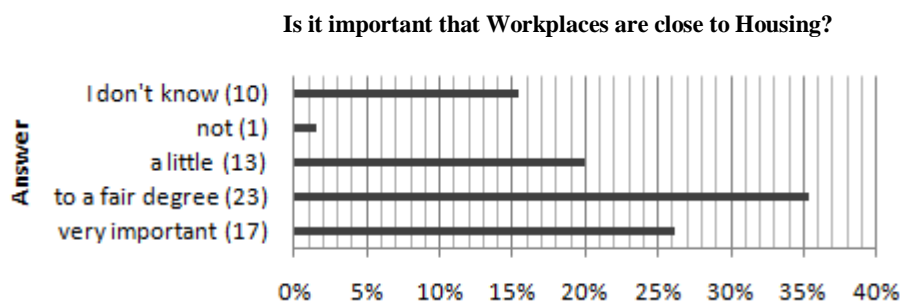
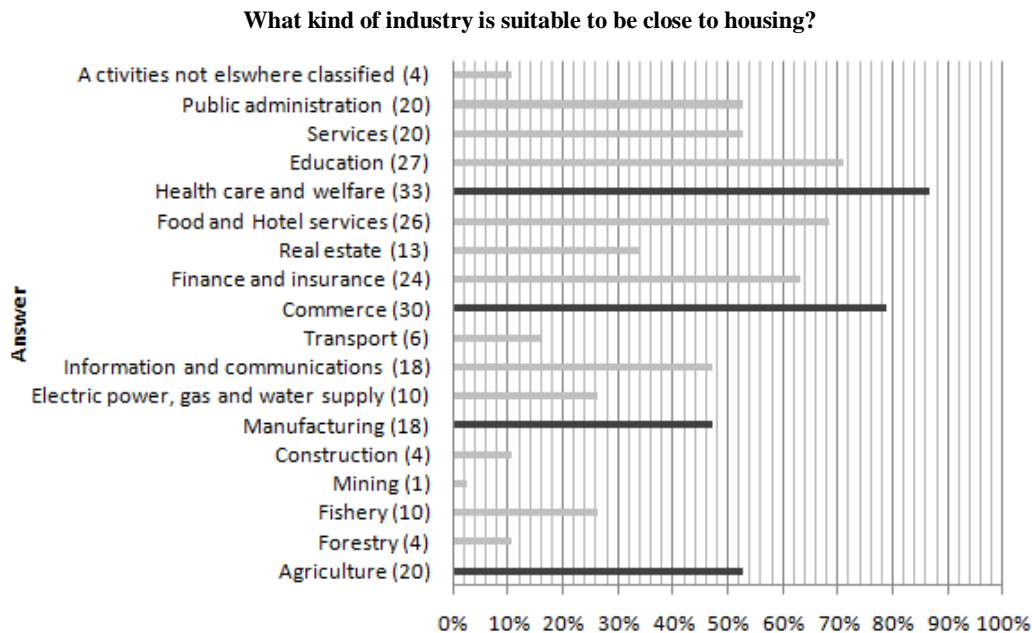
**Figure 8 Results for Question 3**

Figure 8 shows the results for Question 3; “Is it important that Workplaces are close to Housing?” It indicates that 27.0% of local governments are “very important” and 35.4% are “to a fair degree”. Thus 61.6% of local governments consider the coexistence of workplace and living space is important.

One local government who answered “very important” commented: “The concept of ‘Workplaces are close to Housing’ could help business, industry and housing in some areas and it is important to reduce heavy commuter traffic and CO<sub>2</sub> emissions.”

Another person who answered “to a fair degree,” commented: “Generally in regional cities, the urban structure is based on the assumption that we use cars, but it is certain that the number of elderly people who should not drive will increase in the future. So we should reduce dependence on automobiles, and thus we need to build a more compact city, so we need to improve public transportation. On the other hand, the concept of ‘Workplaces are close to Housing’ is not an urgent task compared to the issue of the increasing number of elderly people, because many workers drive, they can travel anywhere.”





**Figure 9 Results for Question 4**

Figure 9 shows the results for Question 4; ‘What kind of industry is suitable to be close to housing?’ It indicates that a suitable kind of industry is ‘Health care and Welfare’ and ‘Commerce’ with 75% or more, "Agriculture" with 52%, and "Manufacturing" with 47% respectively.

One local government officer commented: "I think it would be better if all types of employment were close to housing, but we should consider the living environment."

However, another respondent suggested: "I think ‘Workplaces are close to Housing’ is rather good, but ‘Coexistence of Housing and Manufacturing’ is not good, it is more of a problem."

The key findings of this stage are:

- 96.9% of local governments placed some degree of importance on the concept of "Compact City."
- 61.6% of local governments replied that the concept of "Workplaces are close to Housing" is important.
- 87% of local governments responded that "Health care and Welfare" facilities are suitable to be located close to housing, "Commerce" was 75%, "Agriculture" was 52%, and "Manufacturing" was 48.%

## 5. CASE STUDY OF TAKAIDA DISTRICT (STAGE 2)

The Takaida district has one of the highest density of manufacturing factories in Higashi-Osaka City (Figure.11), which has approximately 8,000 residents, and about 700 manufacturing companies are located there, employing more than 6,200 workers, producing shipments valued at around 110 billion yen a year (MLIT, 2003). Recently, many houses have been built on the sites of former factories which had discontinued operations following a change in the industrial structure of Japan.



Figure 10 Street view in the Takaida district

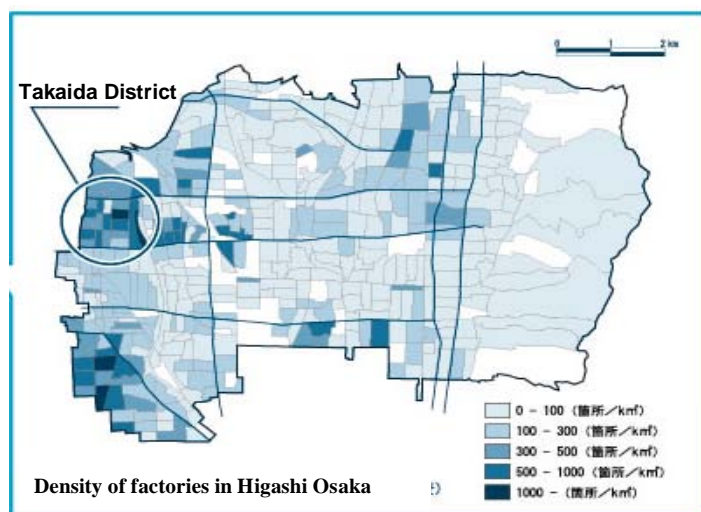







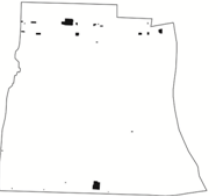


Figure 11 Density of factory in Higashi-Osaka City (MLIT, 2003)

### 5.1 CONTEXT OF LAND-USE

Figure 12 shows land use maps for each kind of industry in 1983 and 2003 (HCC, 2009). According to this, the amount of the industrial sites has decreased with more than 10,000 m<sup>2</sup> compared to 1983. On the other hand, the amount of the transportation sites in 2003 has increased with approximately 7,000 m<sup>2</sup> compared to

1983, and the amount of the residential sites has also increased with approximately 4,000 m<sup>2</sup>. Therefore, it indicates that the increase of mix of housing and manufacturing has been progressed between 1983 and 2003.

	Factories	Warehouses	Housing	Commercial
1983				
Area (m <sup>2</sup> )	361,236	27,184	118,584	24,491
2003				
Area (m <sup>2</sup> )	258,150	100,095	159,140	8,076

**Figure 12 Land-use maps for various industries in the Takaida district**

## 5.2 CURRENT APPROACHES AND CHALLENGES

The Takaida district has been facing to environmental and economical problems with the coexistence of housing and manufacturing. Many new houses and apartments have been built on sites of former factories which had closed down. And the number of new inhabitants who were unaware of the local industrial situation has increased. Confrontations between local residents and factory owners have therefore become intense. In addition, the benefit of the industrial accumulation has been lost, and the vitality and competitive power of Takaida has deteriorated. To tackle these issues the local government has promoted an establishment of 'Takaida local Committee of Town planning' (TLCT). Some current approaches and challenges for Takaida model project are shown below.

- Establishment of forum on manufacturing and learning in Takaida
- "Vision for a future town plan of Harmonious Coexistence of Housing and Manufacturing" proposed (TLCT, 2009)
- "Harmonious Coexistence of Housing and Manufacturing" to be incorporated in city planning
- "Takaida Rule Book" indicating goals of the town development (TLCT, 2009) (Fig. 14)
- "City and Respect in manufacturing project" authorized as one of model projects led by Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism (MLIT, 2009b)

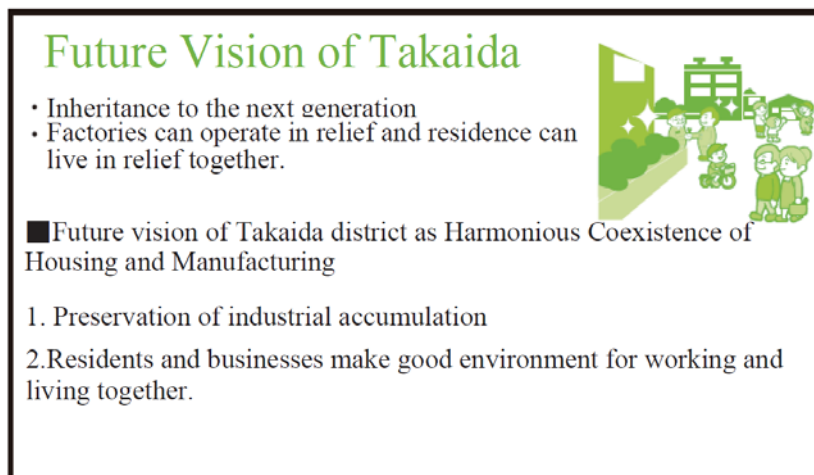


Figure 13 Future Vision for Takaida (TLCT, 2009)

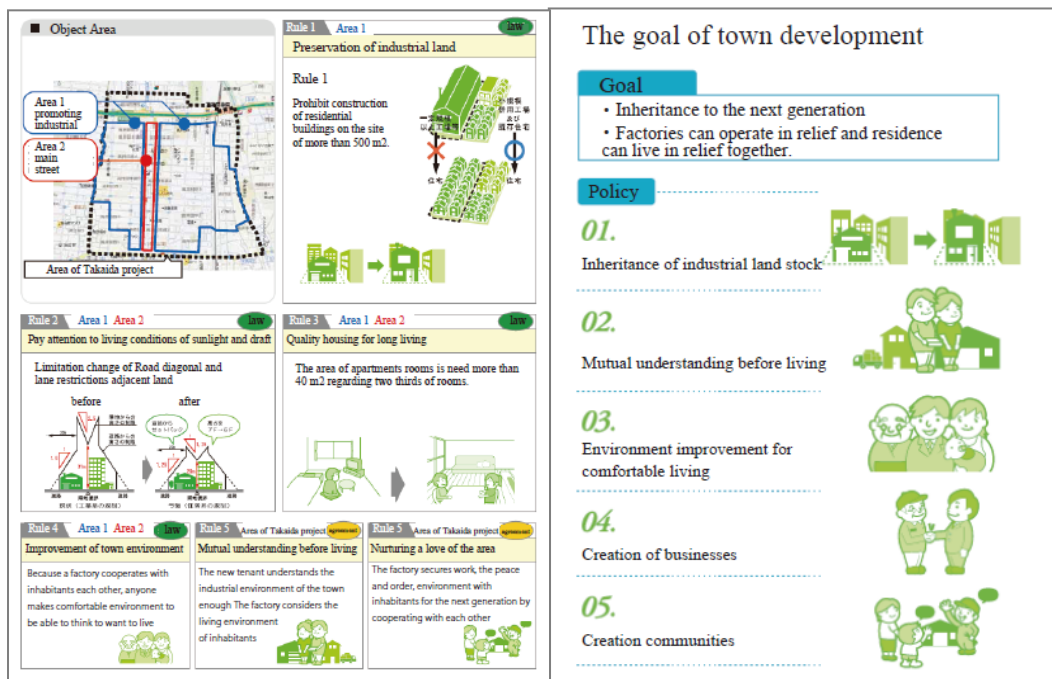


Figure 14 Takaida Rule Book (TLCT, 2009)

### 5.3 ROLE OF STAKEHOLDERS

We interviewed two stakeholders (i.e. a local government official and a town planning consultant) to assess the impact of the concept of ‘Harmonious Coexistence of Housing and Manufacturing’ on town planning. Their comments are summarized in Table 1. A local government officer commented: "We should keep the accumulation of small and medium size factories because they support industry in Higashi-Osaka City. But since there are more than 3,000 landowners in the Takaida district, it is difficult to build a consensus for drawing up a master plan. It will be important to review or introduce a new system to make the master plan easily in such a region in the future."

A consultant commented, "Factory owners hesitate to make investment for facilities because they concerned about complaints by inhabitants, especially new. If investment is reduced due to the risk of mixed industry and housing, the number of factories will decrease further. So it is high risk, for factory owners, to increase housing."

Local government of Higashi-Osaka City is concerned with making a master plan for town design and management. In contrast, the consultant is concerned about a reduction in the investment in the Takaida district due to the risk of mixed land use of manufacturing and housing. But both of them are in favor of keeping the accumulation of small and medium size factories for the benefit of Higashi-Osaka industry.

**Table 1 Results of interviews**

	Local Government	Consultant
problem consciousness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The concern about collapse of the industry accumulation in Takaida district</li> <li>• The new apartment is located on the old site of a certain scale plant, causing a conflict with the existing plant.</li> <li>• We should keep the small factories accumulation because they support industry in Higashi-Osaka City.</li> <li>• There are more over 3000 land owners and leaseholders in Takaida area, it is difficult to build the consensus for making the master plan.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It is high risk for factory owner to increase housing.</li> <li>• If it is happen to reduce investment due to the risk of 'mixed industry and housing', factories would more decreased in future.</li> <li>• Dropping in land prices, residential development occurs.</li> </ul>
role	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• We cooperate in the establishment of the consociation for town management.</li> <li>• We draw up upper level plan</li> <li>• Quarification for the master plan of town management</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• We explain the problem of town planning for people living in that area.</li> <li>• Adjustments of local government and people</li> <li>• Making future 'vision'</li> </ul>
support activity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Subsidization</li> <li>• Sending a consultant</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Advice about making town planning</li> </ul>
problem	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It is difficult to regard public opinion without over 30% of land owner's answer of the questionnaire survey for master plan in Takaida district.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It is important to carry out 'vision' in future.</li> </ul>
future	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Each section need to think about specific measures for future 'vision'.</li> <li>• It was important to stop collapse of accumulation of factories and to keep the living environment in Takaida and will make the master plan using planning system of district in Takaida.</li> <li>• It would be important to review or manage a new system to make the master plan easily in such a region in the future.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rules reviewed every ten years.</li> <li>• We need to monitor this district.</li> <li>• It is necessary to enhance the interaction between factories and residents.</li> </ul>

The key findings of this stage are:

- The amount of the industrial area decreased with approximately 29%, while the residential area increased with 34% between 1983 and 2003 in the Takaida district. It indicates that the mix land use of housing and manufacturing has been progressed between 1983 and 2003.
- In order to conserve the factories and its concentration, local government is required to draw up a master plan of the Takaida district to restrict the construction of housing with a floor area of 500 m<sup>2</sup> or more.
- There are more than 3,000 landowners in the Takaida district, thus it is difficult to build a consensus for drawing up a master plan. It would be important to review or introduce a new system to make the master plan easily in such a region in the future.

## 6. CONCLUSION

We examined the current approaches to and challenges of "Harmonious Coexistence of Housing and Manufacturing" town design and management in an industrial area with many small and medium size factories in Japan. The key findings of this paper are:

1. Most local governments place some degree of importance on the concept of 'Compact City'. The half of local governments considers that the concept of 'Workplaces are close to Housing' is important. Moreover, about 30% of local governments consider that manufacturing can be suitable to be suitably located close to housing from the standpoint of 'Compact City'.
2. In order to conserve the factories and its concentration, the local government of the Takaida district is required to draw up a master plan to restrict the construction of housing with a floor area of 500 m<sup>2</sup> or more. There are more than 3,000 landowners in Takaida district, thus it is difficult to build a consensus for drawing up a master plan

In Japan, most local governments consider that the concept of a sustainable city such as a "Compact City" is important. Some local governments consider that manufacturing industries can be suitable to be located close to housing, and this is evident from the fact that they already have some mixed areas of housing and manufacturing. In addition, the mix of housing and manufacturing is progressing in the Takaida district—although it is one of the highest density areas of manufacturing facilities in Japan. Regarding their approach to "Harmonious Coexistence of Housing and Manufacturing" town design and management in the Takaida district, both Higashi-Osaka City and the town management consultant have recognised that it would be a problem to increase housing land use in this area because it would cause the decreasing number of factories. For the next step, we need to identify the appropriate balance of residential and industrial land use to follow up this current study. We will examine in detail the relationship and key stakeholders and identify a new concept on mixed use of residential and manufacturing space, for achieving sustainable development in districts like Takaida.

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## **Track 12: Mobility: Transport Planning and Policy.**

### **Is Mobility a Luxury?**

#### **Track Co-Chairs**

Luca Bertolini, University of Amsterdam

Tapio Luttinen, School of Science and Technology, Aalto University

Since the industrial revolution mobility has grown exponentially. In contemporary industrialized societies people typically travel in one day the distance that before industrialization they used to travel in one year. Mobility, and particularly by car, has become a major item of personal consumption, the second most important after housing. Similar explosive growth trends apply to freight transport. The recent, breathtaking progress in information and telecommunication technologies has not resulted, as some had anticipated, in any reduction in flows of people and goods. Rather, growth in the one seems to reinforce growth in the other, while new combinations of virtual and physical mobility are unfolding ('telecommunicating while travelling'). As a result, contemporary societies and economies are strongly intertwined with mobility. We have come to depend on it, as we realize when the transport or telecommunication system breaks down, or when for personal reasons we are not able to access it.

To those that could afford it, mobility has granted a degree of access to resources (jobs, services, social contacts, markets) unthinkable without it, and this has greatly contributed to the enrichment of lives and the flourishing of businesses. Mobility is however, not without a cost. Present mobility patterns are not sustainable. Transport is a major contributor to the disruption of natural and human environments. While there might be significant progress in some directions (as with conventional pollutants) there is little in other (as with greenhouse emissions or space consumption). And while there might be some signs of decoupling of economic growth and transport growth in some developed countries, in most of the rapidly industrializing and urbanizing, developing world the negative trends overwhelm the positive.

Transport and land use planners are faced with a complex dilemma, and a huge challenge. How can we achieve a transition to sustainable mobility and yet acknowledge the deep intertwining and even dependence of contemporary lifestyles and businesses on mobility? Is mobility a luxury we can do without? Or is it rather a basic need? And if we agree that at least some mobility is a luxury we cannot afford anymore, how to curb it? Will people accept to give up this luxury when they have it, and give up the dream of it when they don't have it yet? Why? How? And more specifically: which sort of planning strategies and policy instruments can help us through this transition? What is the role of transport and land use planning and policies? And what are other planning and policy domains that need to be involved? What are the carrots (developing alternatives for



mobility) and what the sticks (charging for mobility), and how to combine them? Finally, what does this all means for our cities? Can a city thrive without mobility? In which way?

## **The dead end of demand modelling: supplying a futures-based public transport plan**

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This paper discusses the transport planning issues that are exposed when new accessibility tools have been employed, designed to address the challenge of providing accessibility by public transport as a serious alternative to car use. Research from case studies in Perth and Brisbane is reported. The paper discusses the benefits of focussing on metropolitan-wide supply side modelling as opposed to simply applying demand forecasts; the need to, and challenges of, setting benchmarks that define quality public transport and accessibility; the need for iterative review by setting long term visions and back-casting as well as looking forward from current city structures. The analysis has raised some interesting questions. It is evident that the past practice of incremental and ad hoc changes to the public transport network will not meet Australia's transport challenges in a timely fashion. What is needed is a step-change, but this requires both a long term view of future city size and structure (a challenge for land use planners who have thus far not planned in this way) and considerable public funding in the short term (where public transport has traditionally been underfunded relative to private transport). It is questionable whether the required rate of change can be achieved.

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### **Introduction**

Australian cities are in the midst of a significant change in transport infrastructure provision, acknowledging the need to provide accessibility by public transport as a serious alternative to car use. This has raised new challenges for land use and transport planners. It has become evident that there has been an absence of policy tools that usefully inform key decisions about the extent of future public transport networks and their location in relation to accessibility improvements. It is apparent that traditional strategic transport demand modelling, with its weaknesses in considering induced demand and travel time savings, cannot serve this challenge alone. Traditionally, strategic transport modelling tools have been based on extrapolation of past

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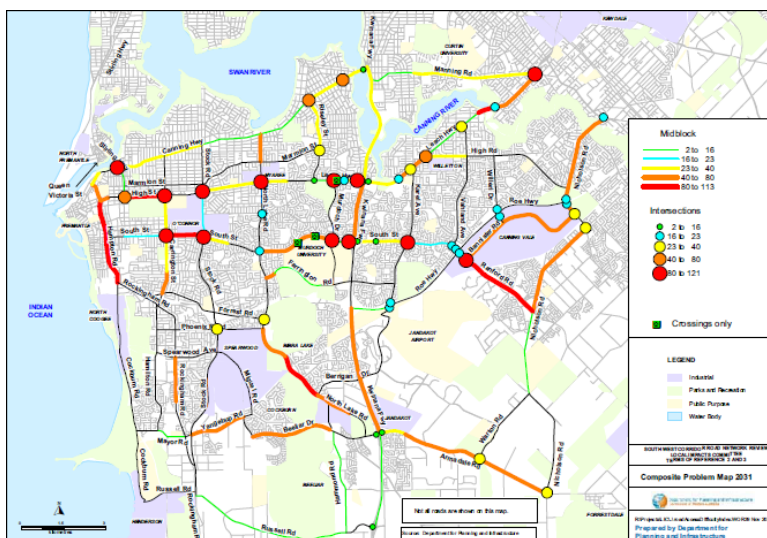
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trends, focussed on planning for private car travel, and the dominant policy response has been demand satisfaction by private car travel.

Urban transport planning continues to rely heavily on positivist, analytical frameworks to assist decision-makers in ‘solving’ transport problems (Banister 2002:22). Vigar’s (2002; 2006) work shows how technical assessments are often used to focus transport policy onto specific infrastructure ‘schemes’ and ‘hard’ engineering projects, producing appraisals of network capacity, congestion and travel speeds. Mees and Dodson (2007) show how studies using these frameworks have been used to shape and distort political and public preferences and transport policy. This has been the case in Perth, Western Australia, where strategic transport models are commonly employed to forecast future demand for private car and road freight travel. The standard outputs show maps of road links becoming increasingly congested over time (Figure 1a). The metric for congestion is most often what is termed as ‘level of service C’ where vehicles are minimally impeded. By improving specific road infrastructure, the level of service can be improved and congestion relieved (Figure 1b).<sup>4</sup>

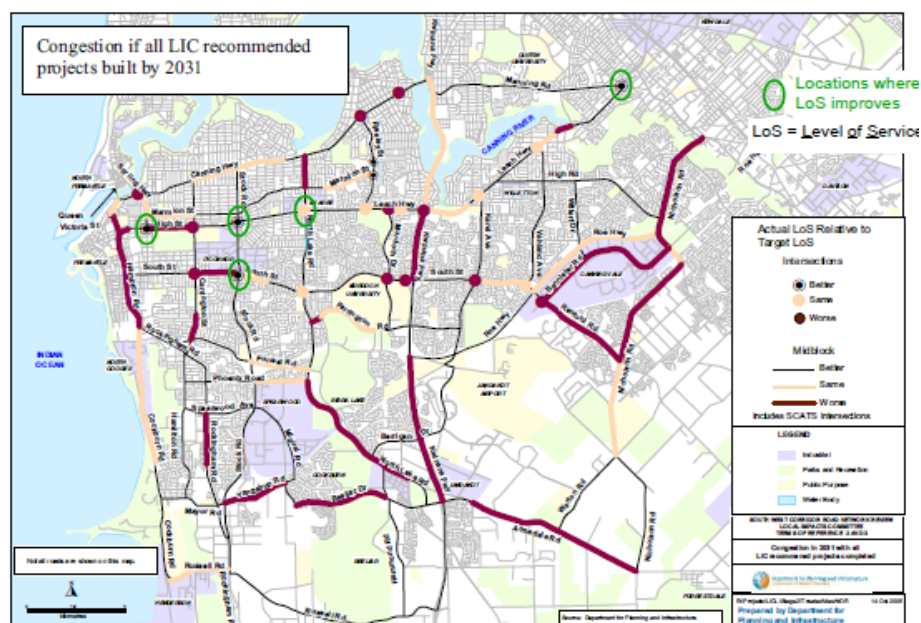
**Figure 1a: Perth sub-region showing forecast traffic congestion and problems in 2031**



Source: DPI (2004)

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<sup>4</sup> Level of Service C is defined as “stable [traffic] flow, but most drivers are restricted in their freedom to select desired speed and to manoeuvre”, and at intersections “Operations with higher delays, fair progression and/or longer cycle lengths. Individual cycle failures may begin to appear at this level. The number of vehicles stopping is significant at this level, although many still pass through the intersection without stopping [overall delay .20-35 seconds per vehicle]” (DPI, 2004, citing U.S. Transportation Research Board, Highway Capacity Manual 2000, as adapted by DPI).

**Figure 1b: Perth region showing extent of congestion and problems in 2031 after intervention**

Source: DPI (2004)

More recently, transport analysis has broadened from conventional strategic (four-step) models and disaggregate models of network performance to incorporate many other approaches. Such advances as the rise of geographic information systems (GIS) has allowed for new methods to explore questions of equity and access (Halden, 2002), oil vulnerability (Dodson and Sipe, 2007), climate change (Hickman, Ashiru and Banister, 2010) and other emergent concerns. Activity- or destination-based accessibility modelling has expanded rapidly thanks to the recent coalescing of advanced GIS, comprehensive spatial datasets, exemplar projects and skills development in the planning and transport professions. Examples include accessibility assessments of food and alcohol retailing (Coveney and O'Dwyer, 2009; Hay et al., 2009; Sharkey, 2009), accessibility models of job opportunities (Geurs and van Eck, 2003; Weber, 2003), accessibility models of travel behaviour and energy (Titheridge, Hall and Banister, 2000) and accessibility models that explore social justice and social exclusion (i.e. Preston and Rajé, 2007).

Public transport focused accessibility models are also becoming more common. Amongst others, Hsiao et al. (1997) developed methods to measure pedestrian access to public transport stops. Murray and Wu (2003) developed an accessibility model aimed at reducing stop numbers and increasing population coverage, to reduce the costs of service provision. Liu and Zhu (2004) created accessibility surfaces for the Singapore MRT system using their 'Accessibility Analyst' framework. In Australia, Yigitcanlar et al. (2007) produced the first working model that produced accessibility surfaces and population coverage of public transport networks for South East Queensland's bus and rail services.

This paper describes two new accessibility tools developed and used in separate Australian cities designed to assist in decision making around future cities, where the objective is to achieve more sustainable urban travel where the dominant travel modes are walking, cycling and public transport. The application of each tool has intersected with transport and land use decision-making, attempting to reveal insights that would influence decision-makers to at least consider alternative transport futures. In this paper, the way in which the tools have been applied is briefly described, but the focus is reflective – considering the wider issues for strategic land use and transport planning. These are seen not only in the debates about specific design parameters for any tool used, but in the way this highlights more fundamental issues of path dependence in institutional and professional practice. The paper is structured as follows. First, conventional strategic transport models are reviewed with a focus on what they offer and on criticisms of the way they have been applied in practice. Second, the two accessibility tools are briefly described with a focus on planning issues being considered and the issues raised by the particular application. The final discussion section reflects on the broader issues for planning practice.

### **Traditional transport demand modelling tools**

Conventional strategic transport models (commonly known as ‘four-step’ models) have been in use since the 1950s. These models have been improved in recent decades to include, for example, the consideration of public transport networks (in some localities) rather than simply their dominant focus on planning for private car travel. These models are still the mainstay in transport planning, used as a way to test scenarios at corridor and network levels for transport and land use arrangements. They focus on measures of efficiency such as vehicle-kilometres-travelled (VKT), mode share and travel time savings.

There are a number of criticisms of the measures used in such strategic transport models. A focus on ‘travel distance saving’ as a measure of efficiency certainly has merit in the pursuit of more sustainable travel. The UK’s Planning Policy Guidance Note 13 -Transport (DoE & DoT, 1994) indicated that sustainable travel required both a reduction in car use and a reduction in distance travelled by car. But the merit of the focus on travel time savings and the way in which this is assigned a monetary value have been criticised by others. Metz (2008:8-9, 30) suggests travel time savings have short- but not long-run benefits due to societies generally having constant travel times, per person, per year, despite significant changes in cities over time, such as major road network expansion. He notes that people often react to road improvements by travelling greater distances at higher speeds, changing their origins and destinations, rather than reducing their travel time (Metz 2008:13). Added to this research, studies of travel demand management programmes have found that individuals will in fact accept a time impost when switching from car to public transport travel, instead valuing the relaxation benefits or opportunity to work while travelling offered by public transport (James and Brög, 1998). Metz (2008:42) argues that whilst ‘conventional transport economics supposes that people seek to save travel time, whereas what they actually want is additional access.’

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Traditional transport demand forecasting models extrapolate the future from past trends. They operate primarily by replicating existing conditions, testing future demand and effects and assessing the outcome of policy options from this premise (Litman, 2009, 1). This approach not only suffers from assumptions made about the future availability of resources (often it is assumed that the future will continue as in the past), but such trend-based transport demand forecasting acts as a potent constraint on policy formulation. In Australia the norm is to cater for increasing travel demand by increasing road capacity (the predict and provide paradigm). This solution is claimed to reduce congestion and therefore fuel use and air pollution. However, the dynamic impacts of travel time savings on mode choice and land use activity are not considered in the models. Furthermore, policy options for travel demand management or the use of congestion as a lever for mode change are rarely acknowledged.

Another area of criticism of the use of conventional transport models has been about the limited range of their application in exploring future transport and land use relationships. Such models are usually weak in their capacity to explore industry-occupation matching, and therefore the accessibility of jobs and housing by occupation type, as in the manner of Cervero and Wu (1998). An additional accessibility analysis is required, using supplementary census data. Similarly, conventional strategic models, as well as the normative network planning and transit-scheduling models, are not well-suited to exploring questions of transit accessibility.

### **The emergence of new public transport accessibility tools**

This section describes the application of two new accessibility tools designed to assist in decision making for cities where the objective is to achieve more sustainable urban travel. These have been developed and used in separate Australian cities, in Perth the ‘Spatial Network Analysis of Multimodal Transport Systems’ (SNAMUTS) tool developed by first two authors and in Brisbane the ‘Modular Urban Land Use and Transport Tool’ (MULUTT tool developed by the third author and colleagues. These tools were developed in isolation from each other, but underpinning each was a realisation that transport planning has mostly moved away from comprehensive approaches towards a focus on specific projects and policies (see Banister 2002:131) and the addition of new tools, that unpack new dimensions and realise alternative possible ‘solutions’, are a profitable way forward. In our practice we are also aware that transport policy decisions are political and most transport planners have remained wedded to a technocratic role in advising decision-makers. These matters and their implications for future transport are reflected on in the final section of the paper. It is evident from the application of these new tools that there is a need to start with a clear vision of the future and view outputs against this set of clearly articulated end goals.

### ***Case Study: Perth***

There have been several applications of the SNAMUTS tool (see Curtis and Scheurer, 2010). This paper focuses on a recent application where SNAMUTS was employed to evaluate the proposals by the State

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Public Transport Authority (PTA) for the next 20 years investment in public transport for greater metropolitan Perth. The PTA in developing their strategy wanted to test how well the proposed network and service performed in relation to enhanced public transport accessibility to key activity centres. We do not report in detail the actual proposals; instead in this paper our interest is in reflecting on the strategic implications of both the proposed approach and on observations made during discussion and debate with PTA officers when we presented our SNAMUTS findings to them.

SNAMUTS is a GIS-based tool designed to measure the accessibility provided by existing or proposed urban public transport networks in their current and proposed land use context. In particular, SNAMUTS endeavours to identify and visualise in a coherent mapping exercise a land use-public transport system's strengths and weaknesses of geographical coverage; the ability and efficiency to connect places of activity; the strategic significance of routes and network nodes, and the speed competitiveness between public transport and car travel. Careful consideration is made of how the analysis of public transport networks diverges, and requires different assumptions and definitions from the analysis of movement networks for individual transport (ie. pedestrians, cyclists and motorists). This led to the development of an impediment measure based on properties most closely related to users' experience: that is, travel time, journey transfer and frequency of service rather than geographical distance. For the sake of brevity and because our paper focuses more on the wider transport planning issues raised, we do not report the assessment of the PTA strategy for all SNAMUTS indicators in this paper.

The PTA supplied the proposed public transport network for the 2031 reference year. They also requested changes to three of the standard SNAMUTS measures. First, use of the inter-peak service was changed to the morning peak. Second, the 'contour catchment' measure was increased from 30 minutes to 45 minutes, thus extending the potential accessibility of the area 'on paper'. Third, only accessibility to 14 key activity centres was assessed, not the full set of 94 public transport-accessible activity centres identified in the earlier metropolitan strategy (WAPC, 2004). These were important changes, which will be discussed in the final section since there are far reaching implications for the competitiveness of public transport to the car for the individual traveller.

The evaluation of the PTA network focussed on the following objectives, based on the metropolitan planning aim of improving public transport access (WAPC, 2009):

- The extent to which potential accessibility of quality public transport was expanded to a larger proportion of metropolitan residents;
- The extent to which accessibility was enhanced across the fourteen key activity centres.
- The public transport 'effort' (performance of different transport modes and across corridors).

Table 1 summarises the basic assumptions for the construction of the scenario. The number of residents, jobs and students in metropolitan Perth is projected to increase by 39% between 2009 and 2031; in each reference year, only a small and roughly unchanging proportion of these (4%) is outside the walkable catchment area of public transport services during the morning peak. In practice, this mainly concerns activities in the rural outskirts of the city. Between 2009 and 2031, it is proposed to extend one rail line in line with city expansion plans and to develop a rail branch line linking the existing rail network to Perth Airport; several additional stations are proposed along the southern suburbs rail line. In addition to rail, a number of initiatives in the bus network are proposed to improve service levels, the most prominent of which is the establishment of a priority busway running into the Perth CBD and the provision of high-frequency express services between the CBD and a key activity centre. In total, the requirement for operational input in 2031 is between 58% and 60% higher than in 2009. Thus between 35 and 36 extra trains are needed (workings operated by multiple units are counted as a single train in this definition) while the number of buses is required to grow by between 328 and 344.

**Table 1: Land use assumptions and service input per scenario (2009 = Status Quo, Scenario 2031)**

Assumptions	2009	2031
Service Intensity <sup>5</sup> : Train	44	80 (+81%)
Service Intensity: Bus	587	915 (+56%)
Service Intensity: Ferry	1	3 (+118%)
<b>Service Intensity: Total</b>	<b>632</b>	<b>997 (+58%)</b>
Number of Nodes	46	49
Activities in metropolitan area	2,629,497	3,655,399
Activities in serviced area	2,528,198 (96%)	3,513,548 (96%)

#### *Extent of accessibility improvements across the metropolitan region and in key centres*

The Composite SNAMUTS Accessibility Index allocates between 0 and 7.5 points for each of the seven indicators: Degree Centrality, Closeness Centrality, Contour Catchment, Congested Speed Comparison, Nodal Betweenness and Connectivity to generate a single measure. Higher figures indicate better accessibility, up to a theoretical maximum of 45. Table 2 shows the scores for each of the 14 key centres and the average. Note that the figures are based on an arbitrary system of conversion and weighting; they are not suitable to calculate percentage increases or declines in accessibility, but rather to compare centres against

<sup>5</sup> The measure for service intensity in Table 2 is defined as the number of revenue service hours per hour per mode offered across the network during the morning peak.



each other, and to develop benchmarks of public transport accessibility standards. As such, absolute increases in this index are used as a scale for measuring accessibility improvements. On average, composite accessibility across the network goes up by about 3 points on the 45-point scale between 2009 and 2031.

**Table 2: Composite Accessibility Index for key activity centres**

Key Activity Centres	2009	2031
AC1 (outer region)	12.5	15.4 (+2.9)
AC2 (middle region)	16.5	19.5 (+3.0)
AC3 (inner region – major employment centre)	16.3	20.5 (+4.2)
AC4 (inner region)	19.6	21.9 (+2.3)
AC5 (outer region)	20.0	24.0 (+4.0)
AC6 (outer region)	16.0	17.8 (+1.8)
AC7 (outer region)	17.0	19.0 (+2.0)
AC8 (middle region – large employment centre)	24.9	28.8 (+3.9)
AC9 (Airport)	7.3	19.9 (+12.6)
AC10 Perth Central	33.5	37.7 (+4.2)
AC11 (outer region)	16.2	18.6 (+2.4)
AC12 (middle region – major employment centre)	25.6	29.0 (+3.4)
AC13 (inner region – major employment centre)	17.1	22.4 (+5.3)
AC14 (outer region)	-	15.4
<b>Average Key Centres</b>	<b>18.7</b>	<b>22.1 (+3.4)</b>
<i>Standard Deviation Key Centres</i>	6.5	6.1
<b>Average Network</b>	<b>14.9</b>	<b>18.0 (+3.1)</b>
<i>Standard Deviation Network</i>	6.2	6.5

#### *Expansion of 45-minute travel time contour across the metropolitan region and in key centres*

Important centres with a metropolitan-wide function have not benefitted from the proposed measures to the extent necessary to ensure they are very well served by public transport. This can be seen in Table 3 where the ‘contour catchment’ index shows the percentage of total metropolitan activities (residents, jobs and students) within the defined walkable catchment area of activity nodes that can be reached from the reference node within a public transport travel time of 45 minutes or less and a maximum of one transfer. The average contour catchment improves significantly in 2031 over the status quo, but this effect is not even across the

centres - as the standard deviation measures suggest, the centres are becoming more unequal as a result of the network and service improvements by 2031. The greatest improvement can be recorded for AC9, owing to its integration into the new rail network. Two outer region centres (AC5, AC1) benefit from greenfield growth in their vicinity. Inner urban densification in combination with some faster services and a reduced transfer time assumption makes itself felt, particularly in three large employment centres (AC3; AC8, AC13) but to a lesser extent almost universally across the network. However two of these centres (AC3 and AC13) perform a particular metropolitan-wide function where one would desire a superior 45-minute catchment to these centres from across the metropolitan area, to match or come close to that at AC10 Perth Central or at least AC12, but this is not achieved.

**Table 3: Contour catchment change for key activity centres**

Activity Centres	2009	2031A
AC1 (outer region)	17.1%	26.6%
AC2 (middle region)	28.2%	31.9%
AC3 (inner region – major employment centre)	36.1%	46.1%
AC4 (inner region)	45.2%	45.9%
AC5 (outer region)	35.2%	49.4%
AC6 (outer region)	14.1%	15.9%
AC7 (outer region)	37.8%	40.1%
AC8 (middle region – large employment centre)	62.0%	80.0%
AC9 (Airport)	12.2%	56.8%
AC10 Perth Central	77.8%	83.6%
AC11 (outer region)	23.3%	26.4%
AC12 (middle region – major employment centre)	66.8%	72.9%
AC13 (inner region – major employment centre)	35.9%	59.9%
AC14 (outer region)	-	15.8%
<b>Average Key Centres</b>	<b>37.8%</b>	<b>46.5%</b>
<i>Standard Deviation Key Centres</i>	20.5%	22.2%
<b>Average Network</b>	<b>30.0%</b>	<b>40.2%</b>
<i>Standard Deviation Network</i>	19.4%	21.7%

*Public transport network efficiency*

It was found that the proposed measures roughly doubled the global efficiency of the network, while requiring additional operational input in the order of 60%, so there is a net synergistic effect. ‘Global efficiency change’ is the comparison of the entire network before and after a series of interventions, in this case the transformation from the status quo to the 2031 target network. In relation to ‘Local efficiency change’ (refers to the same comparison on a node-by-node basis)<sup>6</sup> - the essence of this index is to assess how well a particular network performs in comparison with historic or future land use-transport configurations – or: by how much does ease of movement across the network improve/deteriorate? We found that across the key centres, an efficiency gain of 49% can be recorded. The finding of a net gain of this magnitude is encouraging and indicative of a positive synergy effect of the measures proposed for 2031. The figures in Table 4 show an anomaly for AC9 as a result of a reallocation of land use activities from one activity centre to this, thus the defined land use catchment of AC9 grows substantially at the expense of the other.

**Table 4: Local Efficiency Change for key activity centres**

	2031
AC1 (outer region)	+67%
AC2 (middle region)	+41%
AC3 (inner region – major employment centre)	+77%
AC4 (inner region)	+60%
AC5 (outer region)	+24%
AC6 (outer region)	+69%
AC7 (outer region)	+75%
AC8 (middle region – large employment centre)	+24%
AC9 (Airport)	+2,319%
AC10 Perth Central	+38%
AC11 (outer region)	+38%
AC12 (middle region – major employment centre)	+30%
AC13 (inner region – major employment centre)	+61%

<sup>6</sup> This index is defined as the ratio of the actual inverse average shortest path length between the node in question and all other nodes in 2031 over the same measure in 2009. The measure is weighted by the product of the defined catchment size of the pair of nodes in question (measured in residents, jobs and students); following the logic that connectivity between larger nodes has a greater bearing on the efficiency of the network than between smaller nodes. Since the total number of metropolitan residents, jobs and/or students in 2031 changes over 2009, this index is also corrected accordingly by multiplying the results by the square of the increase/decrease ratio in metropolitan activities. The efficiency change measures have been designed to deliver a meaningful assessment of network reconfiguration or expansion scenarios.

AC14 (outer region)	-
<b>Global Efficiency Change</b>	<b>+49%</b>

In detail, it was found that these efficiency improvements were largely achieved by increased service frequencies: the basic structure of the network in existing areas is not altered significantly, with the exception of the Airport rail link and to a lesser degree the new dedicated busway. This is illustrated by the network property indicators: across the network, closeness centrality, a measure of ease of movement incorporating speed and service frequency, is enhanced significantly, while degree centrality, a measure of the prevalence of transfers, remains at similar levels in 2031 as in 2009. The 45-minute public transport contour catchments of strategic nodes are significantly improved across the network; this is primarily due to land use intensification in existing urban areas, more efficient transfer facilities and times, and to a lesser extent network extensions and greater travel speeds on existing routes. Similarly, speed competitiveness of public transport over road travel improves in 2031 over 2009, though primarily from the (unproven) assumption of less time-consuming and more efficient transfers between routes.

The rail system consolidates its domination over the geographical distribution of travel opportunities, even though only two to three rail extensions are proposed by 2031. These rail extensions are located in areas where they cannot play a role that would relieve existing rail routes from network significance and thus spatially redistribute their tasks more evenly. The busway adds a radial corridor of critical significance, though it is doubtful whether the limited performance and capacity of a bus system is suitable for servicing it efficiently. For this reason, the bulk of the ‘movement economy’ on the network, or the ability of nodes to benefit from passing traffic (Hillier, 1996), remains concentrated to a limited number of strategic centres.

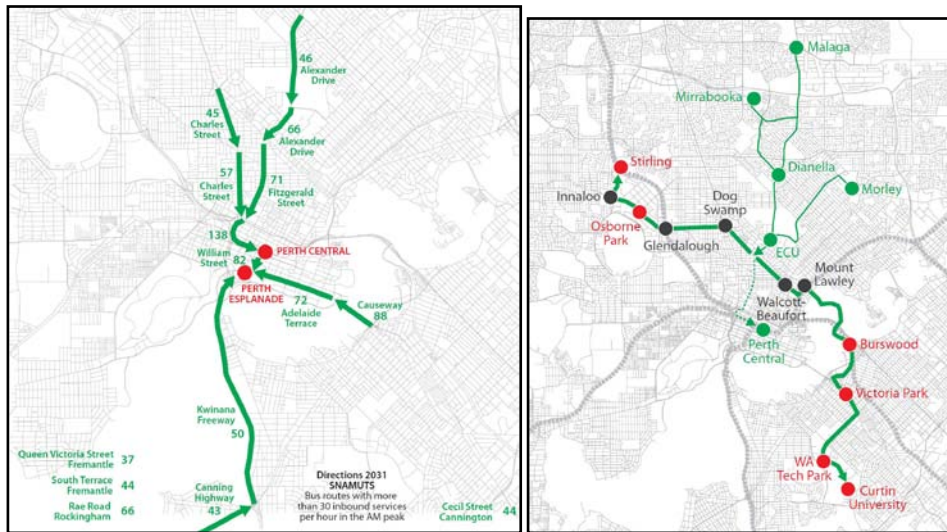
### *Discussion*

The analysis shows that as a result of the PTA proposals public transport accessibility in 2031 will improve over 2009 in Perth’s metropolitan region if the proposed measures are implemented, in absolute terms as well as relative to population and employment growth. The concern is whether the rate of growth is sufficient for the requirements at 2031 of likely mandatory standards for accessibility and carbon emissions, as well as possible constraints in the availability and affordability of transport fuels. In 1995, the Metropolitan Transport Strategy (DOT, 1995) set a mode share target for public transport of 13% of all trips in 2029, up from 5% in 2000. The figure for global network efficiency change between 2009 and 2031 discussed above and amounting to 49% (relative to population and employment growth) needs to be regarded within a policy context that has consistently and for many years emphasised the need for mode shift from the car to public transport in metropolitan Perth. Even following a tangible (though not monumental) mode shift

towards public transport during the 2000s, the aspirational 13% mode share in 2029, representing an increase of public transport journeys per person in excess of 100% during the next two decades, will not be achievable if the rate of growth remains at a percentage level in the vicinity of the efficiency gain found in this indicator. While acknowledging that these figures are not necessarily in a linear and proportional relationship, they still pose a critical question as to whether a public transport system that improves by less than 50% can be realistically expected to attract more than 100% of additional passengers. The authors harbour doubts about this capability.

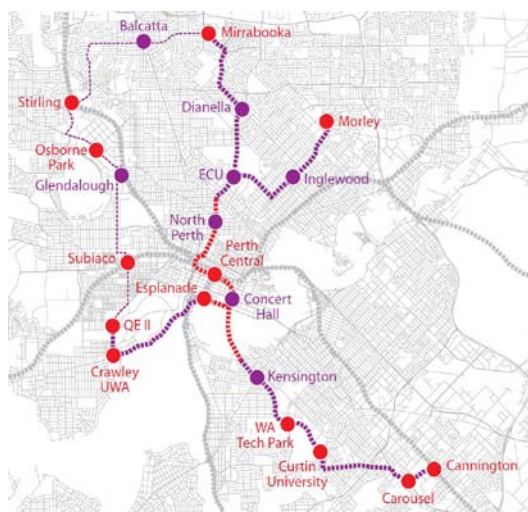
One key concern is the focus of the PTA proposals on incremental improvements to the existing radial, mono-centric network. This results in lost opportunities where additional orbital links could help link strategic centres more directly and take pressure off the central city. Furthermore, this approach results in new constraints emerging on some radial bus routes with very high service density. An example of this issue is shown in Figure 2A showing those bus routes in the metropolitan area that carry in excess of 30 buses per hour during the morning peak in the peak direction. The threshold of 30 buses, equivalent to a 2-minute frequency, is critical in several respects. For the passenger, such frequency marks the level at which average waiting times have reached their practical minimum; additional services are unable to reduce this measure further if dwell times at bus stops and traffic signals are taken into account. For the operator, this is the frequency at which buses will begin to run in bunches even where on-street bus priority has been maximised (where it has not been maximised, this effect will make itself felt at much lower frequencies). Service frequencies higher than every 2 minutes on surface modes are thus inefficient for both passengers and operators and should be avoided wherever possible. Wherever the physical capacity to move a certain number of passengers supplied by the high frequencies is excessive, this can be achieved by rerouting some services away from the high-frequency corridor and to other destinations. This has two benefits: it creates new transfer-free links that may relieve pressure from the central area; it addresses the need to improve polycentric accessibility. Wherever the physical capacity is required, an upgrade to a higher-performance mode that can move greater number of passengers with fewer, larger vehicles should be considered (ie bus to light rail). A demonstration of these solutions is shown in Figure 2B, re-routing some services from radial corridors with excessively high frequencies to provide transfer-free connections to key suburban centres instead.

**Figure 2: A (left): Bus route segments with more than 30 services per hour in the peak directions in 2031, showing actual number of services per hour; B (right) Network changes**



While the above proposals offer a range of uncomplicated opportunities for improving network coverage, connectivity and operational efficiency, reliance on such optimisation of the bus network alone may not yet deliver the overall magnitude of network performance required to meet strategic targets for the desired role of public transport in the passenger transport market. For this purpose, the gradual introduction of a higher-performing mode such as light rail (LRT) on critical corridors in metropolitan Perth needs to be considered for the 20-year time horizon. In earlier work (Curtis and Scheurer, 2009) it was shown that an integrated network of bus, LRT and heavy rail modes in conjunction with a public transport-oriented urban growth strategy can increase network efficiency by up to 167% in 2031. This would address two significant shortfalls in the 2031 network proposal: the need for high-performance access to the two key activity centres (university/business centre clusters) as well as a vital performance upgrade for an important (currently bus-based) radial corridor (Figure 3). This would provide an alternative for travel through the CBD for access to and from inner urban destinations, to relieve the CBD area from network congestion and to increase public transport mode share across the inner suburbs where road congestion is most acute.

**Figure 3: Two-route radial LRT network. Red segments are underground, purple segments are above ground. Bold lines indicate stage 1, fine lines indicate stage 2.**



As these issues were discussed with PTA officers it became apparent that much broader institutional issues were acting as barriers to the achievement of a future vision. It was clear that the PTA proposed network for 2030 was tempered by views on the preferred mode, by a vision based on the existing city and public transport network structure. It was also clear that while the above ideas for light rail were being discussed, these were considered to be the ‘2050 Plan’. Two factors appeared to constrain the future thinking, both influenced by the traditional ways of transport modelling and forecasting: first that these proposals would be costly and would not be funded by Treasury; second, that while these proposals would offer public transport accessibility for residents in line with policy objectives, the current demand (6% mode share across the metropolitan area) meant it would be difficult to justify finance. This demonstrated clearly the way decision makers rely on traditional models, transport forecasts based on past demand, and these act as a serious constraint to developing and delivering a future vision. Furthermore, while recognising the need for the new proposals, delaying their implementation to 2050 may well be too late. What is needed is a step-change rather than continued incremental change, both in developing visions and in the tools used to support decision making.

### ***Case Study: South East Queensland***

The second accessibility model presented here is a component of a broader transport and land use planning framework known as the ‘Modular Urban Land Use and Transport Tool’ (MULUTT) which has been used to explore accessibility on Queensland’s Gold Coast. This framework has seen the development of modules for exploring jobs-housing balance, carbon and oil vulnerability impacts, but the focus here on its assessment of public transport and walking accessibility. The model is essentially a destination-based accessibility model run using Arc-GIS software. It makes use of data layers for the available road network, the scheduled public transport network, and the walking path networks for the city. Ease of access is defined in the model in terms

of travel time, considering all the legs of the public transport journey. This includes time spent either walking to and from transit stops, or waiting to interchange between services.

The model has been used, amongst other tasks, to examine public transport access to proposed stadium locations on the Gold Coast. Stadiums are an excellent example of a land use heavily reliant on public transport and walking access for bringing patrons to and from games and events. Indeed, in Australia most stadia are now subject to very strict travel demand management measures (see Burke and Woolcock 2009). The proposal to develop a new Australian Football League (AFL) stadium in Queensland's second largest city led to considerable debate over whether the existing site, at Carrara, would be suitable or whether an alternative site should be pursued. A map showing the stadium locations, and the competitor, Skilled Park rugby league/soccer stadium at Robina, is included in Figure 4. Accessibility by public transport was a critical planning dimension, given that non-car access was to be heavily curtailed. The Carrara site was likely to be cheaper, but had perceived weaknesses in transport and land use terms. Prior to a location being selected, the research team used the MULUTT accessibility model to assess four of the key sites being considered, as well as the site (see Figure 4). The analysis sought to determine the number of Gold Coast residents that could access each of the stadium sites easily by public transport.

**Figure 4: Existing and proposed stadium locations**



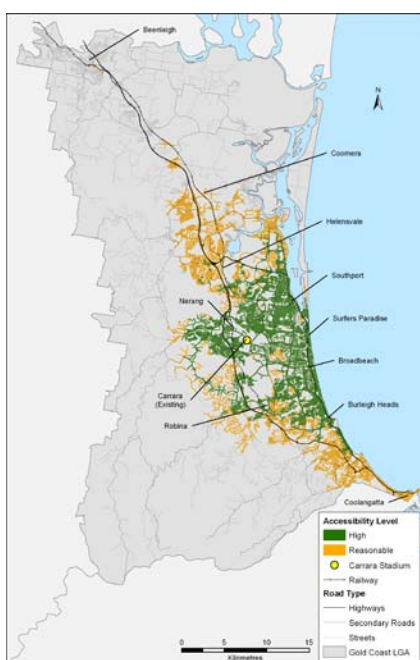
Conventional strategic transport modelling was unable to contribute much to this problem. Conceptually it required a series of catchment analyses, based on walking and public transport access. The MULUTT accessibility model was used to assess accessibility, for the whole Gold Coast population, based on all stages



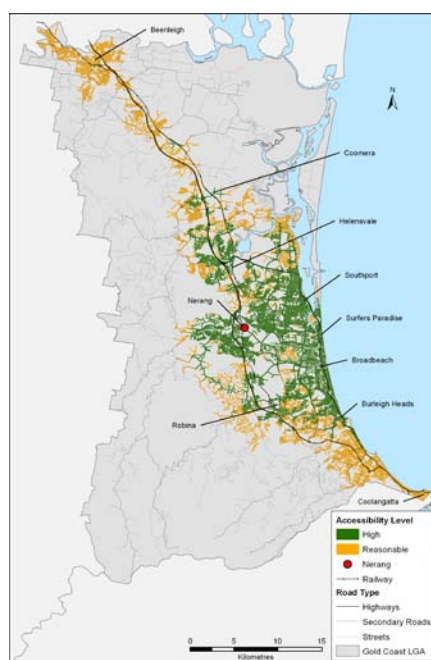
of a journey from home to the stadium, including: walk access from home to a public transport stop; waiting time for the public transport vehicle; travel time on the vehicle; interchange with other public transport services (if necessary); and the walk access from the final public transport stop to the proposed stadium site. The model was applied to the existing scheduled public transport network, the Gold Coast population, and the available road network. The study area was defined as the Gold Coast Local Government Area (LGA) as of June 2006 (to match the Australian Bureau of Statistics 2006 census). Data on sports traveller preferences was not available. As such, two accessibility measures were developed: access within 45 minutes door-to-door from home to the stadium was defined as “high accessibility” (this roughly equates to a half hour public transport journey plus walking time); access within 75 minutes door-to-door was defined as “reasonable accessibility” (this roughly equates to an hour’s public transport journey plus walking time). The model calculated which parts of the road network were accessible, via the public transport network, within these parameters. The model then calculated the number of residents in these locations, providing a meaningful insight into the potential public transport catchment of the stadium if located in each site (see Burke and Evans forthcoming; Burke, Evans and Hatfield 2008 for further information).

Spatial mapping of ease of access to the site eventually selected, Carrara, is presented in Figure 5. This shows that the stadium site, located away from the city’s only rail line, failed to provide high levels of access to the key growth corridor of Coomera and Beenleigh. Comparisons with other locations on the rail line, such as at Helensvale and Nerang, showed that these sites could service a much greater proportion of the existing population, and also to these growth corridors. The map for the Nerang site is shown in Figure 6.

**Figure 5 Public transport accessibility to  
Gold Coast Stadium, Carrara**



**Figure 6: Public transport accessibility  
to the proposed Nerang stadium site**



In eerie parallel to the issues raised in the Perth case, the information underpinning the site-selection processes of the stadium funders and developers were based on models of demand that gave little attention to accessibility, ensuring transport access was given limited importance in decision-making. Demand analyses were based on rough catchment estimates only. The MULUTT mapping outputs, provided late in the decision-making process, were the first to show the catchments based on access via the transport modes future stadium patrons would be able to use. Alas, despite evidence-led advocacy, the cheaper Carrara site was selected, partly due to the global financial crisis occurring at the same time the decision had to be made. An opportunity for transit-oriented development has been lost and there will need to be significant effort (and probably state subsidy) in creating feeder bus services from the rail line to the stadium. But just as important, locating at Carrara may have been to the detriment of the stadium, its tenant club and the sporting code of Australian Rules football. Even in a case as obvious as a new sports stadium, land use decision-makers rely on models and evaluation frameworks that are largely ignorant of accessibility, and struggle to bring transport and land use dimensions to the fore. This leads to constrained visions, compromised built environment outcomes and quite probably a weaker economic future.

The MULUTT accessibility model is being used to explore other questions of urban structure, including examining the transport impacts of government sector employment relocation in Brisbane. For such different trip purposes, distinct accessibility measures are being used. As it is being further tested and revised it is hoped that this model, as part of a broader transport analysis framework, can help improve our understandings of transport-land use relationships and lead to more optimal decisions in future. Furthermore, by producing outputs in formats decision-makers can understand, transform their thinking.

### **New demands and challenges**

*Benefits of focussing on metropolitan-wide supply side modelling as opposed to simply applying demand forecasts*

Traditional strategic transport models clearly have their place, but how much decision makers (and here we include the practitioner's using these tools and advising government) should invest in the tools' outputs is a key question. Of interest is the mindset that modelling processes may create. All too often the authors have experienced a mindset characterised as introverted, rather than outward looking at the bigger picture. Does the modelling process limit or in some way constrain the futures thinking? Does the problem lie with the tool or the operator (and so the institution)? Can the addition of new tools, which ask quite different questions and take new angles, such as accessibility modelling, transform this practice?

In the Perth case, limits were set into the existing transport models in several ways. Firstly, in setting the measurement parameter at a 45-minute public transport journey, this mode was immediately positioned as

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uncompetitive to the car, so reducing its patronage potential. Secondly, by weighing infrastructure investment against forecast demand for public transport (indicative of the traditional mindset that the future will be like the past) rather than attempting to deliver on a future objective including an increased level of investment, strategies that ensure patronage growth are not pursued. We saw this in the reluctance to entertain a bid for a light rail network by 2030 (when it was evident that this was the solution needed), instead delaying that proposal for the 2050 plan. In the Brisbane case, the business case for the stadium site gave little attention to public transport access despite it being fundamental to shaping the future catchment and probable patronage.

*The need to and challenges of, setting benchmarks that define quality public transport and accessibility*

Another challenge lies in improving accessibility models and their parameters, so as to define logical benchmarks. The 'levels of service' used in by transit operators regarding travel times (Kittleston & Associates, et al. 2003) have flaws, but do at least in part reflect passenger preferences. Suggested improvements, such as Racca's (2004) attempt to develop measures that include whether a trip is direct or includes interchange across services, as well as transit travel time, do not seem to entirely equate with the research of Mees (2010) on the real-world experiences of cities with highly networked public transport systems, which require interchange but experience high patronage. Obtaining some clarity, and making those measures readily understood by decision-makers, could go some way in raising the profile of accessibility modelling, and its importance in decision-making frameworks.

*The need for long term visions and the need for a step change:*

It is evident that the past practice of incremental and ad hoc changes to the public transport network that we will not meet transport challenges in Australian cities in a timely fashion. What is required is a step-change, but this requires both a long term view of future city size and structure (a challenge for land use planners who have thus far not planned in this way), attention to detail in re-designing public transport services, and considerable public funding in the short term (where public transport has been the poor cousin relative to private transport). It is questionable whether the pace of change necessary can be achieved.

Both Perth and Brisbane are relatively well placed to move forward on parts of this agenda. Each have dramatically improved their public transport management arrangements in recent years with TransPerth and Translink (covering South East Queensland) both being the type of single agency that can 'carry out the tactical planning necessary to provide an integrated network of routes and services' (Mees 2010: 153). The Queensland Government has commenced use of accessibility modelling to support its own decision-making processes. Yet elsewhere there are problems, with roads agencies tending to be stronger and more self-assured in their methods, which are generally accepted all the way to the Treasury Department, and the public transport agencies unconfident and often aiming low. Land developers are wary of transit-oriented

development, for a multitude of often sound reasons, and may not adequately take public transport access into account, even in the case of a large football stadium. This suggests that it is not just new tools that are needed, nor even exemplar projects such as those described above. New spaces for dialogue and engagement, and the collaborative development of new approaches, may all be needed to create pathways to improved transport and land use planning.

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## **Models, Environment and Manipulation: Power and Knowledge Filtering in the Decision-making process about the Third Limfjord Crossing<sup>1</sup>**

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Keywords: Traffic models, Political technologies, EIA, Knowledge filtering, Power

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### **Abstract**

Using the Environmental Impact Assessment of the proposed Third Limfjord Crossing in Aalborg, Denmark as an example, this paper discusses how transport models can be designed, consciously or unconsciously, to be imbued with a political program of discrimination, causing forecasting error in transport infrastructure planning. Assuming that traffic growth would be the same regardless of whether or not a new motorway was constructed, the planners in the Limfjord case concluded that intolerable congestion would arise in the absence of increased road capacity. The paper discusses how the zero-alternative was fabricated through unrealistic assumptions of the Limfjord case traffic model about relevant causal mechanisms, and gives an outline of the planning and decision-making process in which the model was used. The paper concludes that a process of knowledge filtering has taken place, where state-of-the-art knowledge about induced and generated travel ended up being dismissed in the political and legal decision-making system.

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### **Traffic models – a political technology?**

The development of increasingly powerful computer technology at cheaper prices has enabled both the creation of computer models of growing complexity and their more widespread use within academia, public planning and policy-making as well as within the business community. The increased complexity of quantitative decision support models has made formulation of more complex and targeted policies possible. The tendency towards increased complexity has, however, at the same time obscured the transparency of such models, and this may be a problem in terms of democracy when the models are used in public planning and policy-making. First, the scope for public debate is narrowed when a domain is largely dominated by

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<sup>1</sup> Another article based on the same case study, focusing more on how erroneous forecasts of the zero alternative may be an important source of bias in road infrastructure planning, is forthcoming in the journal *Transport Reviews* (See Næss, 2011).

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complex mathematical calculations. Second, despite the accurate, objective and scientific appearance of such models and the widespread notion that technologies in themselves are neutral, this is not always the case. Langdon Winner (1980) discusses how technological artifacts are not necessary neutral but can be political in two senses. First, technology can be designed, consciously or unconsciously, to open certain social options while closing others. Moreover, Winner argues that some technologies are in their entirety political.

Using the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) of the proposed Third Limfjord Crossing in Aalborg as an example, this paper discusses how transport models can be designed, consciously or unconsciously, to be imbued with a political program of discrimination causing forecasting error in transport infrastructure planning. First, the concepts of power and knowledge filtering as applied in this paper will be defined. Second, different types of functions complex decision support tools can undertake and how some of these functions can contribute to biased forecasts will briefly be reiterated. Then, the proposed Third Limfjord Crossing, the planning process so far and some of the main conclusions of the EIA report will be described. Thereupon, the assumptions of the Limfjord case traffic model about relevant causal mechanisms will be discussed in the light of state-of-the-art knowledge about induced and generated traffic, demonstrating how the model's assumptions led to an unrealistically negative representation of the zero-alternative. In the final part, possible explanations of the unreliable traffic forecasts and assessments of traffic-related environmental impacts in the Limfjord case will be discussed. The paper concludes that a process of knowledge filtering has taken place, where state-of-the-art knowledge about induced and generated travel ended up being dismissed in the political and legal decision-making system.

### **Power and Filtering of Knowledge**

In the academic literature dealing with power and the premises for its exercise, two broad factions can be identified. One group conceives power as coercion and relates the concept to personal interests. The other, more broadly defined group holds that power, in one way or another, is the outcome of social order, and also includes productive aspects of power. This paper takes its point of departure in a pluralistic conception of power, developed by Mark Haugaard (2003) and includes aspects from both types of power creation, although the main emphasis is on power as reproduction of social order. This involves that power is attributed to coercion, exclusion, manipulation, productive creation, structural resources, reification, identity as well as discursive mechanism.

In this article, filtering of knowledge is defined as suppression of knowledge which would otherwise have been relevant in the given context. Knowledge filtering is thus inevitably attached to the exercise of power. The application of Haugaard's (2003) theoretical framework implies that knowledge filtering must also be defined in a pluralistic manner. Hence, filtering of knowledge can be related to powerful actors', more or less active, rejection or detention of relevant knowledge, based on conflicts of interests. Filtering of knowledge is, however, not only associated with interests, but also emanates from social structures constraining the

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production of knowledge that might threaten or weaken the prevalent social order. Furthermore, the concept is attached to inconsistency between knowledge and discursive beliefs related to identity or interpretation horizons. It is through discourses that power takes part in defining what counts as truth knowledge. In such processes, psychological mechanisms can also play a role. It can be difficult for social actors to sustain great inconsistencies between, on the one hand, their conceptions and practices and, on the other hand, new knowledge relevant to these conceptions and practices. According to Festinger (1956), the solution to this inconsistency or 'dissonance' is either to change one's conception and/or practice, or to reject the new information. Knowledge which is either contra-intuitive and/or conceived as threatening against prevailing lifestyles or habits will therefore often have a problem with being accepted.

### **Manifest and Latent functions**

Models used within transport planning can take on many different functions and can be applied several ways in planning and decision-making processes. One way to make sense of the different roles transportation models can undertake is to distinguish between the manifest and latent functions. The manifest function is the outwardly expressed rationale for use of the models whereas the latent functions are those which are not explicitly acknowledged or openly discussed (Merton, 1957). It can be argued that the models' manifest functions are often attached to an instrumental utilization of the model results whereas the latent functions more are related to a conceptual or symbolic use. Conceptual use implies a diffuse and indirect application of model results, e.g. when a model contributes to create a shared understanding of a policy issue. Symbolic use refers to situations where model results are used to legitimize predetermined decisions (Amara *et al.* 2004).

Utilization of quantitative scientific decision support tools applied within transport planning is traditionally associated with the synoptic planning model. The manifest function that transport modeling tools are to undertake within this planning paradigm is to function as forecasting technologies in order to provide objective and scientific knowledge about alternative policy actions, upon which rational political decisions can be based. However, this view on the role of scientific decision support models can be criticized for operating with far too naive and mistaken views on how rational decision making processes are, or can become (Sager, 2003). The positivist belief in objectivity, value neutrality, and the possibility of making precise projections based on universal causal factors embodied in the tools can also be contested (see e.g. Næss, 2004b). Experience from a number of large-scale investment projects has shown that the traffic forecasts on which decisions to implement the projects were based, have often been highly inaccurate and sometimes misleading (Flyvbjerg *et al.* 2003). As shown by Flyvbjerg *et al.* (2006), among 183 investigated road projects in 14 different countries, one half had a deviation between forecasted and actual traffic of more than  $\pm 20\%$ , and one fourth more than  $\pm 40\%$ .

In order to illuminate why decision support models are so widely utilized within transport planning despite their widespread inaccuracy, the focus will in the following be directed towards some latent functions transport modeling tools can undertake.

In politics, problems defined in ambiguous manners are often difficult to handle, because ambiguity implies uncertainty whereas policy is believed ideally to rest on solid knowledge. Hence, in order to render a policy area (e.g. transport infrastructure development) governable, it is often necessary that one definition or one specific approach is highlighted, while others are tuned down or excluded (Hajer, 1995; Rose, 1991). Scientific decision support models used within infrastructure planning can play an important role in this power struggle through reification of particular rationalities (i.e. making these rationalities seem natural and unquestionable). The reason why the models tend to be effective in this power struggle about reification is that they are often regarded as truth-production technologies and thereby have the capability of portraying the models and the modellers as “independent” experts (Henman, 2002). Three different aspects reinforce the models’ functions as truth production technologies.

1. The technical complexity and low degree of transparency which characterize many traffic models involve that it can be extremely difficult for lay people to grasp the basis on which model calculations are conducted. Also for professionals outside the modeling process it can be difficult to level a critique, because data and assumptions are often not clarified (Osland & Strand, 2010; Tennøy *et al.* 2006). Even model-users do not always have the opportunity to make a proper qualitative assessment of how the traffic is actually modeled because many standard traffic modeling software programs are insufficiently documented (Nielsen 1995). Seen in this perspective, traffic models could be considered as ‘black boxes’ with a content that it is not considered necessary to take into consideration. According to Hajer (1995:272), black-boxing is a fundamental discursive mechanism, which operates through the production of a veil behind which particular interests, norms and discourses can be cloaked in a natural or scientific appearance.
2. Utilization of model calculations in the decision making process also tends to create a monopoly on the knowledge production about an investigated policy issue by crowding out preparation of other alternatives. This is partly because of the high construction and maintenance costs, which involve that fewer resources are available for alternative approaches of assessment, and partly because the complexity of the calculated model scenarios often entails that it is almost impossible for opponents to formulate alternatives which appear equally well underpinned (Tennøy, 2004).
3. In the documents introduced to the decision-makers and the public, uncertainty is often masked by presenting the calculations in exact numbers (Tennøy *et al.* 2006)

Transport model calculations can also be applied as efficient political technologies. Despite the scientific and objective appearance of model calculations, they can easily be manipulated in one way or another (Wachs, 1989). According to Flyvbjerg *et al.* (2003), more or less deliberate strategic misrepresentation seems to take place relatively frequently in order to make projects appear more beneficial.

However, transport models can not only be used politically. Arguably, they can also in themselves embody political properties.<sup>4</sup> Following Langdon Winner's line of reasoning, it can be argued that the manner traditional four-step transport models are designed facilitates car orientated solutions to transport problems at the expense of public transportation, non-motorized modes of transportation and compact urban land use (as discussed below). In that sense four-step transport models are not neutral but contain by virtue of their design particular politics. This does however not involve that the application of transport model calculations in the planning process is necessarily a deliberate act of partisan politics. As Gieryn (2002, 43) notes:

***Once sealed shut, machines are capable of steering social action in ways not always meaningfully apprehended by actors or necessarily congruent with their interests or values.***

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Despite the tendency of transport calculations conducted by classical four-step models to frame solutions to transport problems in a manner that favors car traffic, the same model designs are also applied in some situations where there is a political objective to reduce car travel (see e.g. Tennøy, 2004). Hence, there is not always correspondence between the political program defined by the material design of particular models and the program defined by the political aspirations among decision-makers.

### **The proposed Third Limfjord Crossing**

Aalborg is the regional capital of North Jutland and the third largest municipality in Denmark. In the Aalborg area there are presently two road connections and a rail bridge crossing the Limfjord which divides the city. The possibility of constructing a third road connection across the Limfjord has been discussed between local, regional and national authorities for more than three decades. A traffic analysis and subsequent public debate on alternative paths for such a connection were carried out 1993-1996. Some participants in this debate criticized the analyses for failing to illuminate the ways in which the need for road development depends on the urban structure and the future urban development, and for disregarding alternative traffic measures, such as improving the transit system. Therefore, new traffic model simulations were carried out in 1998 and with some minor modifications the work of an Infrastructure Committee, based on these calculations, was established jointly in 2000 by the Municipality of Aalborg, the County of North Jutland and the Ministry of Traffic. In order to avoid future congestion problems on the road network the Committee recommended a 3<sup>rd</sup> Limfjord road crossing to be built. An Environmental Impact Assessment of three different schemes for this

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<sup>4</sup> See Næss (2006) for a discussion about political properties embodied in cost-benefit analyses of transportation investments

crossing was presented in the spring of 2003. After a public hearing, the County of North Jutland adopted an amendment to the County Plan in the autumn of 2003, including land reservation for a 20 km motorway link with access roads, at a cost estimate of approx. 450 million Euros. Three alternative lines of the Third Limfjord Crossing were envisaged: the Egholm Line, the Lindholm Line and the Parallel Tunnel (See figure 1). Among these, a western alternative crossing the island of Egholm was chosen.

Figure 1: *The three alternative solutions for a Third Limfjord Crossing included in the EIAs in 2003 and 2006. Source: Danish Road Directorate (2010)*



However, several formal complaints were submitted to Nature Protection Board of Appeal against the EIA report. Two of these complaints criticized the EIA for an insufficient assessment of the impacts on habitats and species protected by EU legislation, whereas a third complaint criticized the County for having rejected to include in the EIA an alternative aiming to avoid traffic growth through restrictions on auto usage and substantially improved public transport. The latter complaint was not accepted by the Board of Appeal. The content of the complaint and the premises for rejecting it will be discussed more in-depth in a later section of the paper. The two former complaints were, however, accepted by the Board of Appeal. In 2006, the Board

of Appeal thus abolished the Region Plan amendment and the associated EIA report on the Third Limfjord Crossing.

The decision by the Board of Appeal implied that the land reservation for the Egholm motorway was no longer valid. The County of North Jutland therefore decided to initiate a new planning process in cooperation with the Coastal Directorate, the Road Directorate and the Municipality of Aalborg. In the new EIA report (County of North Jutland et al., 2006), more in-depth analyses were made regarding the influence of the proposed road on protected habitats. However, the Danish Forest and Nature Agency considered the EIA report to be insufficient and put forth an objection against the County's proposal for an amendment of the County Plan. This implied that the County did not have the time to adopt the County Plan amendment before January 1, 2007, when the Danish counties were abolished and replaced by a lower number of administrative Regions.

The future of the project is still unclear. In the National Parliament the political parties behind the political agreement 'Better Roads etc.' from December 2<sup>nd</sup> 2009 have agreed to supplement the previous EIAs with additional investigations and assessments of the road system's environmental impacts during both the construction and subsequent operation phase. The new EIA investigations were initiated in the spring 2010 and are scheduled to be completed in 2011. The objective is to take a political decision about the project's future course of event in the fall 2011 (Danish Road Directorate 2010).

### **Some main conclusions of the EIA report**

The 2003 EIA report included assessments of motorway alternatives as well as highway alternatives for the two western crossings, whereas the report from 2006 only included assessment of motorway alternatives. The latter report also included an extended chapter on terrestrial and marine environment, compared to the 2003 report. Apart from that, the 2003 and 2006 EIA reports are fairly similar. In the following, we shall concentrate on the environmental consequences that depend on the volume, speed and composition of the future traffic on the new road links and on other affected parts of the transport infrastructure: energy consumption, air pollution, traffic noise and traffic accidents.

In the environmental assessments, the three motorway construction alternatives were compared to the situation in the year 2015 if no new road is constructed (the 'baseline' alternative). According to the calculations, traffic growth would cause the average speed on the two existing crossings of the Limfjord in the peak period to drop to 15 km/h and 20 km/h in 2015 if the road capacity across the fjord was not increased. With the proposed motorway, congestion would instead be diminished.

The motorway alternatives were forecasted to reduce energy use, air pollution, general exposition to noise and the number of traffic accidents involving personal injury, compared to the baseline alternative.

Greenhouse gas emissions were only mentioned in the section of the EIA where the results of a cost-benefit analysis were presented. The three motorway alternatives were estimated to give the following annual savings due to lower greenhouse gas emissions, compared to the baseline alternative: the Egholm Line DKK 1,075,000; the Lindholm Line DKK 1,439,000; and the Parallel tunnel DKK 611,000.

A slightly higher number of vehicle kilometers by car was forecasted in the motorway alternatives than in the baseline alternative, as the proposed roads would channel a larger proportion of the traffic along routes deviating somewhat more from the straight line between the majority of origins and destinations, compared to traffic on the existing road network (cf. Figure 1). Apart from this, traffic was predicted to grow at the same rate in the motorway alternatives as in the baseline (2 % annually).

### **Scrutinizing the assumptions of the traffic model**

The traffic forecasts of the EIA had 2015 as the time horizon and were carried out by means of the so-called Aalborg Traffic Model. The forecasted traffic volumes in 2015 were based ‘partly on information about planned residential and commercial development within this horizon, combined with a general assumption about the growth in the traffic crossing the fjord, estimated from the past development’ (Road Directorate, County of North Jutland and Municipality of Aalborg, 2006, p. 14). There is no information in the EIA report about the model’s assumptions about factors influencing future traffic development. Whether or not the model takes the effect of induced traffic into account is thus not explicitly stated. The lack of such information is in itself a demonstration of the black-boxing character of the model. However, the almost identical predicted traffic growth in the motorway alternatives as in the baseline alternative clearly indicates that induced travel has not been incorporated into the traffic model. This has also been confirmed in an interview in 2010 with a planner from the former County who has worked on the project (Interview with planner, 2010).

The non-inclusion of induced travel in the model squares well with the so called “predict and provide” paradigm, but is at odds with the most recent manual from the Ministry of Transport (2003) on how to conduct socio-economic analyses within the transport sector. This manual contains specific guidelines for how to estimate short term (but not long-term) effects of induced traffic (Ministry of Traffic, 2003). The disregarding of induced travel is furthermore sharply at odds with state-of-the-art knowledge about impacts of road improvements on traffic volumes. According to theories of transport economics and transport geography as well as a number of empirical studies in several countries (see, e.g., SACTRA, 1994; Noland & Lem, 2002; Litman, 2009), road construction facilitating higher travel speeds will result in generated and induced traffic by influencing:

- route choice
  - the proportion who prefer to travel in the peak period
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- the amount of travel
- the modal split
- land use (in a longer term)
- the quality of the public transport services (in a longer term).

Changes in the amount of travel (longer and/or more frequent motorized trips) and in the modal split (a higher share of car travel) occur relatively soon after road capacity has been increased. In addition, there are long-term effects reinforcing the immediate changes. Long-term induced traffic is partly a result of the fact that roads facilitating higher travel speeds by car contribute to more dispersed location of residences, jobs and services. In addition to the resulting longer trips, such built environments are difficult to serve by public transport. Moreover, the higher shares of car travel resulting from the short-term changes in modal split usually reduce the income of the public transport companies, with reduced services and/or increased fares as typical responses (Mogridge, 1997; Noland & Lem, 2002).

The verbal discussion in the EIA report mentions that the new road will accommodate long-term traffic growth. This traffic growth is, however, depicted as unavoidable:

***“Even if a Third Limfjord Crossing is not realized, future traffic growth cannot be avoided. If traffic continues its rate of growth without road capacity increases, traffic flows will steadily worsen, with steadily increasing emissions per vehicle kilometer as a result.”*** (Danish Road Directorate, County of North Jutland and Municipality of Aalborg, 2006, p. 28; own translation)

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However, when the traffic modelers assume that traffic growth will continue along a historically observed trajectory, regardless of whether or not the capacity and standard of the road infrastructure is increased, they ignore the fact that the hitherto observed traffic growth is partially a result of road investments having facilitated this growth.

The increase in road capacity represented by the new motorway and associated access roads is assumed to improve overall travel speeds, reduce emissions per vehicle kilometer and improve traffic safety. However, because the assessment ignores induced and generated traffic, these benefits are likely to be considerably exaggerated, because induced travel implies that the new road capacity will gradually start to fill up again, which will eventually cause traffic speeds to drop. In addition, due to induced travel, energy use per vehicle kilometer will be less improved as well, as the number of vehicle kilometers will be higher than indicated by the model results. Most likely, therefore, total energy use and greenhouse gas emissions will be considerably increased instead of being reduced, as indicated by the EIA.

Induced travel also implies that more people will be exposed to the risks of traffic accidents, noise and air pollution. And since trips do not start and end on the slip roads of the motorway, but from origins to

destinations all over the city and the region, the increasing traffic caused by the new motorway will expose a larger than predicted number of people to noise, air pollution and risk of accidents along local roads.

Moreover, the impact assessment of energy use and carbon dioxide emissions does not seem to take into account the fact that an increase in travelling speeds beyond some 80 - 90 km/h entails a considerable increase in energy use per vehicle kilometer, and that energy use per vehicle kilometer is similar when driving 20 km/h as at 120 km/h (IEA, 2005). The gains from avoiding speed levels within the energy-inefficient range below 40 km/h are taken into consideration, but the energy-increasing effect of raising speeds above 80 - 90 km/h does not seem to be incorporated in the model despite the speed limit of the new motorway will probably be 130 km/h (possibly 110 km/h along some stretches).

Another deficiency of both the two above-mentioned EIAs is that neither of them includes an assessment of uncertainties in the analysis, nor a discussion of the validity of the assumptions on which it is based and how these assumptions influence the model results. Such information is required according to the above mentioned manual from the Ministry of Transport as well as the guidelines from the Ministry of the Environment on the Planning Act (Ministry of Transport, 2003; Ministry of the Environment, 1996). As can be seen above, the underlying assumptions of the traffic model is not clarified at all. Such neglect is especially problematic in this case, because all the above-mentioned shortcomings of the model calculations tend to depict the proposed road in a more positive light than what would have been the case if the missing causal mechanisms had been included in the calculations. We shall return to the implications and possible explanations of this in a later section of the paper.

### **The complaint against the rejection to include an alternative aiming to avoid traffic growth**

The above mentioned complaint submitted to the Nature Protection Board of Appeal, which criticized the County for having rejected to include in the EIA an alternative aiming to avoid traffic growth through restrictions on auto usage and substantially improved public transport, was accompanied by an academic assessment of the validity of the County's arguments for refusing to include the proposals. The academic assessment was written by a professor in urban planning and transport researcher, on request (Næss, 2003). The paper criticized the underlying premise of the County's claim, namely that traffic growth would be equally high if this alternative was implemented as it would be with motorway construction and no particular prioritization of buses and bikes. The paper also pointed to the fact that the EIA did not include any discussion – or mentioning whatsoever – of weaknesses in the information and assessments of environmental impacts, despite the requirement for this stated in the Ministerial Guidelines, cf. above. A second paper was later on submitted arguing more in-depth against the claims put forth below by the County in their defense of their estimates (Næss, 2004a).

As part of the handling of the complaint, the Nature Protection Board of Appeal asked for comments from the County of North Jutland. The County withheld its standpoint, referring, among other things, to traffic



model calculations conducted in 1998 predicting that a replacement of one car lane in each direction on the existing Limfjord Bridge with bus lanes would only reduce the number of cars crossing the Limfjord by 0.5% (in total, not annually!), and would result in an increase in the total vehicle kilometers of car traffic by 0.75% (County of North Jutland, 2004).

In the original report from 1998, it is however stated, that these results are rather uncertain. A weakness in the assessment was that the Aalborg Model did not contain a model to calculate mode choice as well as it did not directly include sensitivities toward changes in frequency. Because of that additional investigations were conducted base on travel survey data, but especially the investigations concerning the shift in transportation mode from car to bus did not, according to the planners, give fully satisfactorily results. It was therefore necessary to make adaptations of the traffic model as well as manual corrections of the model results. (Municipality of Aalborg 1998, 13) Moreover because the Aalborg model does not account for induced traffic, the opposite mechanism is also ignored. The fact that reducing road capacity for general traffic and reallocating it for busses, pedestrians, cyclists, etc. can reduce traffic (Cairns *et al*, 2002) was thus not accounted for. As a consequence, the number of cars crossing the Limfjord as well as the number of vehicle kilometers of car traffic are most likely overestimated in the no-build alternative. There are hence good reasons for questioning the validity of the model results as an argument for rejecting to include the proposal.

In a second reply the county attached a technical paper from the consultant firm COWI, where it was maintained that the “method used in the assessment of induced traffic is the method applied generally for new infrastructure schemes in Denmark” (COWI, 2004, p. 2)

COWI’s argument concerning that traffic model used in the Limfjord case is by no means unique in a Danish context is to some extent true. In the best cases (notably the Ørestad Traffic Model, OTM), the models consider only immediate increases in traffic. In the worst cases, including the Danish National traffic model, most Regional models and the model used for the forecasts in the recent report of the Danish Infrastructure Commission induced traffic is not incorporated at all<sup>5</sup> (Danish Infrastructure Commission, 2008, p. 127; Nielsen & Fosgerau, 2005; see also Næss 2011 for a more thorough discussion). Nevertheless, the fact that induced traffic traditionally has not been incorporated into most Danish traffic models does not make this less of a bias. On the contrary, this neglecting has caused the Danish traffic modeling expert Otto Anker Nielsen to state that “time-saving benefits tend to be clearly– and systematically – overestimated in the analyses on which decisions about larger Danish road projects are based” (Nielsen & Fosgerau, 2005).

In 2006, the Nature Protection Board of Appeal decided to reject the complaint about the traffic forecasts and assessment of traffic-related environmental problems. Concerning the traffic elucidations, the Board of

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<sup>5</sup> A new state-of-the-art national traffic model is currently under development in Denmark which, when completed, is supposed to take both short and long term effects of induced traffic into account.

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Appeal stated that “[t]here is no base for rejecting the material as obviously incorrect.”(Nature Protection Board of Appeal, 2006, p. 12)

### **Unreliable traffic forecasts: technical, institutional and political explanations**

In the following technical aspects, political-economical reasons and institutional-organizational conditions (cf. Flyvbjerg, 2007) will be discussed as plausible explanations for the apparent forecasting errors attributed to the zero-alternative.

The Aalborg Model was developed back in the 1970's, in collaboration between Aalborg Municipality, the County of North Jutland and the Road Directorate, with the purpose of analyzing where to locate a third Limfjord Crossing. The model was designed to account only for car traffic, and the trip patterns were based on a fixed trip matrix, which was standard practice for four-step models of that time (Bates 2007). A planner from the former County of North Jutland told in an interview that the fundamental structure of the model involves that it is impossible to adjust the elasticities in the model in a manner reflecting the effect of induced traffic. In order to account for induced traffic in the model, the elasticity will have to be corrected manually for each alternative (Interview with planner, 2010). There are hence clearly technical explanations of the implausible assessments of traffic-related environmental impacts.

However, despite the model deficiencies the technical error of disregarding induced travel may perhaps not be purely technical. Transport researchers have for decades criticized the neglecting of induced travel in traditional traffic models (see, among others, Newman and Kenworthy, 1989; Kenworthy, 1990; Tennøy, 2004). It is technically possible to develop models that include induced and generated traffic (Litman, 2009; Johnston & Ceerla, 1996). When traffic modelers in spite of this continue to construct models in which induced travel is disregarded, and transportation planners and policy-makers continue to use the results of such model calculations as arguments for road construction, part of the reason could be that the model results tend to fit well with the “predict and provide” doctrine. This mind-set is still dominating within many transport planning organizations. Needless to say, it also serves the interests of project promoters. The selective way of dealing with the relationship between driving speed and energy use (and emissions) per vehicle kilometer is another case in point.

The model users who perform the analysis may also be integrated in a professional culture where certain perspectives and values are dominant and cross-sector analyses are not common. Established rules, standard operating procedures and routines constitute/are part of the spheres in which the professionals navigate (Olsen, 1992). Thus some solutions are held as valid while others may be considered ‘no-go’ – unrealistic and/or undesirable. As noted by Priemus (2007), the public decision-making on large infrastructure projects still runs too much along sectoral lines. So even if there seems to be international consensus on the fact that private transportation contributes heavily to polluting the environment and many cities have adopted political

goals of limiting urban motoring, transport planners may still consider the provision of the best possible conditions for car travel as a professional ideal. Moreover, in an empirical study on the motivations of policymakers to select and use policy assessment tools within various policy domains, Nielson *et al.* (2008, 350) found that the core beliefs prevailing within bureaucracies appeared to have a strong influence on the selection of tools, and these beliefs often correlated with organizational or functional affiliations. The social order within the different sectors can hence act as a constraint for the inclusion of new knowledge diverging from these cultural beliefs. As a consequence problems are often approached from extremely narrow terms of reference. This might explain why traffic models which do not include induced traffic, despite the longstanding criticism, have been so widely utilized by transport planning agencies.

From interviews it appears that the planners and consultants recognize that the effect of induced travel exists, and this has been discussed by the planners in relation to the case. As mentioned above, the Aalborg traffic model cannot account for induced traffic, but requires manual corrections. However, such corrections have not been considered sufficiently important to be carried out. As a consultant who has worked on the project states:

***"Induced traffic has been discussed in relation to the case. ,, It is, however, difficult to estimate how great the effect of induced traffic would be ... Based on that, we think that it just as good to say, we have this amount of traffic and we have these forecasts, then the traffic will be distributed in this manner in 2015 ... And because of the annually growth rate for the fjord crossing traffic is about 2-3% and let's say that the effect on induced traffic would generate 5000-10000 extra cars the first years, then the annually growth rate would pretty fast level out this effect."*** (Interview with consultant 2007)

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Despite the difficulty in making an exact estimation of the amount of induced traffic, which varies with context, dependent on amongst others the degree of latent demand and how much the generalized travel costs are reduced, the forecasting error from ignoring it can still be significant - especially in the long term (Noland & Lem, 2002; Litman, 2009). If induced traffic is ignored, total vehicle kilometer traveled, emission and congestion levels will be relatively underestimated in the road alternatives and the results will hence be biased towards road construction (Johnston & Ceerla 1996; Rodier 2004). Moreover the margin of error between the no-built and built alternatives becomes even larger when one considers that the growth in traffic most likely will slow down in the no-built alternative when the road network is utilized close to its maximum capacity.

Political-economic aspects may also be part of the explanation for the apparently biased forecast. In some cases, forecasters have been exposed to strong pressure from elected officials (Flyvbjerg, 2007). Among politicians in North Jutland, there has been – and is still – a strong belief in motorway construction (Langeland, 2008, p. 194). There is no doubt that the political debate has been framed around the need for

motorway construction as the only proper solution to cope with the forecasted congestion problems. As a former municipal politician who was part of the political steering committee stated in an interview:

***“There is nobody who has taken a position on the fact that none of the alternatives has a particularly high rate of return... Instead, the argument is that a gridlock will arise ... and the only way to solve this problem is to construct a western crossing... you find the numbers that best fit into one’s consciousness... The low rate of return indicates that there are other places in the country where road investments are more needed, but when I raise this issue, I am accused of being hostile towards North Jutland, because I don’t attempt to attract investments”*** (Interview with municipal politician, 2010)

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Both at the municipal and regional level investments in infrastructure are regarded as an important condition for generating economic growth. In this growth strategy the Third Limfjord Crossing is regarded as the most important infrastructure investment (Region of North Jutland, 2007). In the decision-making process, motorways have surely been favored in preference to cheaper alternatives. When the then County Council in September 2003 was in the process of passing a resolution about one of the alternative crossings, it was first decided to do so without the highway alternatives, despite these alternatives yielding, according to the cost-benefit analysis, a higher first year rate of return than the motorway alternatives.<sup>6</sup> This was based on the argument that it would be hard to involve the state economically in a smaller road scheme than a motorway (Wormslev, 2003). We have, however, not had access to any information showing whether or not politicians have put any explicit pressure on the forecasting process in the Limfjord Connection case. Probably, any political influence on the forecasts has been more sophisticated and indirect: if the transport planners know that the politicians strongly favor the construction of the new motorway, they may be less concerned about shortcomings in the traffic model if remedying these shortcomings would only weaken the arguments in favour of the politically much wanted new road scheme.

Summarizing, there are obviously technical explanations of the implausible traffic forecasts and assessments of traffic-related environmental impacts of a Third Limfjord Crossing, as the traffic models simply ignore induced travel. But the reasons for sticking to such an inadequate model are probably political-institutional. It is, however, difficult to distinguish which of the two sources of bias – political pressure or institutional inertia – has exerted the strongest influence. Nevertheless it seems like the professionals as well as the majority of politicians have all operated within a ‘predict and provide’ paradigm where infrastructure development making it easier to drive by car has been seen as entirely positive. The reason why neither consultants nor the majority of the politicians have apparently regarded the forecasts as biased might be that the results resonate with their cognitive beliefs concerning the large regional benefits of carrying through the motorway project. In a situation marked by cognitive resonance there is less incentive to control the quality

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<sup>6</sup> This argument does not indicate that the authors regard cost-benefit analyses as a proper decision support tool for infrastructure projects. Cost-benefit analysis contain several in-built biases and contain democratic inadequacies. See Næss (2006) for an elaborate critique.

of model, compared to situations where there is a dissonance between model results and such cognitive beliefs. Hence the misleading forecast is not necessarily a result of deliberated manipulations, but rather the outcome of the dominating social order within the political as well as professional part of the transport sector.

### **A case of knowledge filtering**

Nowadays, it is not common to find academic studies supporting that enhancement of road capacity will contribute to reduced energy use and lower greenhouse gas emissions as it is assumed in those traffic models which leave the traffic-generating impact of increased road capacity in congested transport corridors out of account. Nonetheless such studies still exist. For example, in a recent report, based on micro-simulations carried out by the Norwegian R&D company SINTEF, (Knudsen & Bang, 2007), the authors concluded that:

- Better roads in terms of alignment, sufficient width and capacity which give the traffic the possibility to flow steadily lead to less emission from car traffic and are regarded as a positive contribution to a sustainable environment, and
- Restraining the capacity in the road network is an environmentally unsound measure to promote lower emission from road traffic.

In accordance with assumptions of the model applied in the Limfjord case, the line of reasoning in the report is that increased road capacity in congested transport corridors will reduce the density of vehicles, thus enabling each vehicle to drive more smoothly and at more energy-efficient speeds, with reduced overall energy use and emissions as a result. The effect of induced traffic is, however, not accounted for in the report. Knowledge which is widely accepted within academia is hence disregarded in the report (for an in-depth criticism of the SINTEF study see Strand *et al.* 2009).

Nonetheless the SINTEF study has been used as reference in a recent discussion paper from the Danish Road Association<sup>7</sup> (2009), advocating the construction of 800 kilometers new motorway within the next 30 - 40 years, to argue that road construction can contribute to reduced traffic related CO<sub>2</sub> emissions.

This shows how knowledge considered highly credible among researchers within a field may still be ignored or met with skepticism among policy-makers and stakeholders (Flyvbjerg, 2002). Among policymakers and politicians, there seems to be a quite widespread belief in the possibility of significantly reducing congestion through road construction. If it is possible to claim that there exists a scientific controversy, the scientifically based resistance towards projects promoted by political-economic dominating actors will be weakened.

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<sup>7</sup> Danish Road Association is a lobby group consisting of both firms associated with road construction and firms associated with transportation of goods on the roads. Among the members are the three largest Danish consultant firms. All of these conduct both traffic forecasts and are somehow involved in road construction.

Traffic model calculations showing that the growth in traffic will be equal whether or not road capacity is expanded can contribute to raise such doubt.

In spite of the evidence now available about induced and generated traffic, the academic criticism against the use of inadequate traffic models in the Limfjord case was not able to win through in the practical planning and decision-making process. On the contrary, the highest authority in the Danish society on planning issues (the Nature Protection Board of Appeal) judged that the academic knowledge did not provide a sufficient base for rejecting the results of the traffic model calculations and the associated estimates of energy use and emissions as obviously incorrect.

### **Concluding remarks**

The purpose of an EIA is to assess impacts on the environment. When new, high-capacity roads are constructed in urban areas, the consequences in terms of local pollution, noise, traffic accidents, energy consumption and greenhouse gas emissions are some of the most important environmental impacts. Because of its neglecting of the relationship between increased road capacity and increased car traffic, the Third Limfjord Crossing EIA arrived at the misleading conclusion that the proposed new motorway connection will result in a reduction of all the above-mentioned environmental parameters.

The different roles undertaken by the traffic model in the Limfjord case underpins an argument put forth by Henman (2002: 163) concerning that “the way computer modeling is used in one setting may be ambiguous, and it is this very ambiguity that provides fertile grounds for computer modeling as a political technology”. The manifest function the model was supposed to undertake in the planning process was to act as a forecasting technology, but in spite of the long-standing criticism leveled by transportation researchers, induced travel and the impact of the quality of the public transport services were not included in the model calculations. Anyhow, the model turned out to be invested with truth claim. Assessing the material content of this truth claim was considered to be beyond the legal control of the Nature Protection Board of Appeal. The model calculations thereby became a truth-production technology. This made it possible for the model to carry on its black-boxed political program of discrimination, which aligns with what appears to be an unconscious or at least unspoken coalition between political interests and organizational cultures. In the Limfjord case the model thus served as an “independent expert” reifying the astounding and highly controversial claim – traffic calming means does not reduce environmental impacts – motorway construction do. If this is to be believed, it would almost be environmentally irresponsible not to build the new motorway.

We are not implying that the individual model-builders and the planners are the ‘scoundrels’ to be blamed for the misleading traffic forecasts of the Limfjord case. Their work must be seen in the wider contexts of a professional culture and political climate in which planners and modelers have to navigate. The culture amongst the professionals as well as the political climate can be seen as the context in which planners and

modelers are navigating. If one wants to talk about ‘lying’ (Flyvbjerg, Holm and Buhl, 2002), what we are facing would in this case be ‘institutional lies’ (Martin, 2004). The professionals however have an ethical responsibility to give as correct and instructive presentations as possible. Uncertainties and shortcomings of the model calculations should be communicated clearly, not be put away in footnotes of background reports.

Even if all theoretically plausible and relevant factors of influence were included, the accuracy that transport model computations pretend to provide can hardly be achieved. Notably, their predictions of the ‘general’ and ‘background’ traffic growth are deemed to be highly inaccurate, since the general growth in (urban) mobility depends on several uncertain factors such as economic growth, fuel prices, environmental regulations, etc. Instead of trying to offer an impossible accuracy, the ambitions of transport modelers should be lowered. Assessing the travel behavioral *impact* of a proposed infrastructure or land use measure is a less neck-breaking endeavor than trying to predict the future traffic *situation*. Arguably, such estimates would in many cases not require the use of sophisticated mathematical models at all. What they *would* require is solid theoretical and empirical knowledge about the ways in which changes in transport infrastructure and land use influence transportation behavior.

Even such impact-oriented estimates can hardly be given with the accuracy required for meaningful inputs to cost-benefit analyses. They might, however, be used in a more explorative way, applied to different background scenarios based on, for example, high, moderate or zero general growth in mobility. Anyway, transport modeling should only be used in environmental impact analyses after quality control of the built-in assumptions of the model conducted by independent experts covering a wider range of disciplines than that of the model makers.

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## **Track 13: Resource Management, Energy and Planning**

### **Track Co-Chairs**

Thomas Fischer, University of Liverpool

Jari Niemelä, University of Helsinki

Continuing urban sprawl as well as expanding infrastructure, and growing resource and energy needs mean open, green and undisturbed space is rapidly becoming a luxury in many countries world-wide. Whilst most planning systems aim at striking a balance between satisfying different spatial economic, environmental and social needs, frequently the pressure to deliver on short term economic objectives means that wider environmental interests loose out. Regarding the resource of open and undisturbed land (ie open space), this is a particular problem. Policies for restricting sprawl and infrastructure networks extensions by e.g. densifying existing urban areas have frequently shown to either have a poor impact or are inconsistent with other (including eg economic development, construction and transport) policy.

Further pressures on open space come from, for example, the energy and resource extraction sectors. Regarding the former, renewable energy policies at times lead to consumption of large areas of land. Examples include wind farms and solar parks. Waldpolenz Solar Park in Germany, the world's largest thin-film photovoltaic (PV) power system is covering an area of 220 hectares (2.2 km<sup>2</sup>). Horse Hollow Wind Energy Center in Texas, currently probably the world's largest wind farm, spreads across 190 km<sup>2</sup>. Regarding the latter, particularly striking examples include oil extraction from tar sands and open cast coal mining. In the tar sand mining area around Fort McMurry in Northern Alberta (Canada) open cast mining operations are currently spreading over an area of about 600 km<sup>2</sup>. The Nchanga Open Pit Mine in Zambia, finally, covers nearly 30 km<sup>2</sup> and is up to 400m deep. Such large-scale energy and resource extraction evidently restricts the use of the land for other purposes, and creates conflicts between various land-use types emphasising the need of careful land-use planning.

We invite you to submit papers to this track on 'Energy, Resource Management and Planning'. Papers may deal with all aspects of energy, resource management and wider environmental planning, including those mentioned above, as well as eg water resource management or environmental protection planning. In this context, our particular interest is on approaches that aim at striking a balance of the different spatial demands on land, including economic, environmental and social. We welcome papers from both, academic and non-academic authors and perspectives.

Within Track 13: Resource Management, Energy and Planning, a special session will be organized on "sustainable urban land-use policies for resilient cities". The aim of this session is to explore sustainable land use policies, plans and instruments with reference to the question of 'resilience' both theoretically and practically. means for our cities? Can a city thrive without mobility? In which way?

## **Exploring potentials of sense-making theory for understanding social processes in a public hearing meeting**

Ivar Lyhne<sup>1</sup>

Keywords: Sense-making, public meeting, infrastructure

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This paper has point of departure in a planning process for energy infrastructure in Denmark and focuses on a particular public hearing meeting characterised by trenchant opposition and distrust to the authorities among the public. It points at the need to understand the interaction between authorities and the public, which in the case of energy infrastructure, often is characterised by conflict.

A sense-making framework is developed based on Karl E. Weick's theory to investigate how participants at the meeting change their understanding of aspects like other actors' opinions and the infrastructure project. Through interviews and observations it is shown that participants' senses do not change except from a few aspects. The participants at the meeting thus seem stuck in their positions without any interest in being open for other interpretations or arguments.

The investigation leads to considerations about the benefit and role of such a public meeting and the importance of trust and openness in the social processes in a public hearing.

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### **1. Introduction**

The Danish energy system is undergoing major changes due to political focus on climate change and renewable energy. The changes involve among inter alia an increase in renewable energy production capacity, a completely new electricity transmission grid, and an increase in natural gas storage facilities. The planning processes for these infrastructure changes are often characterised by local opposition and debates on the necessity of the infrastructure.

Obviously, the opposition is related to the related impacts of energy infrastructure on the local society. Infrastructure may reduce property prices, decrease potential income from natural resources, require expropriations, etc. Therefore, the impacted people feel a need to stand up against the planning, and space indeed becomes a luxury when several interests are conflicting.

One example of energy infrastructure planning is the planning of a re-leaching and expansion of caverns for natural gas storage in L1 Torup, Jutland. When talking to local people about their experience with the

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authorities and public meetings on the Ll Torup planning, they describe the meetings as an arena of trenchant opposition from locals and authorities that do not answer questions from the audience. The description is far from objectives of public participation, e.g. rights of access to information and public participation in decision-making as prescribed by the Aarhus Convention (UNECE, 1998), and from planning paradigms such as Consensus Planning (Innes 1996) and Communicative Planning (Healey, 1996).

This paper presents an investigation of a particular public hearing meeting in the Ll Torup planning process. The investigation aims at exploring "what is going on" at the public hearing meeting with focus on the social processes of creating and sharing meaning and understanding. Several investigations of planning processes have focus on power and politics in the relations between the actors (e.g., Richardson, 2005); however, this paper uses sense-making theory with the purpose of adding another dimension for understanding social interaction in planning processes, exemplified by a public hearing meeting.

Weick (1995, 2001) is a primary inspiration on sense-making in this paper, especially his explanations of how people bracket cues and label events to grasp situations and create meaning. Weick's writings on sense-making are inspired by social constructivism, socio-psychology theory and organisation theory, and his writings seem rarely used within planning and impact assessment literature. This investigation of a public hearing meeting is distinctive compared to most other sense-making studies as it covers a very short time span and thus involves a bigger opportunity for revealing minor changes in participants' understandings.

### *1.1. Description of the case*

The Danish energy transmission system operator, Energinet.dk, owns and operates a natural gas storage facility close to Ll. Torup in central Jutland. The gas storage facility consists of seven cavities at a depth of 1,270-1,690 metres leached in a salt dome. The caverns are 200-300 metres high with a diameter of 50-65 metres. In 2008, Energinet.dk started planning for a re-leaching the existing caverns and an increase in storage capacity by new caverns. The project is expected to take 25 years to complete. (Energinet.dk, 2009)

The planning process involves a wide range of documents and authorities: EIA and environmental approval by Aarhus regional environment centre, municipal plans by Viborg Municipality, permit from the Energy Authority, and approval by the Minister of Climate and Energy.

Besides the authorities, a range of actors in the area are engaged in the processes. The local actors are primarily fishermen, residents, owners of summer cottages, and nature NGOs. They are organised through NGOs and through a few resource-strong persons that have used considerable efforts in trying to stop or significantly change the process.

The case is the specific public hearing meeting of the Ll Torup planning process held at Viborg Musiksal, May 3rd 2010 at 7pm. About 200 people were present, including representatives from 3 regional

environment centres, the natural gas storage company and the Danish Energy Authority. Among the audience were representatives from the Danish Society for Nature Conservation, Danish Ornithological Association, fishermen and city council members. Two peaceful happenings against the planning were taking place at the entrance and a protest banner were decorating the room of the meeting.

## 2. Sense-making analytical framework

The investigation covers a minor part of participants' sense-making process of the planning. Their sense-making process was initiated when the participants' noticed the planning ideas for the first time and continues throughout the re-leaching to following activities. The focus of this investigation is delimited to the development in the persons' sense-making processes from before the meeting to after the meeting. The analytical framework include aspects that the participants are expected to have made sense of and encompass both technical or physical aspects as well as persons' understanding, see table 1.

<i>Sense about</i>	<i>Before the meeting</i>	<i>After the meeting</i>
The project		
Societal need for the project		
Certain environmental impacts		
The range of environmental impacts		
Other peoples' understanding and values		
Own understanding and values		

*Table 1: Sense-making analytical framework for the investigation of the public hearing meeting.*

The analytical framework is expected to show how and to what extend the participants' sense change at the public hearing meeting. This information will make it possible to discuss what influences participants' sense-making process, and constitute a point of departure for investigations of under what circumstances, sense-making is taking place.

## 3. Methodology

In line with Yin's (2005) writings on case study methodology, the investigation of the LI Torup case is based on a range of methods and acknowledges the importance of the context. The methods are participant observations, review of news on the planning from news media and authorities, and interviews.

Contradicting Yin's writings is the short time frame, which therefore is supplemented by background knowledge of reports and statements in the news about the LI Torup planning.

Since the LI Torup planning process is characterised by a highly politicized and value-based interaction, it is hypothesised to reveal a certain kind of sense-making. Participants' openness towards other understandings is assumed to be restricted in the politicized and conflicting arena.

Whereas other sense-making studies are based on historic data or longitudinal studies, this investigation is focused on a very short time frame. The short time frame is expected to make it possible to direct changes in persons' sense-making to the social processes taking place at the public hearing meeting. It is, however, a snap-shot of ongoing sense-making and organizing activities among all involved actors, and it may be difficult to explain the changes taking place, as these are part of a complex web of interacting processes.

### ***3.2. Interviews of meeting participants***

The analytical framework is reflected in the choice of conducting interviews before and during/after the public meeting hearing to achieve insight in the development of the participants' sense-making.

#### *Choosing interviewees*

Three interviewees were found by searching the media for persons that expressed their sceptics about the project and the EIA. A variety of opinions were sought and partly achieved by representatives from local fishermen, from a regional organisation of a national nature NGO, and from a regional organisation of a national bird NGO. These representatives provided a good basis for using a snowballing technique to identify other relevant interviewees for coming studies. The interviewees were all knowledgeable of the case and engaged in being critical of the development; however, their opinions and interpretations are likely to have influenced this investigation to reflect a critical view of the planning process. Furthermore, the interviewees were all knowledgeable in nature and the impacts of the project, which may be reflected in the character of the sense-making development.

The interviewees' personality and background was an obvious frame for their sense-making activities, and there was a clear tendency that the interviewee with a business background focused on strategic and regulatory aspects, the interviewee with education background focused on logic and calculations, whereas the gardener mainly emphasised impacts on nature. From the interviews and observations at the public hearing meeting it was clear that the persons participating in the hearing used a wide range of sources were used by the persons to make sense of the project. The persons of course referred to the reports on the activity and the environmental impacts that were directly connected to the hearing, however, they also referred to background materials to the reports, similar projects, modelling methods, statements in the news media, information at web pages against the planning, historical data, and personal experiences. Part of the debated information has been made accessible by request of the affected people. The social process of exchanging viewpoints was thus based on a complex variety and amount of information. In spite of the importance of the

interviewees' background and their use of materials in their sense-making processes previous to the meeting, this is not part of the investigation.

#### *Interview considerations*

Three full interviews were made on the day of the public hearing meeting. Two interviews were made in the homes of the interviewees to enhance a relaxed and confidential atmosphere, and the third at the venue of the meeting. The interviews during/after the meeting had character of being conversations and continuations of the interviews before the meeting. I emphasised that they were to accept how I used their statements and I conducted the interviews like conversations taking notes in stead of recording the conversation. Thus, the quotation may not be 100% accurate, however, they are approved by the persons afterwards and thus an acceptable representation of what they were likely to say in this situation and still stand up for. To make the topic of sense-making easier to understand, I used the terms 'perception' and 'understand' in the communication with the persons. Furthermore, I aimed at opening up for their words and what they found interesting rather than using the analytical framework slavish. The interview questions in "everyday" language were of the character: How do you understand the project? What do you expect to hear about at the meeting? Did you hear something new at this meeting? Did it change your understanding of the project or its impacts?"

The efforts of making my intentions clear were complicated by the setup of the PhD project as it is partly funded by Energinet.dk that has initiated the re-leaching of the caverns. Despite the complications, it may have given an increased interest in my project as the persons then had an opportunity for accessing an "insider" in the re-leaching company.

### ***3.3 Analysis of statements in news media***

A significant part of the meaning creation is assumed to be based on news media. This assumption follows an observation that several actors point at the same "mistakes" in the reports and use very similar arguments. Therefore, news media and web pages have been reviewed for opinions and arguments. The review has covered national and local newspapers, ministerial news letters, and private homepages about the planning. Search words were names of the impacted areas, words related to the planning, and names of the authorities and key persons involved in the process. The findings of the review are not directly mentioned in this paper, but they have constituted part of the basis for developing interview questions and for interpreting interviews and observations.



### 3.4 Observations at the public hearing meeting

To get insight in the sense-making processes as they are taking place, a public hearing on the LI Torup case was observed by participation in the meeting. The observation was focused on who was speaking, how the audience reacted, what arguments were used, and how opinions of specific issues were developed (if possible). The observations were noted and some were discussed with participants.

## 4. Results

The result of the investigation is summarised in table 2. Besides being part of the interviews, all aspects of the sense categories were brought into the debate by the audience at the public meeting.

<i>Sense about</i>	<i>Interviewees' sense before the meeting</i>	<i>Change in sense (During/after the meeting)</i>
The project	A very comprehensive project with no treatment of waste water	(Similar)
Societal need for the project	"The extra capacity of the caverns has the purpose of earning money and not a necessity for the society"	(Similar)
Certain environmental impacts	Uncertain knowledge about impacts on the protected area	(Similar)
	"Political" EIA	(Similar)
The range of environmental impacts	A range of impacts on the ecosystem in protected area, impacts on human health and fishery	(Similar)
Other peoples' understanding and values	Agency hides knowledge about the content of the salt in the caverns	The agency said themselves that they did not know what was down there
	Agency has declined the alternative of a pipeline for the wastewater to discharge in Kattegat due to the distance	Agency had considered it outside the possible demands to Energinet.dk
Own understanding and values	"We know more about the local characteristics since we live here, and we experienced the impacts from the leaching of the caverns decades ago".	"There were nothing new today"

Table 2: The development of the interviewees' senses

## 5. Discussion of the sense-making processes

In terms of the development in the interviewees' sense-making process from before to after the meeting, only a few changes were obvious. One interviewee specifically stated: "No new [relevant] information about the consequences were put forward at the meeting". One of the changes in senses was bracketed by one interviewee in emphasising that the agency at the meeting clearly admitted that they - in spite the formulations in the EIA report - did not know what amount of heavy metals were in the caverns. Another change was a change of the sense made prior to the meeting that the agency was not considering alternatives fully to the sense that a professional judgement was basis for their decisions. Looking beyond the interviewees, some participants at the meetings uttered changes in their understanding of the planning; a participant started a comment on the planning with: "I think I have become wiser about the operation phase tonight..." Furthermore, some confusion rose among the audience around certain topics, which indicates that some participants are still in a phase of making sense of these topics.

From observing the meeting, it seemed that change of sense among participants primarily was related to certainty and knowledge in the basis for the EIA. Attention to these aspects may be due to many participants' interest in contesting the knowledge and arguments of the agency. This interest came into light as an interviewee uttered: "We would like to hear other viewpoints to benefit our case". Views on certainty differed significantly between the agency and the public, which may be due to differences in mental frames and experience that govern the way the actors make sense of events. Looking beyond the sense-making framework political interests or instructions may provide explanation for the difference as it seemed that the agency had no interest in following the participants' line of thought. In stead the agency often answered questions about heavy metal concentrations of the salt to be re-leached with information about the proposed limits for heavy metal concentrations on the wastewater content in the environmental approval.

### *Settled changes at a late public hearing*

The minor changes are likely to be due to the late time of the public hearing meeting: Documents on the project was published 3 months before and another public hearing meeting was held prior to the investigated meeting. The actors therefore have had time to review the reports and settle their sense-making on a certain understanding of the project and its impacts. A public meeting with no more than a few questions per person may not be a relevant forum for reaching a level of detail in the dialogue between the knowledgeable interviewees and the agency that would change the actors' understanding. An interviewee directly commented the insufficient time for "decent explanations".

The changes of interviewees' senses at the public hearing meeting are part of a longer sense-making process, which one of the interviewees described in this way:

*"In the beginning I focus on details and re-calculate their numbers to look for e.g. a factor ten mistake. Thereby I focus on things "that are too flawed". It is an effort of demolish the logic and arguments in the report. Later, I get a better overview of the report and get the impression that the most significant point of criticism are covered, for instance in the description of operation phases in the environmental approval. The question is then if the environmental agency has the strength to stop the process."*

The investigated public hearing meeting takes place late in this progression of sense-making, probably at the stage of overview. Public hearing meetings earlier in the planning process are most likely also earlier in peoples' sense-making process. As an example of changes in sense-making previous to the meeting, two interviewees mentioned their change of sense in regards to the data about the salt contents: Late in the process, the environmental authority revealed that the EIA report was partly based on data from a 20 years old sample of the salt in the caverns rather than a new sample. As the age of the sample was not mentioned in the EIA report, the interviewees had assumed that new samples had been made. The late realisation of the age of the samples changed much attention from the uncertainty about the content to the inadequacy of old samples.

*What influences when and how people make sense of the projects and its impacts?*

Besides the late time of the meeting, the minor changes of sense may be due to distrust among the participants to the agency. Partly because the EIA report in their opinion was positive to the project in its treatment and judgement of data: According to some of the statements in the media, data that may lead to criticism seemed to be ignored in the report. As one of the interviewees' commented it: "The more they put forward, the more suspicious we get on what they are hiding". The distrust was fuelled by an interpretation of the agency's verbal performance: "I am upset that they [the environment agency] do not answer the questions". An example of such questions was about an apparently controversial choice between remarkably different results from laboratory tests, which the agency did not explain in spite of several questions about it. The distrust seemed to decrease the participants' openness for the agency's understanding. Therefore, the audience kept asking questions about how to deal with the content of heavy metals in the salt caverns when the agency in a seemingly proper way had explained that their only possibility was to regulate the wastewater.

The use of specific frames for talking about an issue seemed to influence actors' sense-making. In some instances the audience seemed not to follow the logic of the environment agency's answers and became confused about the agency's statements. An example is the way of approaching the problem of uncertainty about the contents of the caverns, where the public focuses on the toxic chemicals in the caverns, whereas the agency focuses on µg/l concentrations in the wastewater. The framing of issues also came into sight in a

discussion on mercury: The environment agency framed the question of mercury as "it is only 2 kg compared to the average intake from the sea to the fjord on 100-800 kg", giving the impression that the (environmental) agency is defending the project rather than the environment. One of the participants counter-framed the impact as "1 kg is one too much ". Another specific framing was the agency's statement "There will be no higher salt concentration in the Fjord than what is naturally occurring today", which seem to cover that the increase in *average* salt content will not increase to levels that are not presently occurring, whereas the coming *maximum* salt content was not mentioned. Some participants tried to counteract the agency's framing by using a metaphor of an incredible number of lorries loaded with salt rather than a small number of µg/l. Such carefully formulated framings of impacts are discussed by Gioia and Chittipeddi (1991) as "sense-giving". They defined sense-giving as "the process of attempting to influence the sensemaking and meaning construction of others toward a preferred redefinition of organizational reality." (p. 442). Sense-giving inspired Maitlis and Lawrence (2007) to introduce the concept of "sense-giving contests", which in cases like the Ll Torup hearing meeting seems like a relevant concept.

## 6. Conclusion

The investigation confirms the idea that sense-making theory has a potential for explaining how peoples' sense-making evolves in their effort of creating meaning of a project and its impact. In the case of Ll Torup, the use of sense-making made it clear that the public hearing meeting only resulted in minor changes among the interviewed participants. The insight in participants' sense-making processes may serve as a basis for reconsidering the timing and format of the public hearing meeting and for improving communication between the involved actors concerning e.g. the basis for decision, the frames used and action suggested.

To the extent the investigation confirms the assumed potential of sense-making it opens up for a range of questions to be studied: Would it be beneficial to differentiate the dialogue with the public depending on their insight, since the insight seemed to influence the level of detail on which changes in sense-making takes place? Weick argue that sense-making and identity are intimately linked, and it is therefore interesting to ask: Are people adopting an identity of being part of the opposition developing a common sense of the project? Are the membership of the opposition decreasing people's critical stance towards information and meaning shared in the opposition? When is sense-giving a legitimate activity?

The investigation indicates that objectives of public participation are under pressure in highly contested and value-laden developments. It shows that public hearing meetings risk being an arena for a verbal fight where the people opposing the project are trying to get information that may help them stop the process, rather than developing and sharing understandings. The agency and the opposition seem to be locked in structures, where no openness or concessions are given. The investigation therefore leads to worries if it at all is possible to gain a constructive debate on the basis for decision-making in cases like Ll Torup? To end in a

positive tone, a representative of the opposition declared that if the purpose of the public hearing clearly was to establish "the best EIA", he declared that he would participate in a constructive dialogue.

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<p>24th AESOP Annual Conference, Finland, 7–10 July 2010 Track 13: Resource Management, Energy and Planning <b>Special session on “Sustainable urban land-use policies for resilient cities”</b></p>
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## **“Resilience Thinking” for urban analysis and planning: An exploratory research on Istanbul**

AYDA ERAYDIN<sup>1</sup>

### **Abstract**

This paper attempts to decipher the concept of resilience in urban analysis and planning, first by working on the terms used in order to explain “resilience”, second to define a framework that defines the basic principles of building resilience cities and third to discuss these principles in the Istanbul context in order to investigate the critical issues for planning this city region, which became increasingly vulnerable in recent years.

In order to reach this aim the paper proposes a framework to understand and analyze the changes and processes with the use of attributes of resilience under the headings below; disturbances, vulnerability of the urban ecosystems, adaptive capacities and outcomes of disturbances on urban sub-systems as self-organization, adaptation or transformation.

Using the exploratory questions and indicators that define the adaptive capacity, the research on Istanbul has been designed to identify the critical issues in urban analysis and planning principles to be followed in Istanbul under the resilience perspective. The paper presents the findings and discusses how general principles as well as principles based on local issues and priorities can be defined in planning practice.

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## **I. Introduction**

Recently the question “how might urban systems accommodate future “shocks,” “crises,” “disasters,” and “emergencies” in whatever (un)expected forms they might take?” became very crucial, due to increasing vulnerability of urban systems following repeated global economic crises as well as expected global ecological problems and catastrophes.

This question raises the need for “resilience thinking” in planning, which is rather underestimated in the planning literature up to the recent years, since the recent attempts on planning theory have concentrated on more on processes and methods, but less on principles. The increasing importance of resilience is due to first increasing interconnections between different places as the outcome of globalization and deregulation, which enables the diffusion of economic forces immediately to different spatial units and making them prone to large-scale shocks. Secondly, increasing use of natural resources and their negative outcomes are becoming major global threats such as climate change. Third, the urban areas becoming are precarious, since sprawling natural/ecological and human/social systems grow intricately intertwined. This trend requires a resilient system that is able to absorb unforeseen shocks, continually adapting and evolving so as to resist collapse, by providing a framework to define the interplay between deterministic forces and random events, structural factors and human agency, linear paths and contingency (Critical Planning Journal, 2009).

Resilience thinking necessitates adaptive capacity that aim explicitly equipping urban systems to deal effectively with change, surprises and risks. As Baud and Hordijk (2009) state its application so far has been limited to the field of disaster management, but can be the core of a new paradigm for planning practices. The difficulty is the adaptive capacity should cover responses to multidimensional issues that vary from ongoing environmental /ecological concerns, the changing urban built environment, movements of people, evolving socioeconomic regimes and the interplay of political ideologies and collective imaginaries. The wide variety of issues makes to settle planning principles planning practice quite complicated. The existing urban resilience literature, unfortunately concentrates on one dimension of change by ignoring the others. However, there are increasing numbers of studies in this field, which try to add other dimensions and to adapt the concept derived from ecology to urban analysis and planning. The composition and context of projects of URBAN-NET program of EU (URBAN-NET, 2009) are good indicators of this attempts, which try to depict the different aspects of resilience of urban systems.

This paper attempts to decipher the concept of resilience with respect to urban analysis and planning, first by working on the terms used in order to explain “resilience”, second to define a framework that explores the basic principles of building resilience cities and third to discuss them in the Istanbul context. The main objective is to investigate the critical issues for enhancing the resilience of this city region, which became increasingly vulnerable in recent years. This is, however, an exploratory essay, which aims to show how starting points, core issues and priorities can change in urban analysis and planning if the resilience thinking is adopted.

## **II. The concept of resilience and its main attributes**

A resilient system is defined by its two main features: ability to absorb change and disturbance together with the persistence of systems while retaining its basic function and structure (Walker and Salt, 2006). According to Adger (2000: 349) resilience is the buffer capacity or the ability of a system to absorb perturbations, or the magnitude of disturbance that can be absorbed before a system transforming its structure by changing the variables and processes that control behaviour. In many studies, resilience is used as a loose antonym of vulnerability. When a social or ecological system loses its resilience, they become vulnerable to change that previously could be absorbed. Therefore, most of the discussions on resilience are focused on and agree upon the importance of change/disturbance that can make the system lose its resilience (Ludwig, Walker and Holling, 1997) and the different phases of adaptation to disturbances as defined in the “adaptive cycle theory”<sup>1</sup> (Holling, 2001).

Some authors add the ability to anticipate their occurrence within the definition of resilience. For instance, Aguirre (2006) includes the ‘ability to anticipate crises and to enact, through planning and recovery, changes in the system that will mitigate their effects. Similarly, Baud and Hordijk (2009: 5) state that it incorporates not only the ability to respond, but also the preventive measures, which can be incorporated at different scale levels into local urban planning, management, design and community inclusion processes.

Therefore, the concept of resilience shifts policies from those that aspire to control change in systems assumed to be stable, to managing the capacity of social-ecological systems to cope with, adapt to, and shape change. Folke on behalf of The Environmental Advisory Council to the Swedish Government (2002) claims that in a resilient system change has the potential to create



opportunity for development, novelty and innovation. Managing for resilience enhances the likelihood of sustaining development in changing environments where the future is unpredictable and surprise is likely. These discussions obviously facilitate the use of the concept of resilience as a new focal point in the planning literature.

### **III. Planning for resilience: Sustaining development in changing environments where the future is unpredictable and surprise is likely**

The urban resilience approach assumes *cities as complex adaptive social-ecological systems*. Developing ways of assessing urban vulnerability and adaptation capacity of urban systems under the disturbance and identifying principles and opportunities for building resilience in urban systems are the keys for a new planning paradigm. “Urban Resilience” Research Prospectus (2007) claims that “the attributes – of *self-organisation*, of *adaptation* and *demise*, and of dynamics playing out on *multiple spatial and temporal scales* – lead us to conclude that studies of sustainable urbanisation can get benefit from the employment of a resilience approach.

The Prospectus suggests that in order to understand the resilience of urban systems which recognizes the role of *metabolic flows* in sustaining urban functions, human well-being and quality of life; *governance networks* and the ability of society to learn, adapt and reorganize to meet urban challenges; and the *social dynamics* of people as citizens, members of communities, and their relationship with the *built environment* which defines the physical patterns of urban form and their spatial relations and interconnections are important. This report and several studies on resilience (Adger, 2000; Berkes and Folke, 1998; Folke and Carpenter, 2000; Abel, Cummings, Anderies, 2006) use concept of resilience not only in ecological sense. They introduce the terms of economic and social resilience, since economic, social and ecological systems are themselves linked with synergistic and co-evolutionary relationships.

These issues and principles covered under the four headings are not new. What is new about them is how they should be investigated; their contribution is on the analysis of changes. Abel, Cummings, Anderies (2006) propose to understand and analyze the changes and processes, there is need to define of attributes of resilience by defining disturbances/threats and the nature of the urban system. Within this framework, it is necessary to describe how far the urban system is

vulnerable and whether urban the system has adaptive capacity. This framework provides clues to find out how disturbances modify the urban system and to develop scenarios in order to estimate the impacts of disturbance on the urban system.

This above framework necessitates clarifying the several notions beginning from the definition of disturbance. Resilience is defined with reference to a disturbance, which takes place either suddenly or in relatively short periods. However, cities could be subject to effects, which span over some period of time and cause problems in the efficiency of functioning of activities that are located in these cities. The resilience concept defines how well the system that is subject to the disturbance recovers from the disturbances. Cities that have the capacity to overcome negative effects of disturbances, either through the market mechanism or by implementing certain policies and plans, as it is emphasised in this paper.

The threads/disturbances have certain affects on the urban areas, which can be studied at the sub-systems levels. The impact of the disturbances is related to the vulnerability of a system. The term vulnerability refers to the propensity of social and ecological system to suffer harm from exposure to external stresses and shocks (Dalziell, and McManus, 2004; Folke and Carpenter, 2000). Research on vulnerability can; for example, assess how the disturbances will affect people and ecosystems and how sensitive they will be to such changes.

The concept of the adaptive capacity of the social and ecological systems, consists the core of the debates on resilience, and especially important in planning decisions. Adaptive capacity is defined as the capacity to adapt to and shape change and as a vector of resources and assets, which enable urban systems to adapt to changing conditions. Enhancement of adaptive capacity is a necessary condition to reduce vulnerability, particularly for the most vulnerable regions, nations or socio-economic groups. Enhancement of adaptive capacity presents a practical way of coping with changes and uncertainties and necessitates both availability of and entitlement to resources are (Folke and Carpenter, 2000; Vincent, 2007).

The adaptive capacity enables the chance of self-organisation, which is a process of [attraction](#) and [repulsion](#) in which the internal organization of a [system](#) without being guided or managed by an outside source (Heylighen, 2002; Holling, 1992). Self-organisation of ecological systems establishes the arena for evolutionary change. However, the self-organisation is not always possible and the systems had to be changed thoroughly. Transformation, in such cases is

inevitable, which is defined as the capacity to create a fundamentally new system when ecological, economic, or social (including political) conditions make the existing system untenable (Walker, Holling, Carpenter and Kinzig, 2004). Planning may play a vital role within this process. Obviously, if the things change very rapidly the system may collapse which necessitates to a new regime characterized by changes in scale, state variables, and feedbacks.

Following the arguments above the role planning in this way of resilience thinking can be focused on identifying disturbances and the possible vulnerabilities in the urban systems, defining the adaptive capacity of the urban system and whether the impacts lead to self-organisation, transformation or insufficient to sustain the existing conditions and quality. We argue that pinpointing the critical issues for enhancement of adaptive capacity and if the adaptive capacity is limited, indicating the necessary transformation in order to prevent the collapse of the system should be the major concerns of contemporary resilience based planning.

#### **IV. The exploratory research on Istanbul**

In this paper, I try to introduce the framework, which aims to focus on enhancement of adaptive capacity and building a resilient metropolitan region. The paper presents the preliminary findings of the study that followed the framework above. The main aim is to discuss the way to introduce resilience thinking and to define the critical points, which the planning process should focus on in order to support the resilience of the Istanbul Metropolitan Region. This type of approach is very crucial to analyze Istanbul, which is one of the largest urban concentrations exposed to different pressures and disturbances. This huge metropolitan area with more than 12,573 million populations in year 2007, covering 540 thousand hectares has become the playfield of different pressures, which has negatively affected its resilience. The recent planning attempts showed the necessity for a new approach for planning of this very complex urban system, which is open to external demands and pressures, since not only its ecological systems, but also economic and social systems have become increasingly vulnerable

##### **4.1 Methodology**

The aims of the research presented in this paper can be defined under four headings: to define the major threads that induce ecological, economic and social change, to evaluate how far the system

is vulnerable with the help of indicators of resilience, to discuss adaptive capacity of the urban system and to pinpoint critical issues of planning and policy instruments in enhancement of the resilience of Istanbul metropolitan area. The research is designed in three stages:

Stage 1 consists of the review of recent studies on Istanbul, including planning and other published documents, reports and newspapers in order to frame the study and to define the lists of threads and disturbances. In Stage 2 of the research, the discussions on the major problems of the metropolitan regions are carried out with the local authorities, especially members of the Planning Bureau of Greater City Municipality in order to identify the urban subsystems that necessitate a special focus. After collecting background knowledge, the issues that are important in defining the resilience of the metropolitan region are used to frame Stage 3.

Stage 3 is composed of 5 steps to analyze the resilience of the metropolitan region. The steps followed in the analyses and the context of these steps is as follows (see Table 1). First, the major disturbances/threats are identified for Istanbul Metropolitan Region; changes in population and the demand for urban land strongly affected by the changes in the global markets, besides the increasing ecological risks accelerated by the rapid expansion of this metropolitan region. Second, the main territorial issues at stake are listed. The urban sub- systems where the exogenous impacts are important are identified using the information collected by earlier studies and meetings organised by the different stakeholders. The subsystems and issues that necessitate further attention are defined as; freshwater ecosystem, forests, agro-ecosystem, areas with natural hazard risks, ecologically sensitive areas and air quality. Third, the impacts of disturbances on urban sub- systems are designated with the help of indicators (see Table 1). Fourth, the adaptive capacity of the system is evaluated with the help of four attributes of resilience: adaptability, flexibility, recovery and transformability. Fifth, critical appraisal of the adaptive capacity and setting the critical issues for planning is the last step that provides the main inputs for the planning.

#### **4.2 Disturbances/threats**

The existing documents and discussions at the meetings organised together with the different stakeholders indicated the volatile demand on urban space due to increasing attractivity of Istanbul for domestic and foreign migrants and for global activities became major disturbances together with newly emerging several ecological problems. While the economic changes and repeated crisis made

the system more vulnerable, the risks of disasters have been accelerated due to increasing residential and other activities on areas with risks of ecological hazards.

**Population growth is the source of** major threads in Istanbul that decreases the resilience of this rapidly expanding urban system. The high rates of population increase, without any doubt, led to pressures on urban ecological systems as well as social economic systems on Istanbul metropolitan region. Increasing population means increasing urban land demand, increasing use of energy, ecological services and resources as well as increasing pollution, which intensified the pressure on ecological systems. It has also important impacts on socio-economic structure due to increase in job opportunities in services, etc.(see Table 1).

In Istanbul, the high rates of population increase have been one of the major problems of this city for a long period. It has become a major thread for the ecological resilience of the city in recent decades. The population of Istanbul that was 4.7 million in 1980 has reached 12.7 million in year 2008. From 1980 to 1990 period, the increasing population was 2.5 million, which was followed by 2.8 million population increase between 1990 and 2000. In the last 9 years, on the other hand, 2.7 million people were added to Istanbul. These figures indicate that in the last thirty years, in each decade Istanbul grew more than 2.5 millions, most of which is due to domestic and international migration. The increasing numbers of people living in Istanbul means increasing demand for ecological and other types of services, which is difficult to be supplied both in terms of quantity and quality. While the immigrants expected to find better employment opportunities in Istanbul, obviously in the periods of crisis having a job became quite difficult. Increasing unemployment and decreasing income levels have been the source of socio-economic problems but also they have strong repercussions on built environment.

### **Changes in the economic structure**

Since the 1980s onwards, major metropolitan areas in the world experienced the important restructuring in their economies in order to adapt and compete in the newly emerging conditions and risks in the global economy. While the deregulation with respect to the flow of goods, capital and people decreases the level of protection of local economies to external affects, volatility of the global economy intensified the vulnerability of them. In order to define how well the local economy adapts to conditions imposed by the external and internal conditions, two indicators are

identified; the change in income per capita levels and the change in the in the composition of working population.

Istanbul has experienced considerable rates of economic growth and has been successful in creating new employment opportunities. In fact, from 1980 to 2000 more 1 million 900 thousand new jobs were created in Istanbul Metropolitan Area. The number of jobs in the scientific and technical sectors increased substantially. In 1980, only 8 percent of the country's working population were employed in technical and scientific jobs, but this figure reached 11.3 percent in 2000. People with scientific and technical backgrounds, besides those working in the banking and insurance sector, constituted the most attractive target for companies engaged in global economic activities. The figures on the changing composition of workforce (Table 2) show that in the recent twenty years or more, finance and banking sector including insurance activities experienced a substantial rise. The share of finance and banking in the total working population has increased from 6,4 per cent in 1980 up to 8.2 per cent in 2000 in Istanbul, which means more than 200 thousand additional jobs have been created in these activities. There is also increase in the other types of services, such as public services, transportation communication and infrastructure services; the figures in year 2000 is more than the double in almost all of these service activities.

**Table 2: The composition of workforce 1980 to 2000**

	Manufacturing	Infrastructure services	Construction	Trade	Transport & communication	Finance & banking	Public services	Others	Total
<b>1980</b>	526490	6177	111690	279699	104929	82715	333587	416302	1.563.939
	34,28	0,21	6,56	18,47	6,52	6,44	20,51	26,95	100
<b>1990</b>	834888	10728	224126	486177	167467	179558	456245	635803	2.539.963
	32,87	0,43	8,83	19,14	6,6	7,07	17,96	25,03	100
<b>2000</b>	1097051	14968	215925	650295	221298	283404	696033	979437	3.471.400
	31,6	0,43	6,22	18,73	6,38	8,16	20,05	28,21	100

While the share of different types of services rose substantially, the share of manufacturing employees in total declined between 1980 to 2000. However, still the share of manufacturing employment constitutes 31,6 per cent of the total population. The rapid population growth had a very significant impact on shaping the economic structure especially the manufacturing employment. The increasing numbers of migrants, mostly unskilled, helped to keep wage levels low, enabling Istanbul to sustain its competitive advantage in some of the traditional mature industries. Although there were attempts to increase the competitiveness of Istanbul in certain

knowledge-based production sectors, sustained competitiveness in the traditional sectors became a negative motivation for industrial growth in high tech capital intensive production sectors.

In fact, the increasing jobs opportunities and integration into the global markets did not improve the welfare of the people living in Istanbul relative to the rest of the country, since the relative income increase per capita stayed below than the national average while the cost of living rose more than in other cities of Turkey (Eraydin, 2006). The ratio of income per capita of Istanbul to the national average fell from 1.74 in 1987 to 1.43 in 2001, indicating a slow growth of average income per capita due to the high rates of migration from different regions, as well as from abroad.

As explained in the above paragraphs although the growth of income per capita is not very high due to massive migration, the increasing numbers of different kinds of activities and the population created a huge demand for urban land. **Increasing demand for urban land for global functions** is the main of pressure that has been affecting economic and socio-spatial restructuring of this huge metropolitan area. Recently, there has been substantial increase in the importance of the global enterprises in Istanbul, since it became an important international node (Beaverstock, et al., 1999 and 2000; Taylor and Walker, 2001; Taylor, 2001 and 2003). These new functions reflected in the increasing role of financial services in the Istanbul economy besides other producer services.

The number of people work for foreign capital firms increased substantially in the last two decades. The findings of a sample survey<sup>2</sup> of 405 foreign capital firms in different production and service activities in year 2005 indicated that the large Turkish market has been important in their location decisions, although 30 percent of them defined their markets as European countries, 20 percent Middle East and less than 10 percent Eastern Europe and Central Asia. These findings indicate that the attractiveness of Istanbul is due to not only its large domestic market but also other factors that make Istanbul competitive among the other major cities in the region (Eraydin, et al., 2009a).

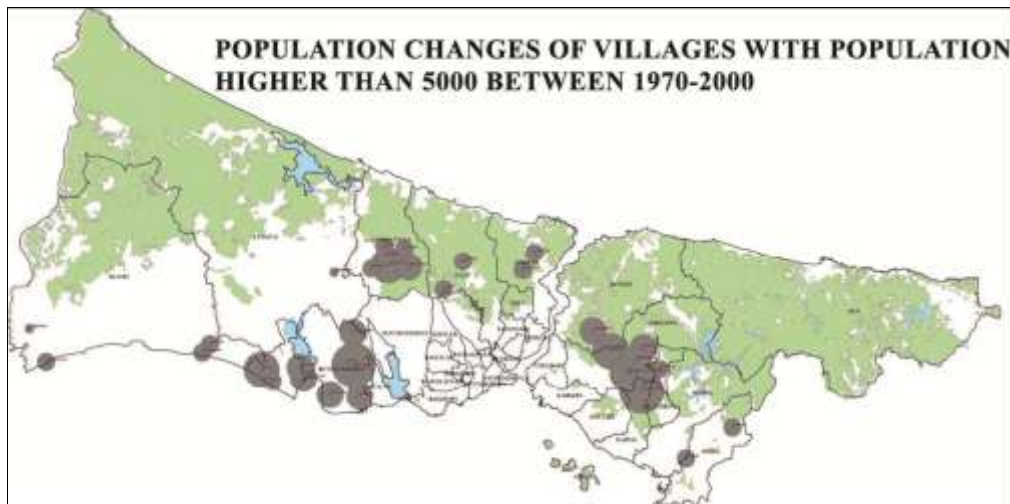
### **Urban sprawl increasing risks of ecological hazards**

The impact of population growth and the global functions led the transformation of the socio-spatial organisation of Istanbul, which can be defined with two countervailing trends; “*urban sprawl together with increasing densities in the urban core*”. The increasing population as well

as increasing production and global service activities obviously created new demand for land both for the urban land in the core of the city as well as in the periphery of the existing built up areas. The shortage of developable land under the conditions of rapid population growth led to the rise in land and building prices. This situation created favourable conditions to carry out renewal, regeneration and transformation projects, as well as new housing and industrial estates, at the outskirts of the built up areas. The urban sprawl and the increasing projects far from the core of the metropolitan area has become one of the major trends of spatial development in Istanbul.

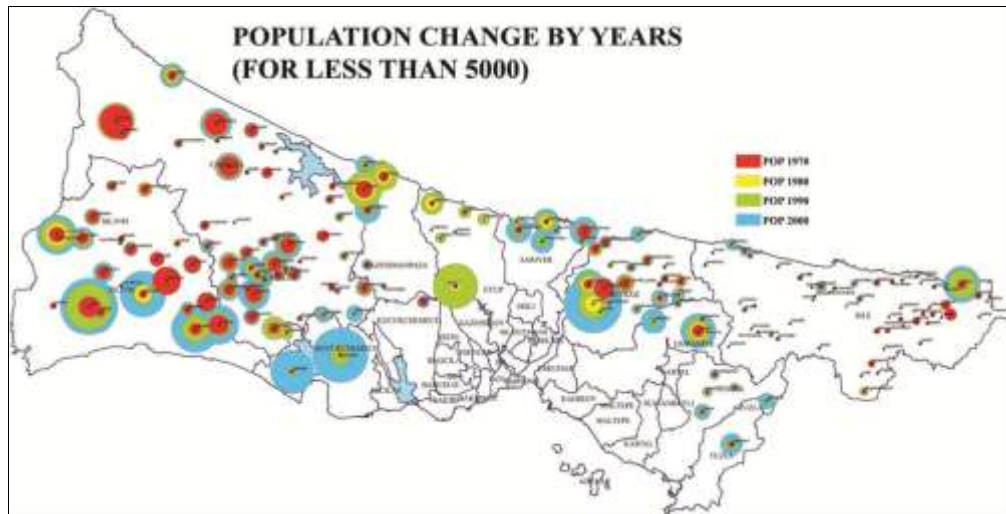
While the population living in already built up areas within Istanbul Greatercity Municipality (former boundaries-before 2004 enlargement), rose from 6753929 in 1990 to 9085599 in 2000 and 11174257 in 2007, the population in the smaller settlements around the built up core rose from 268271 in 1990 to 747182 in 2000 (Figure 1). More important than this trend the smaller settlements (less than 5000 population) attracted immigrants, especially the ones nearby the southern and northern coasts in the European part and nearby Bosphorous in the Anatolian side (Figure 2). Their total population rose from 286690 to 652397 in 2000. The expansion of the small settlements located in the forests, which became attractive for residential and other purposes have become a major threat to water resources and forests.

**Figure 1: Population change in the settlements nearby the IMA**





**Figure 2: population change in smaller settlements in the outer periphery of the IMA (boundaries before 2004)**



The increasing demand for land also increased the risks and hazardous affects of disasters. While the areas with flood risks are occupied with both illegally developed housing units (squatter houses) and even many unauthorised business firms located in these river beds with very high risks. In fact, the flood in September 2009 resulted in the loss of 24 people in Istanbul and many buildings show the negative affects of such trends. There is a more important threat on Istanbul; earthquake. In Istanbul, there are high numbers of buildings constructed on the areas with a high risk of earthquake and most of these building do not satisfy the technical standards for the buildings with earthquake risk.

#### **4.3. The vulnerable ecosystems and the impacts of designated threads on these ecosystems**

In Istanbul, the increasing disturbance due to increasing rates of expansion in built up areas and volatility in the rates of growth of global functions have important impacts on the different ecosystems and urban assets, which are briefly summarised under five headings.

##### **4.3.1. The impacts on freshwater ecosystems/water resources**

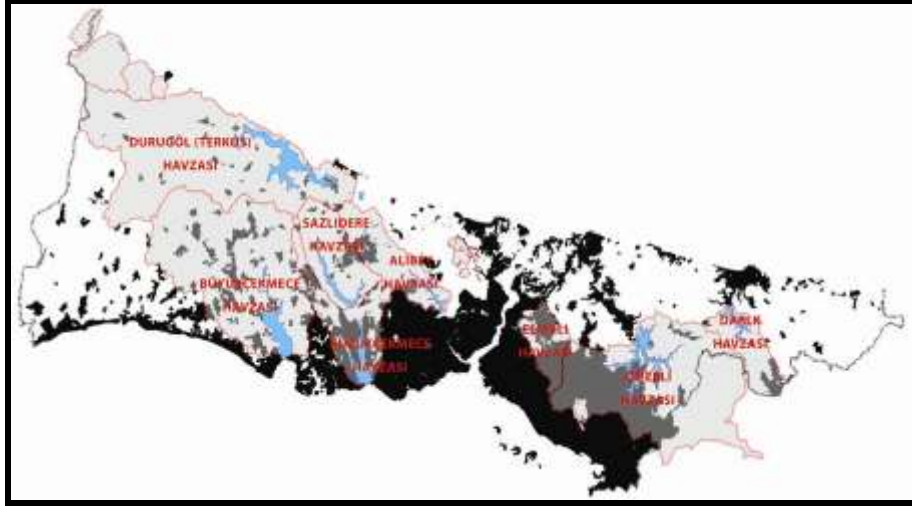
Water resources are the most sensitive ecological resource in Istanbul, due the massive increase in demand, where the supply and the potential resources are limited. Water to meet the needs of

metropolitan Istanbul comes from the Marmara and Melen basins, whose combined water potential amounts to about 3.34 billion m<sup>3</sup>. Groundwater resources are limited; their annual potential is around 0.175 billion m<sup>3</sup>. In 2007, the amount of water resources in use was 1.42 billion m<sup>3</sup>. This means 40% of the water potential is being exploited, on average.

According to recent figures by Istanbul Water Authority (ISKI, 2009) total amount of drinking water demand is 2,004 million m<sup>3</sup>/day (172 litres per head), which is slightly lower than the existing total water supply (2,182 million m<sup>3</sup>/day). Due to geographic and seasonal disparities in the distribution of water resources, coupled in recent years with severe drought, have necessitated interbasin water transfer projects to provide more water where needed in Istanbul. For example, the Melen Project Phase I, which became operational in December 2007, supplies an additional 0.27 billion m<sup>3</sup> of water per year. In coming years new water resources need to be developed in order to meet the increasing demand and the loss of water storage capacities in coming decades due to climate change.

These figures show the importance of protecting all of the existing water resources, which are endangered by the increasing urban sprawl in water basins. However, as the study by Küçükmehtetoğlu and Geymen (2009) illustrated (see Table 3) there is substantial increase in built up areas in the water basins, namely 3800 additional hectares of built up area from 1995 to 2005 (Figure 3). There are 9 watershed areas in Istanbul with different water capacities, which all are vital for Istanbul as indicated above. However, some of them have a high risk of being polluted. Among these major water resources one of them is Küçükçekmece Lake, which can not be used as a source of drinking water due to increasing pollution. The other two of the existing water resources are under the threat of urban growth and they have been increasingly polluted in recent years. The first water resource is Elmalı Dam, which has relatively low capacity (20,7 million m<sup>3</sup>/day). The water quality of this source has been seriously damaged and can not be used for drinking water in coming years. The other one is Omerli dam, the water resource with the largest capacity (867,4 million m<sup>3</sup>/day) and the increasing built up areas in the watershed areas are very important, creating a big threat of on this source. Unfortunately, if it can not be used for drinking water purposes there is no such source to compensate its loss.

**Figure 3: Built-up areas within water basins**



Increasing population living in watershed areas is one of the major indicators of the sprawl of the urban settlements even in the water basins. According to ISKI (2005) the total population living in the short and medium distance protection zones of the water resources reached 890 thousand, 247 bin living in Elmalı Dam basin and 386 thousand in Omerli Dam Basin (see Table 3). Parallel to the population increase, it is possible to see the increasing numbers of industrial firms in the water basins. According to the Environment Report (2005) prepared for Istanbul Metropolitan Planning Bureau (IMP) the number of industrial firms reached 1663 in total, 533 in Omerli basin and 553 in Alibeyköy and 257 manufacturing firms in Büyükçekmece basin. Although the existing data do not provide the pollutant types and levels of these manufacturing firms, the pollution levels of the existing water resources (ISKI, 2005) indicate clearly the negative impacts of these types of activities.

**Table 3: Population built up areas and industrial frms located in water basins**

	Population (2000)	Built-up areas 1995		Built-up areas 2005		The change in built-up areas 1995-2005	The number of industrial firms
		ha	% of basin	ha	% of basin		
<b>TERKOS</b>	22562	340	0.5	365	0.5	25	17
<b>BÜYÜKÇEKMECE</b>	120269	1149	1.8	1639	2.6	490	257
<b>SAZLIDERE</b>	29113	518	3.1	622	3.7	104	143
<b>ALİBEYKÖY</b>	83359	851	5.4	1051	6.6	200	553
<b>KÜÇÜKÇEKMECE</b>		3507	19.6	4270	26.4	1213	
<b>ELMALI</b>	247062	2444	29.3	3233	38.8	789	160
<b>ÖMERLİ</b>	386569	5076	12.4	6053	14.5	977	533
<b>DARLIK</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	888934	13885	5.3	17683	6.7	3798	1663

Sources: Küçükmehtetoğlu and Geymen (2009)

IMP (2005) Çevre Durum Raporu (Environment Report)

### Adaptive capacity of the freshwater ecosystem

The adaptive capacity of the ecosystem is evaluated by the analysis that depends on two main indicators. Firstly, the capacity of water resources to meet the increasing demand is identified. The analytical studies during this research shows that if sprawl of residential and commercial activities in the water basins of Elmalı and Ömerli Dams will not be controlled efficiently, the existing water resources will decline substantially ( 888,4 billion m<sup>3</sup>/year), which will be very difficult to compensate with the help of additional water resources. Another adaptive capacity indicator is the level of pollution in different watershed areas. The classification of major water resources with respect to “The Decree on Control of Pollution on Water Resources” shows that one of the water resources (Darlik Dam) have relatively acceptable quality, whereas almost all resources have very low quality in terms of physical and inorganic chemical parameters.

#### 4.3.2. Earthquake as the major risk

The second important threat for the sustainable development of the city is earthquake. The 17 August 1999 (M<sub>w</sub>=7.4) Kocaeli earthquake killed 18,000 people, destroyed 17,000 buildings, and

caused \$25 billion in damage. Approximately 1000 people in the İstanbul were killed and damage of buildings was rather serious, though the epicenter of the 1999 earthquake on NAFZ was more than 110 km away.

According to the earthquake studies on Istanbul there are about 1,200,000 buildings in Istanbul as of 2006, an important portion of them is prone to earthquake risk. JICA study (2002) in coordination with Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (IMM) estimated that a major earthquake of Mw=7.4 near to Istanbul might cost more than 50,000 lives and cause economic losses of more than \$ 60-70 billions. Moreover, the expected number of injuries requiring hospitalization will be around 150,000. In Istanbul 30% of hospitals (in total of 635) are located in risky areas of southwest part of the city.

The high levels of hazardous risks are due to two characteristics of built-up areas; the construction of building with earthquake high-risk areas and the low quality of buildings (not only the unregistered buildings but also the registered ones).

#### **4.3.2. The impacts on urban sprawl on forests and their ecosystem services**

Forests are vital for sustainability of urban systems, since they are important for supporting water resources, controlling air pollution and for sustained quality of life. Today, they are even more important due to the climate change and their negative affects on water resources. In order to find out the threads on the forests, in this study two indicators are defined: the net loss of forests in the last thirty years and the decrease in the carbon uptake capacity of forests, which means their decreasing contribution to limit the greenhouse effect, which has important contribution to global warming.

Using the Satellite images and aerial photographs for different years and the GIS data provided by the Ministry of Environment and Forestry, the total loss of forests in the last 30 years is identified during the third stage of the research. The comparison of areas covered by forests in 1980 and 2007, shows that the importance of decrease in the size of the areas covered by forests. The figures show that almost one third of the forests are converted to different types of land uses; 42 thousand hectares of forests to residential areas and about 60 thousand hectares to different activities such as, agriculture, mining and infrastructure facilities (Table 4). Knowing that

Istanbul forests are very important for freshwater ecosystems and biosphere, the amount of loss is alarming.

**Table 4: The changes in the size of land covered by forests 1980 to 2007**

	(ha)
<b>Total</b>	540000
<b>Forests (before 1980)</b>	356652
<b>Existing Forests</b>	261290
<b>The Loss in Forests</b>	102360
<b>The illegal use of forest areas, converted to squatter houses or other activities</b>	16267
<b>Built-up areas within forests</b>	26740
<b>Forest converted to different land use, mainly for agricultural use</b>	59533

Source: Areas calculated by the GIS data provided by Ministry of Environment and Forestry (2007)

The loss of forest areas affects air pollution. To examine the effects of the declining size of the forest areas on air pollution, the carbon storage uptake by vegetation of forest areas and the impact of the loss of forest areas on increasing levels of air pollution are calculated. In order to make this comparison possible, first the above-ground biomass of dominant species of the two main types of trees (broad leaf and conifers) are calculated using the data based on the most recent inventory study provided by the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry (2007). In finding out the total biomass, we have used the method and the ratios<sup>3</sup> developed by Asan, Yesil and Ozdemir (1995).

According to detailed calculations, the total wealth of Istanbul forests is 48565400 m<sup>3</sup> and annual increase in constant weight as 2575310 m<sup>3</sup>. These figures indicates 3246111 tons of annual increase in biomass and 2307985 tons of annual carbon storage capacity, which is equal to 8,477 million tons CO<sub>2</sub>, avoided emissions (Table 5).

**Table 5: The Carbon uptake capacity of forest by the increase of annual constant weight (2006-2007)**

Increase in constant	Biomass (tons)				Carbon storage (tons)		
	Above	Below	Soils as dead	Total	In total	In forest	Total forest

weight (m3)	ground	ground	organic matter		biomass	soil	ecosystem
2575310	2100987	307663	927460	3246111	1460750	847235	2307985

In order to find out the impact of the loss of one third of the existing forests in the last three decades on air pollution, the annual carbon storage capacity and its equal to CO<sub>2</sub> is compared to the existing carbon dioxide emissions. According to studies held by Can (2006) Istanbul has the highest CO<sub>2</sub> emission level among all cities in Turkey, 30 million m<sup>3</sup> in 2003 CO<sub>2</sub>. These figures indicate the carbon uptake level of forests constitutes less than 28 % (8.4 million m<sup>3</sup> of CO<sub>2</sub> uptake/30 million m<sup>3</sup> CO<sub>2</sub> emission) of total CO<sub>2</sub> emission in Istanbul. This percentage shows the importance of the loss of nearly 30% of its forests in last 30 years in terms of air pollution. Since it became more difficult to reduce the emissions in this rapidly growing metropolitan area, protecting forests has become very important in recent years.

#### **4.3.4. Urban sprawl towards the ecologically sensitive areas: An important thread on the biodiversity**

Forests and agro-ecological subsystems are also important for the biodiversity, which is an integral parts of ecological resilience. Therefore, one of the key principles should be to enhance biological diversity in order to sustain the capacity of ecosystem after disturbance.

In Istanbul there are 11 areas designated as the areas with special importance of biodiversity by Doğa Derneği (Association of Nature). This voluntary organisation made an inventory study on the most important environmental areas, namely “Türkiye’nin Önemli Doğa Alanları” (Eken, et al., 2006). The study shows that among the 11 areas of biodiversity in Istanbul; six of them have an official status, some of which are Natural Heritage Sites while the others are Preservation Areas of Wild Life covering 133417 hectares. The remaining 5 sites do not have an official status, although they are very important due to their richness in different species of flora and fauna. They cover 74414 hectares in total<sup>4</sup>.

In the meetings organised in collaboration with the experts from Doğa Derneği and UNDP, it became evident that these areas, which are very important for protecting natural habitat in Istanbul face important threats. The major threats are open mining, manufacturing industries and new residential areas as well as new large-scale projects such as Formula 1 Racing Site, Nuclear Energy Center, industrial estates besides many others. Obviously, how to protect these resources should be the important concerns of the planning practices

#### 4.3.5. Urban sprawl, increasing travel distance and reliance on private

Urban sprawl is not a threat on natural resources, it also creates important problems related to transportation as it increases the travel distance and time well as traffic congestion. It is difficult to develop the public transport systems for the urban areas that experience urban sprawl with low density residential areas; as exemplified by the American cities, which highly depend upon private car ownership. Although the density of the urban field in the periphery is higher in Istanbul compared to American cities, still the share of public transport in total trips is low in Istanbul. Unfortunately, the efficiency of the existing transportation system is low and it mainly depends upon on roads. In Istanbul 92,8 percent of the transportation depends on highways, while the share of rail transport including subway system is 5,7 % and share of ship transport in total daily trips reaches only 2,5 per cent of the total (see Table 6).

**Table 6: The importance of different modes of transportation 2006**

Mode of transportation	No of vehicles	Average daily trips	Share %
Public bus	2587	1500000	14,8
Private bus	1229	800000	7,9
Car	1628367	3100000	30,7
Minibus	5860	2000000	19,8
Dolmuş	590	70000	0,7
Taxi	17416	750000	7,4
Service buses	32000	1050000	10,5
<b>Road Transport</b>	<b>1688049</b>	<b>9.270.000</b>	<b>91,8</b>
<b>Rail transport</b>	<b>243</b>	<b>574.000</b>	<b>5,7</b>
<b>Ship Transport</b>	<b>391</b>	<b>251.000</b>	<b>2,5</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1688767</b>	<b>10.095.000</b>	<b>100</b>



In road transport, private car dependency still constitutes a high percentage (30 % in 2006). In fact the number of cars in 1980 was only 211 thousand and the car ownership ratio was 45,1 per thousand people, while it reached 1486 thousand with 110,1 cars per thousand population in 2006. The increasing car ownership and the lack of an efficient public transportation system obviously created several problems. In fact, according to the research focused on the foreign firms located in Istanbul, the firms define the traffic congestion as the most important problem (Eraydin et al, 2009).

Together with traffic congestion, the emissions generated by transportation are important. In Istanbul, the emissions generated by vehicles have important share (%40) in air pollution. Moreover, the share of traffic in different types of pollutants are rather high; %70-90 in CO, %40-70 in NO and %50 in hydrocarbon and %100 in PB (IMP, 2006).

The increasing urban sprawl without efficient transportation systems means both increasing volume of traffic, travel distance and pollution. Obviously, the efforts to solve the existing problems need a systematic approach. The transportation system of Istanbul is one of the issues defined as the most important in Istanbul. The layout of this huge metropolitan area, in the two sides of the Bosphorous makes the solutions more difficult. There are now two bridges on Bosphorous and recently the route of the third one is declared by the Ministry of Transportation. All of them are for vehicles. There is also a tunnel project under the Bosphorous, which will be completed in coming years.

Experts are sceptical about its contribution of a new bridge to reduce traffic congestion and criticise this decision due its expected negative effects on the water catchment areas. Improving public transportation especially railways, however, is expected to reduce the emissions due to transportation, although the new projects should be supported by the public transportation system within the whole city.

#### **4.5 The social resilience of Istanbul under the waves of global economic change and population growth**

The sprawl of this huge metropolitan area has been accelerated by the rapid population growth and the increasing number of new enterprises, which caused a sudden rise in land demand. The urban land and market mechanisms and the existing planning instruments, however, supported this process and led to increasing socio-spatial segmentation of the different groups. This trend has been evaluated as negative since it decreased the social resilience of this metropolitan area, which is as important as ecological resilience.

Several studies indicate the importance of socio-spatial segmentation of population in Istanbul. Analytical studies (Güvenç et al., 2005) point to the importance of segregation among neighbourhoods in terms of the different levels of education and the types of occupation, both in 1990 and in 2000. In 1990, there was a clear distinction among the neighbourhoods: where people with higher levels and lower levels of education, and people with white collar and blue collar jobs lived. The general picture was not much different in 2000, but the indices point to a decrease in the segregation between the social groups with different levels of education and occupation. This tendency shows that some inclusionary processes peculiar to Istanbul have played an important role. The reasons for these inclusionary processes are grouped into two (Eraydin, 2008); the increasing level of education of the city dwellers including the increasing number of migrants with better education and the transformation of squatter areas into planned residential areas. While increasing level of education and accordingly the changes in occupational profiles of households increased the mobility of people, high amounts of squatter housing areas transformed to middle class housing units have created new mixed zones.

This trend, however, does not imply decrease in income disparities. The opportunities in both production and service activities that were clearly differentiated based on skills neglected to take into account income distribution; and Istanbul experienced this worsening income distribution, which can be clearly seen in its Gini coefficients<sup>5</sup> (Boratav, Yeldan and Kose, 2000). A major outcome of worsening income distribution is the increasing poverty groups (Dumanli, 1996). Although there are no specific statistics related to poverty in the Istanbul city region, the figures for the region in which Istanbul is situated (Marmara Region) show that the share of people in absolute poverty reached 21.3 percent in 1987, while the share of the people in the relative poverty group based on consumption patterns<sup>6</sup> was 57.8 percent in the same year (Dansuk, 1997). Although socio-spatial segmentation did not increase from 1990 to 2000 the increasing numbers of very large luxurious projects, is expected to increase segmentation between different social groups (Kurtuluş, 2005).

**5. Conclusive remarks: Assessment of the recent plans and policy instruments with respect to the attributes of resilience**

The short summary of the new forms of urban developments triggered by the globalisation show the increasing vulnerability and declining adaptive capacity of the urban system in Istanbul. Each of the issues indicated in the former sections, received a wide attention and debated within academic circles and among the other stakeholders.

These concerns reflected themselves on plan documents, projects as well as on recent legislation. However, there is no systematic evaluation of these issues that affects negatively the resilience of the ecological, social and economic resilience of Istanbul. There are some positive attempts to bring coordination in the decision making mechanism and planning process. These attempts, however, are not sufficient to improve the downgrading adaptive capacity of the urban system.

Firstly, the administrative organisation has changed by extending the area of jurisdiction of the metropolitan municipality. The "Metropolitan Municipality" was set up in 1984 with the jurisdiction of a smaller area than the province, and it was enlarged by the new legislation in 2004 from 1,869.64 km/sq to 5,434.04 km/sq. It now covers the whole province. The expansion of its territory enabled smaller settlements around the earlier metropolitan area to become a part of the new administrative structure.

Second, the recent expansion of the Metropolitan Area boundary supported the transfer of rights to prepare plans at higher levels to Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, such as drawing and monitoring the regional plan which was previously under the responsibility of the State Planning Organisation, Environmental Management and Land Use Plan (at 1/100 000 scale) that was prepared and approved for most of the other provinces by Ministry of Public Works or Ministry of Environment and Forestry, and the Metropolitan Master Plan (at 1/50000 scale), which was approved by the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement.

Using their new rights in 2006 the Planning Bureau (IMP) of the Greatercity Municipality prepared the Environmental Management and Land Use Plan at 1/100.000 scale, which was approved by the Council of Istanbul Greater City Municipality. This plan was amended in the following years and approved again in February 2009. This plan indicated that Istanbul could accommodate a maximum of 16 million inhabitants due to preservation zones, water catchment

areas and forest land, although the population projections showed a higher population (22 million for the year 2020). It also emphasized the need for transformation of large amounts of already built up poor quality housing areas, some of which are under the risk of earthquake and defined special project areas that aimed environmental sustainability, economic development and social sustainability.

While the Environmental Management and Land Use Plan tried to bring major principles and projects for sustainability, the planning and policy instruments defined by the new legislation do not support this broader aims, since they bring a rather fragmented nature on planning practice.

In the last decade, the amendments of planning legislation are passed in order to accelerate redevelopment, renewal and reuse of urban areas by the help of / under the competence and power of central government organisations and the new policies and action plans to redefine the role of Istanbul. The new amendments on the existing legislation denoted certain areas, some of which are very critical for the metropolitan area and shifted the planning and development rights on these sites/areas to different institutions of the central government. The planning authority provided by The Planning Act to metropolitan and district municipalities transferred to different central government institutions . This leads to *piecemeal planning process and fragmentation and overlapping of planning decisions and rights in the development and implement of projects*. The plans prepared by different authorities not only created *inconsistencies* between plans, but also conflicts between different authorities and the Metropolitan Municipality frequently arise. In fact, beginning from the 2000s onwards Istanbul became a playfield of different authorities and actors that have different interests. In particular, Istanbul became an area field of power struggles between central and local governments. Different ministries wanted to use their legal rights and to intervene in a number of policy areas, especially in infrastructure investment and land development, sometimes contrary to the interests of the Metropolitan Municipality.

The evaluation of the adaptive capacity of the urban system and the emerging problems due to loss of the resilience of the urban systems, indicates the need for a new approach that necessitates to analyse the existing and possible impacts of the disturbances and to bring a different planning system, not only able to deal with the expected impacts but also unexpected future crises and emergencies. The increasing vulnerability of the urban system in Istanbul requires measures that enhances on adaptability and flexibility of the metropolitan region as well as immediate measures for recovery of certain critical assets and transform some others.

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Step1: Disturbances	Stage 2	Step 3-1: The impacts on subsystems	Step 3-2: The indicators of vulnerability	Step 4: Adaptive capacity indicators	Step 5-1: Adaptive Capacity	Step 5-2: Critical issues for Planning
Water resources are under the threat by <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• High rates of population growth</li> <li>• The urban sprawl</li> <li>• The increasing built up areas in water basins</li> </ul>	Freshwater ecosystem/water resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increasing demand for water resources by population increase and new activities</li> <li>• The increasing built up areas in protection zones of water basins, which leads to loss of these water resources for drinking water</li> <li>• Increasing levels of pollution in certain drinking water resources</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The increase in demand for water, available and maximum capacity of water resources</li> <li>• The increasing percentage of built up areas in protection zones of water basins</li> <li>• Population living in water basins</li> <li>• The number of industrial firms</li> <li>• The level of pollution in different watershed areas</li> </ul> The capacities of water treatment plans	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The potential to increase supply of water in order to meet the demand</li> <li>• The pollution levels</li> <li>• The water treatment capacity</li> </ul>	<p>The rate of increase in demand is more than supply, which limits the adaptive capacity of the system. Even all potential water resources to be used, in 2025 the demand for water will exceed the supply of water</p> <p>Some of the water resources are under the risk of not being used for drinking water, since they are getting polluted</p>	Protection and management of water resources is one of the most significant prerequisites for resilience of Istanbul.
Natural hazard risks <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>* Earthquakes</li> <li>Floods</li> </ul>	Areas with natural hazard risks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Most of the already built up areas take place on the earthquake risk areas</li> <li>• Increasing demand for urban land causes the construction (most of which are not registered) in river beds</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>* Percentage of areas with earthquake risk</li> <li>* The ratio of heavily damaged buildings</li> <li>* The share of built up areas with erosion risk</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The number of buildings strengthened for mitigation for earthquakes.</li> </ul>	<p>Limited adaptive capacity, due to need for financial resources for strengthening existing buildings</p> <p>The ratio of heavily damaged buildings in 1999 earthquake reach up to 17000.</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>* Increasing demand for urban land due to rapid population growth</li> <li>* The sprawl of the new housing areas due to uncontrolled housing estates and housing areas serving for new life</li> </ul>	Forests and agro-ecosystems	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increasing rate of loss of forest areas</li> <li>• Increasing percentage of built up areas on agricultural land</li> <li>• Increasing urban sprawl and increasing population growth in environmentally sensitive areas</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>* The loss forests in the last 30 years</li> <li>* The forest areas converted to built up areas without planning permission</li> <li>* The loss of carbon uptake capacity of forests in the last thirty years</li> <li>* The contribution of forests to water regime regulation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The carbon uptake capacity of forests as a percentage of total CO<sub>2</sub> emissions</li> </ul>	<p>The forests in Istanbul are important for;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-water regime and carbon use. The loss of the existing forests will negatively affect the carbon budget of the city and the existing water resources.</li> </ul>	Protection of forests and agricultural land is important in terms of reducing air pollution reduction, water regime regulation and biodiversity.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Urban sprawl</li> <li>* Increasing travel distance and density</li> <li>* Increasing demand for land in CBD areas</li> </ul>	Air quality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>* Increasing air pollution, that exceed the carbon uptake levels of forests and green that are increasingly invaded by the newly built areas</li> <li>* Increasing density in central locations that brings traffic congestion</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>* The sprawl of the metropolitan area;</li> <li>- The increase in the population in the periphery of the metropolitan area</li> <li>- The main areas of population concentration areas in the last thirty years.</li> <li>* Increasing volume of traffic, especially by private modes of transportation, leading to increasing emissions by the traffic</li> <li>* The increase in carbon emissions in the last decade</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The increase in the ratio of trips by public transport system</li> </ul>	<p>The increasing sprawl of the city cause the loss of agricultural land as well as forests</p> <p>The loss of the existing green areas (especially forests) will negatively affect the carbon budget of the city while the emissions are increasing rapidly.</p>	The increasing urban sprawl especially in the last three decades decreased the resilience of the Istanbul metropolitan area.
Globalisation necessitating new types of skills	Social structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>* Increasing income disparities</li> <li>* The socio-spatial segmentation</li> <li>* The increase of human capital, but still with a low percentage in the total labor force</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>* The changing levels of education of working population</li> <li>* The residential segregation of groups with different education and with different occupation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Upward mobility</li> <li>The share of mix zones</li> </ul>		Creating a competitive economy that constantly specializes in new economic sectors is mandatory for a resilient economy.

Table 1: The steps of the exploratory resilience research on Istanbul Metropolitan Area



## ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup> Adaptive cycle theory defines dynamics of resilience of ecological and social ecological systems and defines four phase adaptive cycles;

\* growth or “exploitation” (the *r* phase): resources readily available

- conservation or consolidation (the *K* phase): things change slowly; resources locked up
- collapse or release ( $\Omega$ ); things change very rapidly; locked up resources suddenly released
- reorganization ( $\alpha$ ); system boundaries tenuous innovations are possible

<sup>2</sup> The distribution of 405 firms interviewed are as follows: 140 firms are in manufacturing, 4 in mining, 6 in agriculture, 42 communication-transportation, 21 in tourism, 14 energy and the remaining in different service activities.

<sup>3</sup> These ratios are; conversion ratio of constant weight to oven-dried weight at 65°C to for two main types of species of Istanbul forests, the ratio of below-ground biomass to above ground constant weight for the species that represent conifers and broad leafed tree in Istanbul forests and the ratio the constant weight of shrubs (with less than 8 cm diameter) to biomass.

### <sup>4</sup> Important Environmental Areas in İstanbul

	ÖDA ADI	Size	Status	Threats
1	TERKOS LAKE BASIN	60.351 ha	Natural heritage site,	*Second homes nearby the lake *The drinking water project in order to use rivers of the Istranca mountain
2	BÜYÜK-ÇEKMECE LAKE	5.128 ha	No special status, but important for certain animal species	•Industry- a new organised industrial estate *Urban expansion
3	WEST ISTANBUL MERALARI	9.612 ha	No special status, but important for certain animal and plant species	* High density residential areas * Transforming the meadows to farms
4	KÜÇÜK-ÇEKMECE BASIN	11.715 ha	Natural heritage site	•Pollutants by Nuclear Energy Research Center • Expansion of new housing sites
5	AĞAÇLI KUMULLARI	1.347 ha	No special status, but important for certain animal and plant species	* Mining sites, especially lignite * New tourism activities
6	KILYOS KUMULLARI	903 ha	Natural heritage site	* Mining * Unplanned urban development
7	BOSPHOROUS	55.631 ha	Natural Habitat Protection Site, Natural Park	• Unplanned urban development *Third Bosphorous Bridge
8	ISTANBUL ISLANDS	9.458 ha	Natural and urban heritage site	No threats
9	ÖMERLİ BASIN	58.237 ha	No special status, but important for certain animal and plant species	• Increasing demand for building *Squatter houses * Formula 1 Race Area
10	IĞLE COAST	4.817 ha	Natural Heritage Site	• Motocross racing *Mining *Unplanned development
11	PENDİK VALLEY	2.852 ha	No special status, but important for certain animal and plant species	•Increasing built-up areas and transportation infrastructure *Organised industrial district and a new technology park * A new university campus

<sup>5</sup> According to Keyder (2005) there is a change from a Gini coefficient of 0.43 in 1984 to 0.58 in 1994, and this is arguably higher now.

<sup>6</sup> The share of population that have less consumption than average.

## **Environmental Policy-Making in the Chinese Urban Growth Regime**

YAN WANG<sup>1</sup>

Keywords: environment, local, China

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This paper examines the politics of local environmental policy-making within the wider context of urban governance in contemporary China. Theoretically, the research approach links with the strategic-relational approach to policy-making, which emphasizes the importance of grounding empirical research on a detailed analysis of the various contexts for local action including an understanding of how different actors and organizations interpret their strategically-selective contexts. The analytical framework is based on the conception that the strategic selectivity of local environmental policy-making invariably reflects a set of structural opportunities for or constraints on policy-making, as well as the perception that key actors have of those opportunities or constraints and both of these. The paper thus focus on understanding how local urban authorities and politicians have responded to international, national or regional political pressures, as well as local pressures for or against local urban environmental policy-making. The paper also explores the incentives for and constraints on proactive environmental policy at the urban scale.

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### **Introduction**

In the past three decades, the Chinese economy has experienced an unprecedented progress, showing average national economic growth percentages of around 8 per cent (Mol and Cater, 2007), as a result of the introduction of a market economy. China's economic expansion has significant implications for environmental management. In particular, the scale and severity of environmental problems in China is increasingly seen as a threat to the economic and social foundations of its modernization (Morton, 2005). Coinciding with a growing awareness of these environmental challenges, China is thus facing the dual task of developing its economy and protecting its environment. The result has so far been a somewhat weak approach to environmental policy with the overriding emphasis being on maintaining rapid economic growth as the first order priority. However, the situation is changing as ideas of sustainable development and ecological modernization become part of decision-making at both national and urban levels. The paper is especially concerned with changing approaches to urban environmental policy-making in China.

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**Theoretical perspective of environmental policy-making**

Environmental policy is usually about the role of governments (the state) in seeking to regulate use of, or protect, natural resources to ensure sustainable development or mitigate the environmental externalities of economic and social activities, e.g. waste reduction, pollution control (Haughton and Hunter, 1994; Gibbs, 2002; Robert, 2004; Brand and Thomas, 2005; Cohen, 2006). It might also be about restoration or enhancement of environmental assets or about incentives for less unsustainable actions (Gibbs et al., 2002; While et al., 2004; Jonas et al., 2004; Jonas and While, 2007). It can happen through various means, such as regulation, taxation, education and steering, directives, and so on (Gibbs and Jonas, 2000). There is a range of possible concerns of environmental policy in terms of sectoral and policy focus – e.g. water and waste management, carbon reduction, reducing air pollution, ecological preservation and enhancement. Whether and how these issues are addressed will depend on the nature of the problems and incentives in a particular territory, and the degree of importance given to different problems and policy options (Gibbs, et al., 2002; While et al, 2004; Jonas et al., 2004; Jonas and While, 2007). These are often choices about economic and social value, including issues of fairness as reflecting in environmental justice debates (Haughton, 1999a; 1999b). At various points, environmental policy might overlap with, or conflict with economic and social goals (While, et al., 2004; While, et al., 2009).

A key principle for the paper is that although there are a multitude of possible areas of environmental and ecological intervention (and means of intervention), environmental policy invariably reflects a highly selective process (Jessop, 1997; Jonas, et al., 2004; While et al., 2004). This reflects a range of factors, such as wider cultural attitudes and strategic selectivity within a state territory, economic factors, and public pressures for and against aspects of environmental policy within and across a given territory (While et al., 2004; While et al., 2009). Environmental policy also emerges through a process of struggle and negotiation, especially as environmental policy might be seen as a collective approach that intrudes on the perceived rights of the individual (While et al., 2004; Jonas and While, 2007). The economic factor is particularly important given arguments that environmental policy has become dominated by ‘master concepts’ (Keil, 2007) that serve to internalize environmental and ecological concerns within neoliberal accumulation strategies. From this perspective, environmental and economic goals are traded off against each other in environmental policy-making. Above all, While et al. (2004) conceptualize local environmental policy-making as a result of selective incorporation of various pressures in terms of the search for a ‘local sustainability fix’, the outcome of which reflects pressures and demands for and against environment policy in a specific national-urban context (Gibbs and Jonas, 2000; Gibbs et al., 2002; Jonas et al., 2004). However this theoretical perspective for environmental policy-making is based on Western experiences, and thus gives rise to questions about whether such a framework is relevant to China. For example, the different state system, the power of the Party, different cultural attitudes to the environment, and factors such as limited public participation in China might suggest the need for different approaches, but in some respects the key

elements of urban environmental policy are not too dissimilar in terms of pressures to prioritise economic development and limited incentives for strong sustainability.

### **The context of Chinese cities in the reform era**

Chinese official documents have declared that Chinese economic reform since 1978 is aimed at the transformation from a centrally planned economy to a ‘socialist market economy with Chinese characteristics’. Such a notion of the Chinese socialist market economy has been explained by scholars as the adoption of a quasi-capitalist system through the mechanisms of capital operations (see Xia, 2000) and the incorporation of neoliberal elements combined with state authoritarianism (see Harvey, 2005). Under these conditions, the local state in China is undergoing a shift towards what might be described as an entrepreneurial mode of governance (Duckett, 1998; Wu et al., 2007). In the reform era, as argued by some scholars, the different forces by marketization, decentralization, and recentralization have together determined the context for urban governance in China (see Duckett, 1998; Cannon, 2000; Wu and Ma, 2005; Wu et al, 2007). Chinese cities are positioned at the centre of the national economic growth regime facing pressures to achieve economic development in a context of intense inter-urban competition. As such, the challenges of reconciling tensions between socio-economic growth and environmental protection in localities have been largely left to local authorities. For example, city leaders are required to meet environmental regulations set by the Chinese governments. In addition, environmental protection is also becoming important for cities that want to attract or retain higher-value firms, middle-class residents or tourists. Although local officials are largely restricted to working with the national weak sustainability model, there is scope for autonomous action and variations in local response. In this context, the paper examines what determines the environmental policy processes of a particular urban authority (Nanchang City), acting within the broader national-urban context.

### **The methodological approach**

In methodological terms, the central aim of the paper is to understand the decisions taken about what to prioritise in environmental policy-making at the local scale. The strategic-relational approach (Hay and Jessop, 1995; Jessop, 1997; Jessop, 2001) is employed as the key theoretical concerns underpinning the approach taken to empirical research. A strategic-relational account of policy agenda emphasizes the importance of grounding empirical research on a detailed analysis of various contexts for local action, including an understanding of how different actors interpret their ‘strategically-selective context’. The strategic-relational approach thus provides a viable framework for developing a genuinely actor-sensitive research agenda. Overall, the strategic-relational approach has several features that render it especially important to local environmental policy-making in China, notably:

- Its direct relevance to a state system which combines strong central control with a varying degree of autonomy for local decision-elites;
- The importance of understanding the motivations of key policy-makers (and this might be particularly important in China), including their selective interpretation of the context for action;
- The importance of understanding different pressures and demands in terms of the strategically selective context for environmental policy making in China.

Based on the actor-sensitive research agenda, the empirical research is grounded on interview-based qualitative techniques. In emphasizing that each locality is unique in terms of specific context and local responses, the Nanchang case-study allows for exploration of the changing structural context for decisions about the environment and ecology in ‘ordinary’ Chinese cities (Robinson, 2006). The research draws on an extensive review of background literature and policy documents gathered before, during and after the interviews. Interviews were also supplemented by non-participant observation in bureaucratic activities and meetings for understanding perceptions and decision-making processes with regard to the local key policy areas. Using these multiple sources also allowed the researcher to corroborate representations. Analysis of the material was concerned with what took place, what was conducted, and some of the main themes and stories.

### **Empirical research findings**

Through empirical research, the key findings can be summarized in the following four aspects. In accordance with these research findings, the contribution of the paper is the development of a wide conceptual framework for understanding environmental politics and policy within urban growth dynamics in post-reform China.

#### ***Local responses to the strategic selectivity of national policies***

In Nanchang city, the objects, priorities, and strategic selectivity of local urban environmental policy reflect the overall economic orientation of local urban strategy. Whilst environmental interventions in Nanchang have reflected issues of ecological security – e.g. local policies for drinking water quality – and the need to respond to higher-level pro-environmental mandates in areas such as emissions reduction targets for SO<sub>2</sub> and COD (Chemical Oxygen Demand), the central theme of local environmental policies in Nanchang is the use of greening strategies to stimulate investment through various programs of land-based regeneration and industrial structural adjustment. Given the increasing pressure on attracting inward investment from mobile capital, Chinese cities have taken on an entrepreneurial stance to their respective economic development. This has resulted in severe economic competition between cities and within the city (Ma, 2005; Wu and Ma, 2005; Wu et al., 2007). The program of fiscal decentralization has also given local governments strong incentives to establish local enterprises and to invest in new economic growth (Qiao and Shah, 2006; Zhu and Krug, 2007). During the reform era, it is argued that central-local relations in China have evolved into

‘decentralized developmental state’ (Oi, 1995) with localities engaged in ‘bounded localized development’ (Cannon, 2000). In this context, local authorities in China have had to act as entrepreneurial agents in making coalitions with the private sector and attracting inward investment in order to realize their accumulation strategies (Wu et al., 2007). The point here is that Nanchang has followed the tendency towards Chinese urban entrepreneurialism.

Despite growing rhetorical support for environmental protection, the strategic selectivity of national regulations in China offers relatively little support or incentive for proactive environmental policy compared with pro-growth economic policy. Although the Chinese ‘environmental state’ (Mol and Carter, 2007) is increasingly involved in securing environmental protection through mandates, regulations and incentives, the mechanisms for environmental governance in China is yet characterized by bureaucratic fragmentation, competing environmental policy bureaucracies, and weak enforcement (Zusman and Turner, 2005). Moreover, the dominant target of national policy in terms of sustainable development is based on intensity of pollutants and their impacts on environmental quality. In a presentation in 2009, the Environmental Protection Minister, Zhou Shengxian especially notes that the intensity of pollutant emission is critical and thus the current policy of energy-saving and emission reduction should be devoted to intensity reduction of SO<sub>2</sub> and COD, but not a specific target setting for CO<sub>2</sub> because its intensity in China has not had significant impacts on environmental quality at both local and national scale (Zhou, 2009). The intensity-based targets are argued to be indexed to the economic growth of the country, but do not necessarily require a decrease in economic production or an absolute decrease in emissions (Lewis, 2007).

Chinese local authorities have also been able to choose to ignore issues of renewable energy and CO<sub>2</sub> emissions in their localities. However, under the incentives of state support in terms of funding projects and the global energy industrial market, in recent years local authorities have conducted a series of substantial actions towards local industrial structural adjustment which has an environmental component. Overall, the general goal of national policies aims to promote a relatively weak variant of sustainable development by prioritizing economic growth. Thereby, cities such as Nanchang are usually locked into a pro-growth policy and major loans have been taken out by local urban authorities to fund easily visualized development and infrastructure, such as new residential areas, industrial parks and motorways, rather than those intangible aspects like social welfare and ecological preservation. As a result, Chinese cities have become growth machines for the national economy. At the same time, they are significant users of local and global resources, including global public goods (Yusuf and Nabeshima, 2008). This regime is characterized by urban-based agglomerative economies through prioritizing urban scale for intensive accumulation, commodifying urban space, and adopting global-oriented production (see Wu et al., 2007).

#### ***Central-local relations and the issue of local autonomy***

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There is evidence that urban political leaders in Nanchang would like to do more on local environment policy, as witnessed by some proactive activities and evidence of a change in approach over time, with environmental policy becoming more of a priority. The problem for pro-environmental interests at the local level is the lack of scope to go beyond intervention with a fairly narrow economic orientation. Local political leaders are confronted with financial pressures on local governments, mainly as a result of unfunded mandates of the Central Government, which has retained control over the policy agenda in spite of fiscal decentralization, but requires local governments to cover expenditures on unemployment insurance, social security, and welfare (see Saich, 2008). With such tremendous pressure on local political leaders, economic development tends to become the overriding priority and they have seen themselves as both administrators and entrepreneurs (Oi, 1995). Thus, there are pervasive incentives for local leaders to produce rapid economic growth. Moreover, environmental offices generally are under the authority of officials whose priority is short-term growth rather than long-term sustainability.

The evidence of local environmental policy initiatives and interventions described in this thesis suggests that Nanchang's municipal authority has prioritised projects which represent a 'win-win' prospect for the articulation of urban economic growth and environmental protection. For instance, urban lakes rehabilitation has helped support the prosperity of local urban property market alongside the waterfront area, while local natural wetland restoration has promoted the special ecological value for local tourism. In these examples, local environmental improvements have affected the consumption habits and lifestyles of local residents, profiting them by boosting home property values and lowering the costs of household services. The local power plant was shut down eventually so that the city could escape from the high-sulphur pollution and upgrade the local profile of energy supply structure. In addition, the municipal authority has also actively participated in various city examinations by the Central Government and its subordinate agencies in terms of environment protection, sanitation condition, and green open space according to national standards, with the aims of improving city image, attracting and retaining high-skill labour and high-quality personnel to settle in the city. It is noteworthy that the national examinations have specific economic indicators related to combining growth with environmental protection, such as the environmental model city programme reflecting the vision of ecological modernization. To some extent, it could be argued that local economic growth in the future Chinese city will need to be linked to local environmental improvements.

It is obvious that local leaders have recognized the importance of environmental policy and the impact of local environmental quality on their career development under the established national environmental responsibility system. The slogan of 'reproducing the city for local people' that the current municipal Party secretary put forward has promoted policies of the Nanchang Municipal Government to implement more concrete environmental actions, such as urban drainage reconstruction especially in the low-lying areas. Such policies can be viewed as social welfare programs to improve the living conditions of local disadvantaged social groups. Nevertheless, the challenge for the Municipal Government is how to sustain the efforts of

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these policies under constrained resources and competing demands. The main story of Nanchang would be that the strategic selectivity of urban development in China does not facilitate such an approach. Equally important, local policy-makers with their absolute powers in pursuit of stronger local environmental policy are still appointed by their superior authorities. Thus, they must listen to the leaders at the level directly above to secure their positions, and their tenures are usually shorter than the mandated term of office for the positions. The process of appointment for these officials is non-transparent and through the tightly knit Party-based system (Ma, 2002).

At the local scale, the market-based instruments and the methods of clean production cannot effectively offset the impact of cost competition amongst the cities. Moreover, local pressure groups have not yet obtained their substantially influential power in the local decision-making process. This poses a series of challenges to the city in pursuit of more substantial green growth. Therefore, the Central Government could play a stronger role than it does currently in building the capacity of local government to implement national environmental policies. China's system is in the midst of constant change. While et al. (2004, p.554) remark that "the relation between urban entrepreneurialism and the search for an urban sustainability fix is becoming a necessary rather than contingent condition of the contemporary political and economic form of urbanization in capitalism", which has been "something of a recoupling of urban political reforms and environmental interventions" (Jonas and While, 2007, p.151). In recent years, some significant policies from the Central Government in China are likely to increase the imperatives and incentives for local environmental action, and these include the general tightening up of implementation by calling for a service-oriented government with improved systems of public notice, and public hearings to expand participation of the general public in management of public affairs, and increasing transparency of government work with more open government affairs, e-government (Chen, 2006; Horsley, 2006). The current Chinese leadership is trying to address the inequities of reform under the slogan of 'building a harmonious society' having a significant goal for adjusting incentives for local officials. Overall, the longer term prognosis is less gloomy in terms of incentives for environmental policy.

### ***The specificity of Nanchang in the Chinese context***

One important aspect of the Nanchang case study is that although it is a fairly typical – or 'ordinary' - large Chinese city, there are certain elements that create opportunities for proactive environmental policy which might not exist in other cities, notably:

- The status of the city as a regional capital – the municipal authority has attained full autonomy in local policy-making from both the central and provincial authorities, and the city was selected as one of key cities for the examination of urban environmental protection by the Central Government. The regional status of Nanchang not only gives it symbolic importance, but also opens up opportunities for a higher-value approach to future urban economic development.



- The natural environment of the city and its material and symbolic importance – Nanchang is renowned for its rich ecological resources. The quality of the existing natural environment does not just create demands and aspirations for local ecological and environmental management and protection, but again it opens up opportunities for economy-environment overlaps that provide incentives for proactive environmental policy.
- The potential and aspiration to restructure around what might be called a ‘high-road’ vision of economic development – the municipal authority has showed great interests in eco-development and conducted some experiments whilst building partnership with businesses for the management of local urban infrastructure.

As a result, the prospects for places like Nanchang look fairly positive in terms of environmental policy, but for other cities the picture might not be so good. There is evidence that many heavy-polluting enterprises are simply moving from the coastal to the central and western cities (Cann et al., 2005; Economy, 2007). Some local governments have undertaken blind pursuit of quick and short-term economic gain without regard to environmental consequences and thus encouraged both domestic and foreign investment into large-scale polluting and resource-intensive industries in China (see Economy, 2007). Meanwhile, local officials were still eager to under-price land to win over foreign and domestic investors to their jurisdictions (Wu et al., 2007). Compared with those cities, the Nanchang Municipal Government has set up a series of environmental restrictions in local examination and approval system for any new industrial projects, such as the special status issued for local industrial parks, although the city in the ranking list of investment attraction once dropped to the bottom among all of cities within the same province in 2007.

According to city categories in China, different cities have different degrees of local autonomy in terms of fiscal regime, administrative rank, and local policy-making. Owing to China’s top-down urban development, the Central Government still plays a very important role in the ambitious development projects, including the building of global cities, for instance, the development of Shanghai as a global city is part of an overall strategy of the Central Government in order to revitalize the Yangtze River region by providing both institutional and financial supports in terms of changing the tax regime to the city (Wu, 2003). Compared with those ‘extra-ordinary’ cities, Nanchang is more in line with the general urban growth regime in China.

### ***Economy-environment relations at the urban scale***

The crucial area in this research is how individual local authorities seek to balance economy-environment relations in the Chinese national-urban context based on the analytical framework in identifying the pressures for or against local environmental policy-making. Based on the above discussions, three outstanding findings have thus been drawn with regard to evolving economy-environment relations at the urban scale:

First, the situation is changing but the strategic selectivity of national economic and urban policy still does not offer much incentive for radical changes in environmental governance even in cities like Nanchang where there is a willingness to improve environmental protection. This is because cities are largely locked into the entrepreneurial growth paradigm.

Second, the areas where national policy is strategically strong depend upon the selective recentralization in these fields, which can be especially witnessed by the recent change in land administration. There are a number of honours and rewards which are established by the central government for local environmental quality examinations, but there is little support for cities in terms of clean energy supply and carbon emission reduction.

Third, although environmental policy and economic growth should be beneficial to all local residents, the advantages and disadvantages of local growth and environmental externalities in reality have been unevenly distributed. The strategic selectivity of environmental policy in Nanchang is also shaped by the lack of democratic pressure from the poorer residents. This is reflected in the fact that environmental policy is not only aligned with economic development, but it is also weak in terms of addressing environmental injustice. Within the local state, there are still constraints on public participation and information access for environmental concerns. Also, local policy-makers tend to be appointed by their superior authorities, but not elected by the local voters within their prefectures. Thus, local decision-makers usually pay less attention on the real demands of local public, but tend to service for special local social groups according to their income and power status. Chinese society is far from being pluralist (Xu and Yeh, 2005). Policy-making power still remains in the hands of the political elites, albeit with growing pressure from the middle classes.

## **Conclusions**

The paper has seen an era in China when environmental issues have begun to be taken more seriously. However, it might be the case that there is increased unevenness between the environmental conditions of cities, and this is something I have identified in the paper as rapid growth becomes increasingly differentiated into high road and low road possibilities. Low road in this sense implies driving down the costs of business. What we are seeing in Nanchang is the attempt to use environmental policy to follow a high road path, and this is likely to give way in the future to greater autonomy for cities to construct more demanding sustainability fixes. A key question thus emerges about prospects for the future, e.g. in terms of whether carbon control and ecological security will alter the strategic and structural context for action, the implications of a shift in the development paradigm to a quality of growth perspective due to pressures from firms, government and citizens. In addition, there are likely to be different constraints and opportunities in different places. In this respect, the prospects for places like Nanchang look fairly positive, but for other cities (and their residents) the picture might not be so good. Overall, what this paper has demonstrated is that urban environmental policy will become an increasingly important concern for Chinese cities.

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## **Track 14: Participation and Governance**

### **Track Co-Chairs**

Louis Albrechts, KU Leuven

Aija Staffans, School of Science and Technology, Aalto University

Institutional fragmentation; multiplication of agencies, social media and complex webs of relationships; breakdown of established networks; disparity of powers and responsibilities across different tiers and departments of governmental and non-governmental bodies; increasing role of market forces in the spatial distribution of development; and, confusion over 'who does what'. Against this background it is understandable that, more and more, spatial planning is looked upon as spatial governance. If we take that stand then effective spatial planning can only take place if it is connected to civil society through wider governance mechanisms. A main challenge becomes the creation of effective governance capacity in the midst of an increasing diversity of actors, institutions, and interests. If we accept that spatial quality, sustainability within a context of equity and fairness constitutes the core business of spatial planning then we have to develop a governance system that makes it possible to link these challenges to all phases of the process, to every single step, to all strategies, to all actions.

The recognition of the significance of governance capacity, and of the value of a wide range of actors in forming that capacity has led to the expansion of policymaking space and engagement of actors. In terms of spatial planning processes, actors may be drawn from beyond the boundaries of the formal institutions of government, spread among public, private and voluntary sectors, and, in the case of large metropolitan areas, straddle the boundaries of different political and administrative jurisdictions. In situations where formal government systems are ineffective or lack respect, fragmentation and diversity is also experienced, often in very acute forms.

We fully realize that this includes a clear and persistent call upon the civil society for a renewed civic engagement and this track looks for discourses, episodes, cases on emerging governance capacity (a strong and active civil society) of places. This track looks for practices mobilizing a broadly-based effort to introduce more effective spatial planning and how this may help to build better governance capacity and sufficient state capacity and resources at different levels – to create more and different spaces of 'luxury'. Papers on these topics and experiments are particularly welcome.

In addition, this track will include a special session designated to ICT assisted participatory planning tools. The session will comprise invited lecturers and an open floor discussion.

## **The Luxury of Participation in Innovative Virtual Planning with Citizens in Vast, Remote, and Sparsely Populated Areas**

Patrizia Hongisto<sup>1</sup> / Tiina Ferm<sup>2</sup>

Keywords: citizen participation, governance, e-democracy, virtual consultation, urban planning, virtual meetings, open innovation

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Citizen participation in the development of urban space is oriented towards citizens' choice of proposed solutions. Often, this is a regulated process which happens at a stage when relevant issues may already be overlooked. However, technology for virtual meetings now offers new opportunities for early and innovative citizen participation. This paper presents how spatial planning software and virtual decision making tools are changing and innovating governance processes. eParticipation in the vast archipelago surrounding the City of Turku, Finland, aims at more inclusive consultation. The area participates in several European ICT projects focusing on user and demand driven research, development and innovation. Elected citizens and civil servants can make use of virtually conducted preparation meetings at earlier stages in the planning processes. We conclude that though planning may not commonly prepare and present issues virtually, rural areas are an example that there is readiness for this for reasons of distributed governance.

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### **1. Introduction**

Technology's role in the public sector, city planning in the context of global challenges, and citizens' responses to these constitute the background of this paper. The rationale guiding the paper is that citizenship and democracy are both part of the challenge and part of the solution. Also, in terms of technology use, participation of citizens provides a user perspective that is the key to innovating public service solutions, governance, and the quality of urban life.

Cities and their surrounding territory offer the ground for participative innovation. Urban centers become the arena where user involvement processes in technology development can, at their best, enable inclusive solutions for urban and mobile life. With regard to spatial planning, its related social and economic value, depends on inclusive, participative and networked value propositions. Cities can thus offer sustainable,

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formalized and well instrumented innovation communities, experimental platforms and conditions for successful market uptake of socially valuable products and services. This is especially of importance for products with significance to the societal challenges that may create unfavorable discrimination. In this paper we focus on the participation aspect of city planning by analyzing some practical experience in consultation and decision making based on evidence from two EU projects conducted in the archipelago area of Southwest Finland, and applied by the local living lab, ArchipeLabo, as validation and innovation facility (Schaffers, H. et. al., 2008; Hongisto, P., Ferm T., 2009)

Participation is a luxury in areas where distances are a major issue when democratic processes and consultation are to be fulfilled, let alone improved. To join public hearings is costly and requires commitment of time and effort on the part of both citizens and the municipal authorities, especially if living and working is distributed over a large and inaccessible area. Technological solutions are seen as an opportunity worth investing in to support governance processes when the vitality of such areas is at stake. By introducing e-democracy tools the possibility for virtual collaboration is enhanced in the preparatory committees for planning and in decision making phases. The luxury of democracy extending to early preparation of the planning activity by using new ICT-enabled tools needs attention in order to clarify both conceptually and practically how this affects planning, construction, and the use of built environment.

The paper is structured in as follows: the next chapter, chapter two, examines what we consider restrictions to participation mainly due to the complexity of the detailed phasing of planning processes and the resulting contractual agreements. A link with the domain of innovation policy is presented and thus a theoretical framework is set which stresses social and collaborative aspects. We suggest that this is necessary if we consider city planning as an innovation environment where technology management and user involvement meet as part of citizen participation in urban changes. Chapter three looks at the existing solutions in facilitating extended participation in planning mainly through the examples of living lab activities in the Finnish archipelago and chapter four describes how the proposed solutions in the selected rural areas may enhance an extended level of participation in planning as part of locally made innovation in decision making. Chapter five present the conclusions and suggestions for further development.

## **2. Participation Restrictions in Planning and Innovation**

Participation in planning has been with us from the beginning stages of professional planning. Already in the 80s with the aid of technology various dimensions of participation were combined. Neither is technology, as a means to empower citizens, a new topic. Also, a lot is being done in the area of eGovernment. Why then should we dwell on the restrictions to participation as yet defining the planning processes and call for innovation to guard the luxury of participation? Our focus therefore, is on how the planning system still poses restrictions to absorbing the information created through participation and on its practical implications. (Väyrynen, 2010)

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Citizens' participation is part of legislation and is practiced within the legally set parameters. However, restrictions can be defined in the realm of communicative action, characterized by interactions between citizens and planners. Concerns are raised on how emerging channels of communication allowing and increased knowledge flow are met by a planning system that may be unable to absorb and use the information. More often than not public hearings are experienced as one-way talk, complicated, time-consuming, and intimidating. Major limitations of the participation process are due to the technical nature of planning and decision making. The form in which information is given may not be understandable by the general public. This is due to the fact that planning is dominated by a rational-technical approach and unreasonable time constraints for public responses. In the end, these elements are not easily regulated in legal terms and essentially constitute a process that does not provide participants with actual authority.

The eDemocracy pilot that was set up in the ArchipeLabo living lab facility through the software technology integrated project Collaboration@Rural (C@R) had distance as the key limiting factor (Hongisto, 2007). This was based on the realization that merging a number of communities spread around on several thousand islands into one municipality would mean a decline in citizen participation in the development of their community, and in politics in general. Participation would be affected negatively, because of the radically increased distances and consequently the loss of productive time for citizens, whose major occupation is entrepreneurship. Physical distance and lack of communication would result in a disinterest in participation. (Hongisto, 2008) Thus, several local projects supporting citizens' involvement, among which the EU projects C@R (2006-2010) and DEN4DEK (2008-2010), have been set up in the archipelago area of Southwest Finland to research, develop and validate virtual participation and raise the awareness of the potential of a regional digital business ecosystem respectively. An eDemocracy Tool Box (EDT) was developed that could provide specifications for developing new commercially viable and scalable eDemocracy services. Such tools enhance self-governance and provide channels for extending participation to earlier phases of planning.

Another need to extend participation, not related to distance, but to the process of participation, was observed. Based on the response to EDT the full cycle of participation in decision making was mapped, and the gap was made evident in the area of planning: citizens participation, as it is required by law, is formally practiced, yet not necessarily in the early stage of preparation for planning. Or, simply, it cannot be guaranteed that all stakeholders among the citizens are properly involved in the preparation process. The hearing process, information in public forums, such as newspapers, internet, announcement boards or even direct letters may be distant to citizens' life situations and not catch the attention, raise interest, or be understood. Most importantly, the timing of participation may not uncover potential crucial 'mistakes' until it is too late. Participation in planning extending to earlier processes will therefore be the focus of two new EU projects in the region.

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Yet another reason to extend participation is found from general shifts in the practice of spatial planning. The Finnish Land Use and Building Act(132/1999) and its amendments (222/2003 and 1589/2009) view spatial planning as an integral part of holistic community planning. The focus on planning has notably shifted emphasis from land use and an aesthetic contribution to the built environment to a comprehensive model of living and, consequently, the need to consider the surrounding socio-economic and physical environment, a the need for a systemic approach to stakeholder involvement and to citizens' engagement in planning process has grown.

In addition, we maintain that, since the mandatory information and hearing procedures require an existing plan or delineated suggestions for a plan. There is no provision and no tools are yet in use to systematically explore diverse public opinions before the planning procedure as such begins. This at a moment when the advancement in peer to peer technology and social media activity makes it possible to include and increase participation both in numbers and with regards to different functions and phases of urban changes.

Several of the restrictions related to participation can be compared to constraints observed in open innovation and to the challenges of opening up public data. Thus, attempts to improve the degree of participation can be aligned with challenges of user involvement in the field of (open) innovation which aims at networked collaboration between civil servants, citizen, developers (public and private) and academia for better solutions as well as business and operating models. The objective to strengthen mechanisms for including citizen knowledge user driven innovation in public services has led to increased attention from the European Commission side towards public procurements processes. (Rolfstam, 2009) Similarly, here the idea is to specifically direct R&D collaboration between public sector and companies to earlier stages of solutions development. This attempt is termed as pre-commercial procurement (PCP). Transferred to city planning the approach of pre-commercial public procurement raises questions about how participation in early preparatory stages of planning could be made a part of the planning system.

From the perspective of urban planning mirrored with public service innovation participation in early stages could be seen as limited by processes of public procurement and their legislative regulations. However, public procurement is now being reconsidered as a potential for innovation, which the EU project PreCo is investigating. The basic idea is that pre-commercial public procurement often intersects with several policy domains, and coordination is not driven as jointly created service in collaboration with citizens. In practice urban planners and public procurers with different mandates run specifically dedicated agencies, and while they may support large scale interaction with the general public, they can only act in accordance to technically specified agendas, diverse and fragmented in nature. The technical fragmentation of administrative unites may shadow the overarching principle of solutions as service logic focusing on inclusive use.

New variations of institutional interplay (Rolfstam 2009) we argue would stem from large scale participation and would account for innovation that reflects a change of perspective towards service logic. A similar institutional stand is taken in the OECD Innovation Brief on Sustainable Public Procurement with regard to how planning, when it includes an extended participation of citizens, can affect the innovation performance of the procurement process in urban planning. As stated in the OECD Innovation Brief governments wanting to promote more environmentally friendly construction and usage patterns may need to align planning, public procurement, and participation practices. The fear is that publicly advertised environmental goals towards ‘green’ or ‘smart’ cities may otherwise be restricted by an array of diverting interests and conflicting expectations of an urban and built environment. However, citizens and other stakeholders, among which private actor nodes, can mutually benefit by participation in earlier planning processes which may yield applicable results.

Based on the framework of we have set ourselves in this chapter, we want to understand the systems that guide the practice of participation in planning and then map the innovative potential of the participation processes with the use of ICT-enabled services. This does not primarily address, or resolve, long-running philosophical differences underlying the practices, rather, we aim to show how participation is organized and what an innovative approach to citizen participation could set itself to achieve. An interesting aspect of investigation is here whether, as we assume, doubts about the influence of public voice due to these limitations would be dispelled if participation would be extended to earlier planning processes and a concept of openness and PCP approach to participatory innovation would be implemented.

### **3. Towards Solutions for Extended Participation in Planning**

Given the long practiced consultation with residents and the participation mechanisms applied in city planning we need to look carefully into the particular need of extending participation, what an extension should focus on, how can it be ‘modeled’, and whether its benefits add to the quality of participation. In earlier stages of technology developments public hearings already attempted to use methods such as a combination of multiple communication tools, e.g. restructuring illustrations with the aid of photographs and technically reproduced maps while artists would simultaneously sketch solutions suggested by the citizens participating in the hearing.

In this paper we refer to the work on virtual decision making tools in the EDT case within the largely spread municipality in Southwest Finland as presented in the previous chapter. EDT introduced a systematic use of videoconferencing for municipal decision making. The immediate expected outcome of EDT as a virtual solution is a contribution to reducing costs related to traveling inside the municipality. By conducting virtually “every third meeting among the civil servants the saved traveling costs are 200 000 € in a year” (as stated by the vice mayor of the archipelago city of Väståboland in Korpo on June 17, 2009). These administrative, virtual meetings apply to topical meetings, smaller than public hearings and are conducted as

discussions rather than formal decision making meetings. Joint preparation and shared documents also constitute an important part of the virtual interactions between the civil servants, experts and board members. The tools used in these cases are PC-based collaborative applications such as Adobe Connect Pro or Skype. Though the simple existing technology is not a challenge these virtual meetings requires changes in the working processes in the administration. For example, although virtual meetings are discussions by nature attention on focused planning is needed through back-ground material and meeting agendas, coordination of follow-up physical face-to-face meetings, and combining several issues into one trip. In addition, relying on a common level of ICT-skills in the use of shared documents and videoconferencing applications is a basic starting point.

The most important factors, when deciding whether to have a virtual or a physical meeting, are the urgency of topics and significantly confidentiality concerns, as well as trust in the videoconferencing technology and in the reliability of data networks. In practice the Korpo board for local services in the archipelago city of Väståboland (constituted of 15000 islands) has used videoconferencing in regular meetings (for example as observed on 2.11.2009) to enable both, physical and virtual participation. The farthest participant in the board for local services is from the island of Utö – a two hours boat trip from the main administrative island, if weather conditions are good. In winter conditions, such as on 2.11.2009, the only possibility to participate is by virtual presence and using video conferencing tools.

The use of videoconferencing in decision making meetings aims to enhance the democratic process by enabling participation in spite of long distances and difficult access. The cost savings do not play an equally crucial role in decision making as in the case of regularly recurring administrative meetings. A result of the EDT project testing has been recognizing the different types of participation linked to the relevant stages that are necessary for the legal implementation of the decision making process and for functionally fulfilling the democratic requirements of participatory processes. The technology requirements were tied to the principles of democracy that govern by legislation public decision making. As the following table 1 describes, three stages need to be adequately managed in order to guarantee a democratic outcome. Technology, or virtual use, can be applied to all three relevant stages. Its use is adapted to the characteristic features of interactions in each stage to enhance participation in the whole process. The expectation is that enhanced participation through technology may yield better decision making.

Table 1 also lists in the second column the features of alternative use of virtual participation in the following stage of municipal process innovation. The other solution that will be taken into use in the Finnish town of Väståboland as a development pilot: the electronic town meeting (ETM). The table compares the basic features of both types of e-participation with regard to the three stages that cover the full participation process.

Table 1: eDemocracy tools including pre- and post-interaction of the actual decision making participation event.

	Democratic decision making meeting	Electronic town meeting
<b>Before meeting</b>	Access to material <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Documents entered in the eDocument management tool</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Material prepared and sent to participants</li> </ul>
	Engagement <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Participants are officially elected</li> <li>Participants can comment or conduct a discussion on agenda items (also through the virtual tool)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Participants are selected</li> <li>Questions can be asked, but no discussion with city officers takes place prior to the meeting</li> </ul>
<b>During meeting</b>	Technical arrangements <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Participation via videoconferencing (participant validation required)</li> <li>Documents shared via eMeeting tool (same text visible to all at the same time)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Participation physically or virtually through discussion groups</li> <li>Printed material is sent out, each discussion group has access to material virtually during the meeting</li> </ul>
	Procedure <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Asking for the right to speak (managed speaker lists)</li> <li>Asking for short response to the given speeches</li> <li>Raise and supporting counter-proposals</li> <li>Voting with open and closed votes</li> <li>Statistics on voting and participation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Facilitator manages the discussion</li> <li>Discussion on given topics</li> <li>Polling in groups</li> <li>No voting</li> <li>Statistics on polls and given opinions</li> </ul>
<b>After meeting</b>	Communication <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Sharing of meeting protocol with participants</li> <li>Public information on decisions taken</li> <li>Possible appeal</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Sharing immediate results of polls and gathered opinions</li> <li>Analysis of polls</li> <li>Analysis of discussion material and opinions</li> <li>Analysed results mapped with participant background information</li> <li>Public information of results</li> </ul>

The municipality of Väståboland is part of a European consortium introducing new technologies and new practices for ETM within the EU project PARTERRE starting in July 2010. The first ETM linked to the project took place in Italy already on February 6, 2010 with the participation of five cities (Castellnuovo, Cortona, Orbetello, Piombino and Prato ) in the Tuscany region for discussions on urban development. The meeting was organized around open and controversial issues on spatial planning affecting several of the municipalities. The participants were selected using focus group interviews and statistical information to represent a wide range of citizens. The discussions were held in small groups lead by an impartial discussion moderator. The aim was not to reach any compromise or common view, but to widely bring out all possible views on the topics under discussion. The topics were divided into common issues to all five cities on one hand, and on the other hand strictly local issues.

The groups were connected with videoconferencing tools and the general public could follow the discussions streamed in the Internet and also send comments and questions to moderators through the Internet. On the selected topics there had been a lot of discussions among the politicians prior to the ETM, but they had not

led to any conclusion. Therefore there were no city plans to comment on. It is unusual for participatory meetings to address issues at conceptual level, but the aim of the Tuscany ETM was a pre-plans discussion. The aim was a dialogue, or a debate, based on on certain identified items illustrated in the form of photographs and drawings, to give a framework to focus on when proposing views.

In the archipelago city of Väståboland the PARTERRE project aims at combining the systematic use of videoconferencing among experts and ETM tools for scaled participation. The electronic ETM methods include spatial planning tools, location based information, 3D modeling and photographs. The ambition of the city of Väståboland is to align communication functions in planning among experts, between experts, citizen and decision makers, and achieve scaled and extended participation of citizens, as users and inhabitants of built environment. The objective of the project is to offer a wide variety and more user friendly material on spatial plans, to reach all citizens that are affected by the city plans, in order to get their opinions and comments early enough and to be able to reduce the time spent in ready plans that may not go through, or may be delayed by appeals. The project does not replace hearing and informing processes but enhances them by producing more accessible material and by offering more channels for a ‘citizen – civil servant’ dialogue.

Specifically the aim is to find out minority views that are often left unnoticed, but usually give reasons for appealing. A secondary goal is to give civil servants opportunities to discuss with citizens from several physically distant locations in the islands of the archipelago at the same time and thus not only save time and money, but also get opinions that would not have been heard if the discussion took place in only one location, as traditional physical participation allows.

The Association of Finnish Local and Regional Authorities runs a program to advance the co-operation between public and private sectors in land use and planning (JYMY). The success of the co-operation requires management mechanisms. Such mechanisms are thus defined as a simplified planning process and controlled system that balances out the following partly overlapping steps: i) citizens motion and its evaluation, followed by a decision, ii) preparation for and launch of the implementation, iii) land use, construction, and operations plan, iv) construction, and v) use and maintenance. Ideally, in all five phases collaboration between public and private actors takes place. Thus, joint risk analysis and the contractual agreements is increasingly important.

The early citizen participation in the PARTERRE project is primarily targeted at the phases before the actual motion and the preparation in the JYMY model, but also aims at supporting the complete process by offering guiding information on values that influence the strategies in planning and land use. (Kuntaliitto, 2008) It is by emphasizing an extension of civic participation in the earlier stages of urban planning and budgeting preparation that the principles of deliberative democracy can be fulfilled. Issues such as broad inclusion, reflexivity, two-way exchange and autonomy have been particularly analyzed in ETM (D’Agostino,

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Schwester, Holzer, 2003) and it is the aim of the collaboration with the city of Väståboland to strengthen this possibility for its citizen through virtual tools, but most importantly by integrating these procedure into the administrative processes of the municipality.

#### **4. Governance of Extended Participation in Planning**

Chapters 2 and 3 have introduced issues supporting the need for extending participation into the earlier phases of planning. We argued that this widening of participation has two dimensions: a wider distributed citizenship covering diversity and an engaged dialogue involving experts and public administrators. In terms of governance this requires a shift from public hearing to a iterative dialogue in subsequent stages, similar to the organizational and management requirements of service logic implementation, or user-driven innovation with consequences at systemic level. Therefore still another aspect can be added from the perspective of governance which addresses the national dimensions. Officials and administrators of local and national authorities meet regularly to discuss issues related to regional land use plans and local plans with wider implications. Such meetings aim to clarify and harmonize land use objectives at national, regional and local level (§8 1589/2009).

Based on how participation has been addressed in the Finnish archipelago area as example of virtually enhanced participation in rural environments and eDemocracy specification testing, this paper argues for extended citizens' participation. Equally part of this reasoning is that a focus on citizens relates to a systemic governance approach, since organizing for participation has governance implications that affect established planning processes ranging from local to regional and national administrative practices.

Extended citizen participation in the way this paper argues for is directed towards pre-planning as a first crucial element for widening the traditional informing and hearing processes. The use of new electronic and internet based tools in participation are to a great extent aiming to reach wider range of citizens than traditional methods would reach. However, equally important is that extended participation enables to include pre-processes in earlier, preparatory phases of planning. We believe that this affects the larger governance context in a systemic way, and has relevance for continuation of interaction participation in later stages of planning, for user validation, to borrow a term from software development. The rationale behind enhancing participation not only in scale but also in functionality is to avoid situations where plans may be subjected to appeals and, in the extreme situations, years of preparation and implementation work prove to be misguided to the point of dismantling completed sites.

An example is presented in table 2 of how innovation in urban planning and citizen participation is not only limited to innovating the type of interactions, or the methods and tools used for hearing and consultation, but how it is part of an extended process of planning and how a systemic look at governance implications is in place. Initial valuable results from experimentation with eParticipation and eDemocracy tools to enhance



citizen involvement in the early phases of planning are already available from the Intel Cities EU-funded project (Lahti P., Kangasoja J., Huovila P., 2006). Experimentation was done in Finland (Arabianranta, Helsinki), a community in Iceland (Garðabær), and in Germany (Frankfurt). Specifically the Spatial Discourse e-Participation Tool used in Frankfurt aimed at speeding up planning processes and raising the quality and diversity of the discussions between citizens and experts and among citizens. The spatial discourse process geared to collect the concerns and ideas of the citizens and stakeholders is defined as a pre-process to the formal planning procedure. In the following the innovation challenge is tracked by way of looking at the participation approach that a municipality has implemented when introducing planning for urban changes.

Table 2: Three different strategic approaches to planning and participation (based on MECIBS results, Lehtonen, 2005))

Innovations resulting from chosen approach to planning and governance methods used		
International Architectural Competition	Interactive Planning Game	Inter-organisational learning, ICT-enabled networked action
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Development of the evaluation process. (Both expert and public opinions have been gathered on paper and on the Internet pages and have influenced the process.)</li> <li>Use of international expertise in the competition (two of the four competitors, one professional member of the jury).</li> <li>Give a chance for a young architectural practice (one of the competitors).</li> <li>The City's courage to test a new method in planning had excellent results for participation.</li> <li>This could inspire other cities to organise an international architectural competition.</li> <li>Involvement of the private sector in the competition re-enforces their commitment to achieve the agreed results.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The new communicative and interactive planning method is very well linked into the real-life planning process.</li> <li>The method is transferable and adaptable into different planning systems, practices, and countries.</li> <li>Different actors (e.g., politicians, residents, interest groups etc.) are able to learn the basics of planning and its processes.</li> <li>The planning process (e.g., evaluation, prioritization, decision-making etc.) becomes more understandable for participants.</li> <li>An interactive platform is organized for the so-called open innovation process to take place.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The use of the ICT method has widened the number of participants.</li> <li>The use of ICT methods has widened the diversity of comments.</li> <li>Different interest groups (e.g., young people) have been reached. This has improved the quality of planning.</li> <li>Inter-organisational learning is made possible through network actions.</li> <li>Commitment to the network helps the realization of the quality issues defined in the earlier planning phase (i.e., a 'continuum' could be created).</li> <li>Organising a local professional forum was possible in order to catalyse the transformation of urban practices.</li> </ul>

With a focus on public participation in urban planning and also on urban strategies the three approaches resulted in different governance models for including participation. Different platforms organize for opportunities that can stimulate citizen involvement in diverse ways and at different points of the planning process. Different approaches and resulting governance practices open up opportunities for innovation through planning, which is a challenge that a traditional approach may not allow.

Two fundamental sets of arguments in this paper lead to an extension of the participatory processes. Firstly, we rely on the communicative aspect of participation and, by extension, a certain type of democracy. Secondly, we propose considering innovation as overarching principle of planning, covering participation processes and planning governance, and including, not replacing, preservation functions of planning. In the following these two fields are exemplified in a sketchy manner.

The communication field is somewhat established already and has been addressed in previous research. The conceptual framework behind the Land Use and Building Act is the theory of communicative planning

influenced by Habermas's communicative rationale which is focused around social interaction and communication. From the community development point of view urban planning is a communicative and interactive process. The challenge is to ensure that the participation in the discussion is wide and open so that all possible views are included (Habermas, 1984). Equal opportunities of participation to open discussion are questioned by Sager (1997) while Saaristo (2000) basing on Sandercock (1998) argues that both written and spoken views need to be equally considered and the role of local associations and communities voice should be critically evaluated as the voice of all citizens.

The first of the two fundamental arguments relates planning to the communicative field. The second argument relates planning to innovation, open innovation specifically, and user or human-centric research and development for innovation (RDI). We claim that both propositions can achieve an extension in participation in planning for the benefit of the parties involved by relying on i) a service dominant logic (a fundamental concern with exchange of service, the applications of competences, knowledge, and skills in equal terms for experts and citizens), ii) digital business ecosystems adopted from technological discourse of network-based economy (where shared access to services and experiences constitute a platform providing infrastructure, protocol, and legal mechanisms for co-creation of value), and iii) pre-commercial procurement (where equality, functionality, or aesthetics of urban space, coupled with a situated everyday understanding of place form the bases of the process of value creation in terms of partnership).

How service dominant logic (Lusch and Vargo, 2006) and digital business ecosystems contribute to land-use, spatial and urban planning emerges from several newly addressed technological challenges, that seek rootedness in user and demand driven approaches, collaborative and networked processes, as well as peer to peer systems and social media.

Finally, this setting of collaborative network processes is the direction we would like to take in future approaches to extended participation. Numerous discussions around how social media will revolutionize the planning systems are taking place in virtual spaces dedicated to urban development. Web tools for eParticipation are being mapped i.e. at MIT's Department for Urban Studies and Planning (Goodspeed, 2008), while development of Government 2.0 and transparency of data is a recurring topic in the technology and government related discourse. While such web tools may support the benefits of ensuring long-term quality (Väyrynen, 2010) of urban development as service innovation certain challenges at systemic governance level still need to be resolved, including sharing and managing distributed data, issues of IPR related to privatization (Taipale, 2010) and public-procurement legislation.

The mobility between aspects, or layers, of urban planning and its governance and the intensity between the interacting population typical for these spaces may equal what Jane Jacobs would have called 'the social diversity and physical fabric of the city' where human contact makes possible an 'unplanned messiness'.

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eParticipation through web tools and social media may build on, communicate, negotiate, as well as cause the messiness of shared life and shared opinions in urban environments. Therefore, we see a need to consider it from a planning and inclusion point of view starting from pre-planning phases.

## 5. Conclusions

In spite of various efforts in increasing citizen participation in planning, both in scope and scale, aspects of participation of citizens in the earlier stages of preparation are not yet fully resolved. This paper has presented early attempts to address this gap, by looking at a newly conducted pilot for eDemocracy in the vastly distributed inhabited environments of the Finnish archipelago. The experimentation in the ArchipeLabo living lab addresses virtual collaboration and decision making by contributing specifications for eDemocracy tools and applying digital ecosystems. Also a platform and a real life environment is set up for testing electronic town meetings in new planning projects. However, the governance processes on which participation depends still remains an area of investigation.

The motivation for web based tools is to extend participation in municipal decision making that appeals to a wider population base, i.e. including young people, and also reduced costs for travel to the meetings and time lost from entrepreneurial activities of citizen in sparsely populated areas. The work done with eDemocracy in the vastly distributed municipality of Väståboland in Finland, gives indications for further study. As observed, the significance of the use of web based tools lies mostly in enhancing virtual participation for the crucial early stage administrative and preparatory processes in planning. Further multi-layered research is needed to integrate ICT-enabled eParticipation tools in the governance model of urban planning as an extended inclusive and thus successful process for an improved mutually sustaining urban – rural living.

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## **Track 15: Planning, Law and Property Rights**

### **Track Co-Chairs**

Rachelle Alterman, Israel Institute of Technology

Kauko Viitanen, School of Science and Technology, Aalto University

Most countries today have laws and regulations that govern property rights in land as well as the rules of public land-use planning. The realm of the law interacts with almost all planning decisions at some stage in their implementation. All too often, implementation of venerable goals – such as safeguarding land because space “is luxury” – fails due to an insufficient understanding of how planning relates to the legal sphere. More sophisticated research is merited.

Our goal in this track (now in its 11th year at AESOP) is to provide the platform at AESOP for academics in planning to share their recent research on the broad range of topics where planning, law and regulation interact. If you are researching any of the following, or related, topics, we welcome your submission to your abstract:

- Private property rights in land and buildings: expropriation, compensation, land readjustment, taxation of land values, transfer or development rights, customary private rights.
- Public property rights: “the commons”, land for public services, the tension between private and public rights in property, customary collective rights.
- Land use regulation and controls: zoning, building permits, agreements with developers, “exactions” or “planning gain”, regulation of open space and natural resources, design and historic-building regulation etc.
- Statutory planning systems – analysis and evaluation: the roles of statutory planning institutions, relationship between central control and local governments, public participation procedures and the law, etc.
- Statutory plans: How laws structure plans differently in degree of legal force, contents, scope, time frame, format, and rules for review.

Papers may look at the general theory of planning and law or investigate particular issues, focusing either on a particular country or town, or cross-nationally. All contributors are encouraged to remember that conference participants come from many countries with different legal and planning systems. Therefore, legal structures and procedures should be made accessible to all.

## **DECREASING LAND CONSUMPTION BY USING PPP IN LAND USE MANAGEMENT**

DIPL.-ING. MAGDALENA KNAPPIK <sup>1</sup> / DIPL.-GEOGR. PETER RENETZKI <sup>2</sup>

Keywords: Brownfield, Land Use, Co-operation

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The public financed research project “Public-Private-Partnership (PPP) in land use management at the regional level” deals with the high land use in Germany. Between 2005 and 2008 the average daily land use for new settlement and transport-related areas in Germany was up to 115 hectares per day. This high land use has a multitude of economical, ecological and socio-ecological consequences, like loss of space for agriculture, loss of function of ground by sealing, social and geographical disparity or rising cost of settlement structure. By creating a better synchronisation of public and private stakeholders in land use management, the research project forces a revitalisation of brownfields and a reduction of the land consumption. The following paper will discuss the dimension of land use for new settlement and transport-related areas in Germany, the different kinds of stakeholders with their often diverged interests and the main modules of the land use management concept which were developed by the research project.

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### **The research project “Public-Private-Partnership (PPP) in land use management at the regional level”**

Based on the national sustainability strategy “Perspectives for Germany”, which was decided by the German Federal Government in 2002, numerous research projects were processed in the program “Research for the Reduction of Land Consumption and for Sustainable Land Management (REFINA)” of the Federal Ministry of Education and Research (cf. Website Difu). The cooperative project “Public-Private-Partnership (PPP) in land use management at the regional level” is one of it. The research project tries to fulfil the aims of REFINA concerning the liability of properties. By creating a better synchronisation of public planning and private development objectives in land use management, the project forces a reintegration of brownfields into the economic circuit and so a reduction of land consumption. The joint research project is a co-operation of academic facilities, communes and private companies. The network partners are the PROBIOTEC GmbH (project manager: Kai Steffens), the Faculty of Spatial Planning at Dortmund University of Technology (project manager: Univ.Prof˙in Dr. Sabine Baumgart) and the RAG Montan Immobilien GmbH (project

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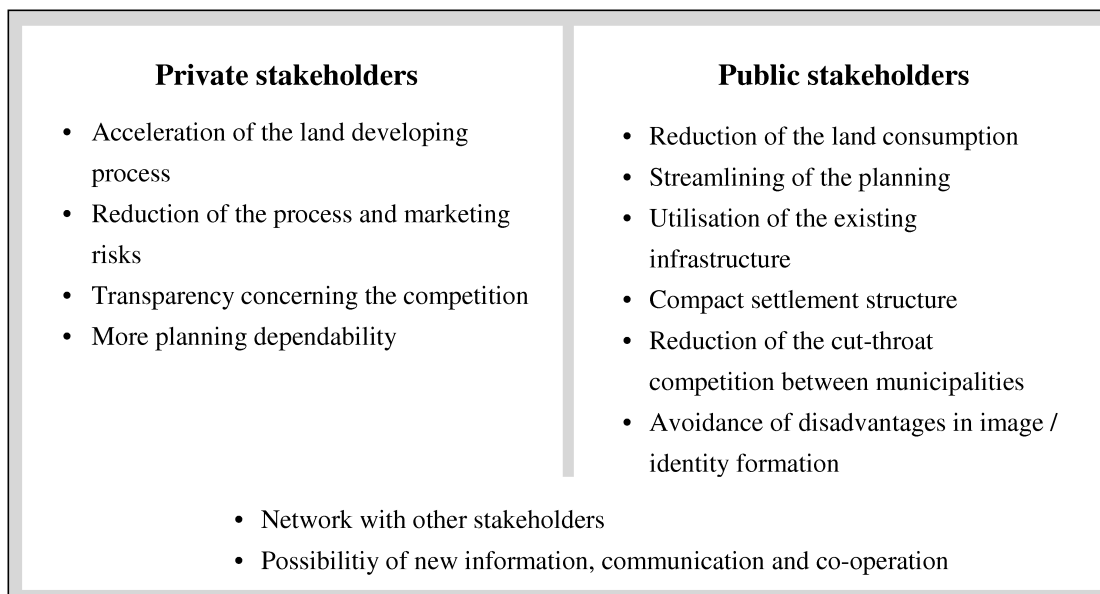
<sup>2</sup> RAG Montan Immobilien GmbH, Product Development

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manager: Peter Renetzki). The research partners attach importance to an early coordination in an informal process in the run-up to formal planning. Against the background of intermunicipal competition of additive settlement of inhabitants and companies, a regional approach is very important in this process.

During the three years of the research phase, a concept model based on national and international experiences and findings was developed, which facilitates an innovative connection between the public planning and the private portfolio management of the big institutional landowners. The revision and validation of the concept model took place in context of simulation games for the model region Ruhr Area in the West of Germany. The intermunicipal competition in this region entails amongst other things that a lot of brownfields cannot be reused so far and that the development takes place on apparently more attractive areas out in the open country. For the simulation games a multitude of relevant stakeholders and institutions of the Ruhr Area with different interests were invited to check the practical feasibility of the land use management concept and to find solutions for still open conflicts.

Figure 1: Benefits of a land use management concept at the regional level



Source: Own source, adopted from the research project “Public-Private-Partnership (PPP) in land use management at the regional level”

The regional management concept offers a new way for the revitalisation of brownfields by organizing an early adjustment between private and public stakeholders in a transparent process. A coordinated course of actions between the municipalities can boost the pressure on the land market. But the regional coordinated land management concept also affords additional benefits in many other respects for the different stakeholders (see figure 1).



### **The background of the research project: Land use in Germany**

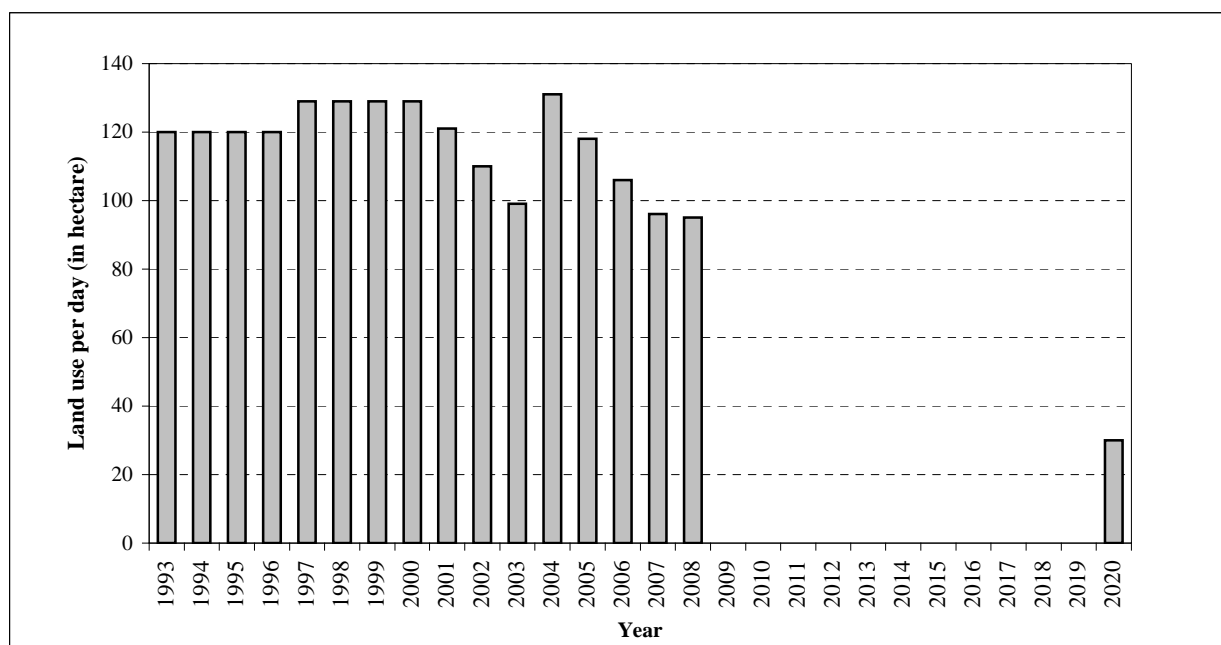
The terms „land use“ and „land consumption“ are nowadays often used in debates about the mostly irreversible conversion of nature-orientated agricultural or silvicultural areas to settlement and traffic areas. During the last decades, the amount of settlement and transport-related areas in Germany was rising continuously. It grew by 3.8 % during the years 2001 and 2004 and formed the highest increase of all types of land use (cf. StaBa 2005: 17). In the last 50 years the settlement and traffic areas doubled, although the population only rose by about 30 % and the working population only by 10 %. Consequently there is a rising of land use per capita. In the 1950s, the settlement area per citizen constituted 350 square metres, today it grew up to 534 square metres. (cf. Deutscher Bundestag 2007: 15-16)

The main reasons for the higher land use for settlement and traffic areas during the last 50 years are the rising of space consumption for living space through increasing wealth standards, escalating demands of habitation as well as the rising number of households caused by the decreasing size of each individual household. During the last years, the focus for building sites was more and more concentrated to the hinterland around urban agglomerations and rural areas, because of the significant difference in price between town and country areas. The communes' competition about inhabitants, employees and business establishments is regarded to be the main reason for the generous designation of land for building sites. The communes hope to settle new business establishment and inhabitants by providing building sites in the open country to amend their financial position. A higher population pledges for example higher income taxes and new business establishments lead for example to rising business taxes (cf. Jörissen; Coenen 2007: 79).

Although the yearly growth of settlement and traffic areas in Germany was lightly decreasing in the last years, the land use is still on a high level. Between 1993 and 1996 the daily land use was at the level of 120 hectare, between 1997 and 2000 at about 129 hectare per day. In the last periods from 2001 to 2004 the additional land use drops to 115 hectare per day and between 2005 and 2008 to 107 hectare per day (cf. Website StaBa). The cyclical development of the last years and the connected collapse of building investments can be named as the main reasons for this trend (cf. Jörissen; Coenen 2007: 79).

This high land use has a multitude of economical, ecological and socio-ecological consequences, like loss of space for agriculture, loss of earth function by sealing, social and geographic disparity and rising costs for settlement structure. The negative consequences of the high land use in Germany clarify an urgent need for political actions. In April 2002 the German federal government adopted the national sustainability strategy "Perspectives for Germany" and emphasized the ambition of sustainable development. The national sustainability strategy aims to reduce the land consumption of settlement and transport-related areas and to boost a prior inner-development using land use management with the vision of a land area circuit through land recycling. Among other things it is the aim that till the year 2020 the daily land use for settlement and traffic areas should be reduced to 30 hectare per day (cf. Website Difu).

Figure 2: Average daily land use in Germany



Source: Own source, based on Krumm 2004: 9, Website of StaBa

This goal of the German federal government to reduce the land use to an upper limit of 30 hectare per day requires enormous adjustments of the current habits (see figure 2). To accomplish the aim of 30 hectare per day, a reduction of 68 % (based on a land use of 95 hectare per day in 2008) is necessary (cf. Website StaBa).

### **The main interests and views of the private and public stakeholders**

The research project determined that the identification and the integration of the relevant stakeholders are essential for the implementation and the success of the regional land use management concept. In the regional context, a stakeholder represents a person, an institution or company that influences the development of land area. Most of the times, stakeholders are big private land owners, as well as public stakeholders like the local governments, the district governments and the provincial governments with its accordant administrations.

Every stakeholder has its specific scope of action with a specific focus. The realisation of profit and the dependability of investment is most of the times the main concern of the private stakeholders, like realty owners and developers. They have to work economically and need to aim for a definite return on invest. Therefore, land areas are considered as a capital asset, which permits profit. But an economic point of view cannot be equated with a short-term realisation of profit. A fixing of a long-term and firm development

strategy for several portfolio managements and the whole portfolio is more important than a rapid benefit. Therefore, the legal certainty for area development is a main aim of the strategic focusing of the portfolio.

The main concern of public stakeholders is an improvement of quality of life, which should also assure a financial actionability, as well as a public advantage in the long run. In the context of land area development, public stakeholders are focused on the definition of specific rules for usage, which suit the needs of the urban planning. There is definitely a certain necessity to achieve these goals with a restricted amount of resources and money. Because of the process of consideration, the town planning could come to another conclusion for the land use than it is desirable for the property owner, although the reuse of this brownfields also conforms to the aims of the public stakeholders.

The different aims of the private and public stakeholders cause a different view on the subject “flat”. Flats afford an option of use for the town planning and guide the district development to focus on a sustainable urban development. In contrast to this, private stakeholders regard flats as an investment. The adjustment of the mentioned interests and views of the private and the public stakeholders is arbitrativ for the successful realisation of a regional land use management concept.

The research project was able to find and to classify the main experiences with co-operation between public and private stakeholders with the help of an analysis of obstacles. The census of private property owners, developers as well as representatives of town and environmental planning reveals basic obstacles in the fields of lack of information flow, organisation and motivation, as well as in justice and law.

- Lack of information flow: Missing flat information of the concerned brownfields can exist on private as well as on public site. Contractual secrecy obligations also inhibit the transparency of a project. Some projects become as complex that the involved people cannot handle the information overload any longer. In addition to that, there area often lacks of knowledge of the respective aims, commercial needs and necessities, a halting information flow as well as a resistance in advice of some persons or institution.
- Problems of organisation and motivation: An unequal distribution of cost and benefit in a flat development reduces the motivation of the involved stakeholders to advance this process. The initiation of new and unpractised project management structures can cause a lag of time. A lack of flexibility of the project organisation can also result in a disappointing brownfield development process.
- Obstacles through regulatory frameworks: Laws and provisions obligate stakeholders to a regulated processes. However, the public stakeholders are often accused not to use the possible discretionary decision. The public stakeholders can only create a limited reliability of planning, which is wished by the private stakeholders. Project risks are often shared unequally.

The mentioned obstacles and conflicts cause the same consequences again and again: Lack of transparency, loss of efficiency, uncertainty and time lags. Only an impartial co-operation with a publication of the necessities and aims as well as their understanding can counter the obstacles in the process of site development.

### **Modules of a land use management at the regional level**

During the analysis and search phase, the research project identified ten main modules, which had been concretised for the land use management concept at the regional level. These ten concept modules include information, recommended procedures and arrangements for a successful initiation and implementation of the land use management concept. The ten modules can be summed up to the following four subject areas:

- **Purpose:** To fix the collective purpose, the stakeholders have to decide on the spatial delimitation, the period of the purpose and the aims in substance of the land use management concept (1).
- **Base of information and conditions:** Before the formulation of the purpose, the stakeholders have to interchange their interests (2). They have to agree on a form of organisation (3). After that a site-related data base (4) has to be fixed and created to provide the same quality of information to all stakeholders. Moreover a collective appreciation of the flat market (5) like demographic and economic development of the region is necessary to get a basis of decision-making.
- **Operational tools:** Some modules inform about important tools of the running land use management. They afford information of the possible promoting set and financing of brownfield development (6) as well as of the basis of conditions of contractual agreements (7) which offer reliability in planning. With a rising complexity of the land use management, a process flow management (8) is essential to make the information flow and decision process transparent. Another module is marketing and public relation (9) to get a wide acceptance of the public and the policy.
- **Accompanying Evaluation:** An accompanying evaluation (10) is indispensable for an improvement of the processes.

The practical relevance of the developed concept models were tested in the mentioned simulation games. Among other things, the game ran through the agreement of the collective purpose, the development of a co-operation agreement and the choice of a right form of organisation of the land use management concept. The simulation game acknowledged a lot of existing assumption. Here are some of the findings:

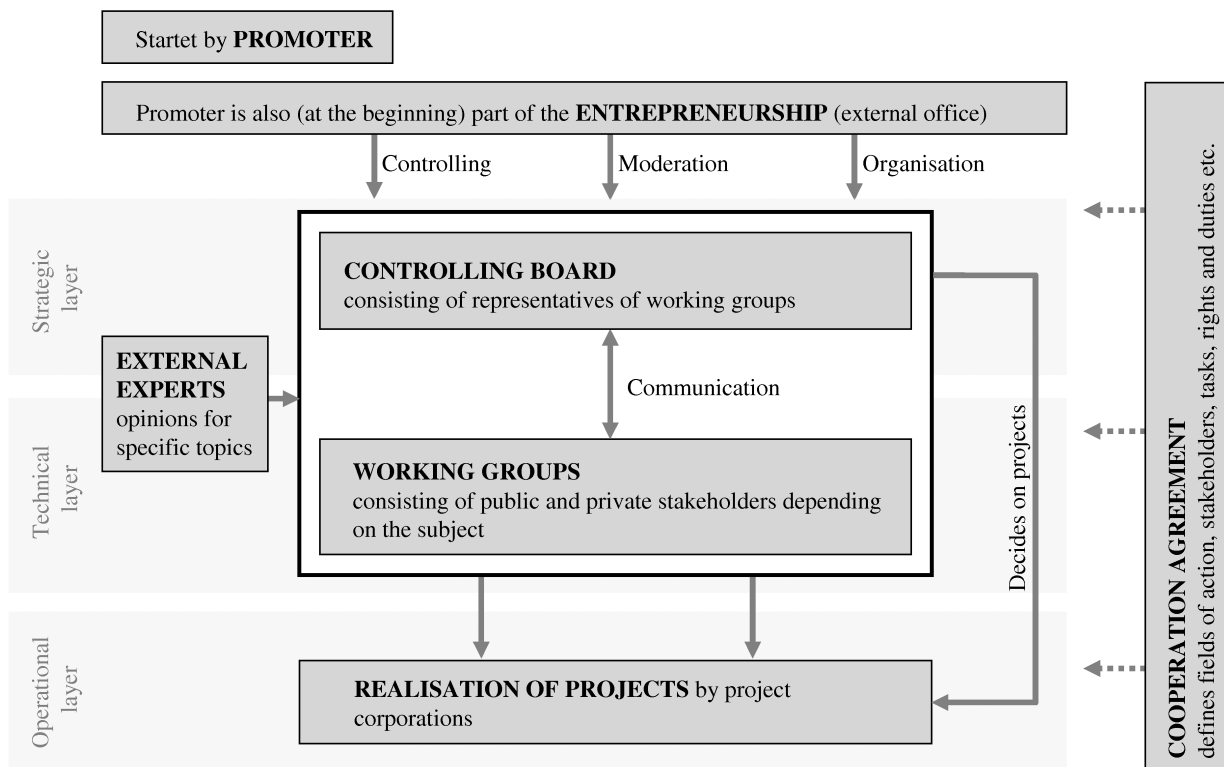
- **Promoter:** A promoter starts the initiation of the land use management. Especially for the initiation of such an informal instrument as the regional land management concept, it is important to have a representative, who can introduce the concept to other participants and to the public. Therefore it is very

important that the promoter stands for certain neutrality without personal interests, so that the benefit for the region and the individual private and public actors is reliably taken to centre stage. In the opinion of the simulation game participants, the promoter should be well known and accepted as a leader in the model region Ruhr Area. After a successful initiation of the processes, the promoter should step by step back out of his role within the project.

- **Solution of the obstacles:** The discussion of the initiation of a land use management concept in the simulation game acknowledged the mentioned results of the obstacle analysis. Collective rules for the interaction between public and private stakeholders were formulated to solve the obstacles. The interchange of the aims and necessities as well as the impartial acceptance of it is underscored. The rules deal on the one hand with communication and the handling of conflicts between the involved parties and on the other hand with the approach to the establishment of projects. Rules were for example: “Bringing up conflicts in the team frankly” or “Early involvement of political decision-makers”. Even if these rules seem to be self-evident, the simulation makes clear, that a lot of projects in the past were affected with unexpressed conflicts.

- **Form of organisation:** The participants also discussed a possible form of organisation for the land use management concept. Although the constitution of an organisational form should be formed out of specific regional and stakeholder features, some needs have to be achieved: There should be a personal consistency inside of the involved, so that the contact persons and the operations are known and the process flows smoothly. Moreover the business management of a land use management has to be perceived as a service provider and must not be positioned at the involved stakeholders but at an external office. This structure guarantees the necessary autonomy for the organisation, moderation and control of the land use management process. In addition to that, a controlling board has to be established where all major strategic decisions belonging to the regional cooperation are made (see figure 3). The controlling board brings the decision-making authority of the involved institutions together. In the process of finding a way of regional cooperation to enhance the reuse of brownfields, a great variety of aspects has to be discussed. For this reason, different working groups should be established, where representatives of the players with occupational background to the discussed themes take part. Possible topics are for example: Questions concerning the marketing, the higher planning, the financing and profitability. Concrete projects of realization like the revitalization of single brownfields have been organized in separate affiliated companies to exculpate the land use management.

Figure 3: Organisation chart of the land use management concept



Source: Own source, adopted from the research project “Public-Private-Partnership (PPP) in land use management at the regional level”

- **Collective view of the flat market:** A collective view of the flats and the flat market is a base of decision-making for the choice of the flats for the regional management. Characteristics like location, size, chances for commercialization, need of decontamination, and regional significance are possible for this choice. After that there follow the selections of the flats for the regional land use management and the ranking of this flat development. The unification process of the stakeholder for a ranking is the basis of the land use management concept at the regional level. A consensus in this case is a success.

## Conclusion and outlook

The land use management concept at the regional level focuses in the early adjustment between the main stakeholders of the flat market in a transparent process. If it is possible to integrate this informal process of a regional cooperation into the formal planning activities at the regional and municipal level, it might be possible to reduce the supply of sites and the cut-throat competition of the municipalities. A reduced supply of sites can raise prices for real estate properties and will make brownfield revitalizations much more attractive for investors. In addition to that, the cooperation offers the chance to take a step further and to use

the priority list of sites for location marketing. The different municipalities can place themselves as one region and will be more attractive for international investors or other groups that need a space to settle.

Today first attempts of a land use management at the regional level can be found in Germany. In the former industrial Ruhr Area in North Rhine-Westphalia, which was the model region of the research project, a census of all land areas was accomplished. The Wirtschaftsförderung metropol Ruhr GmbH, a regional economic promotion association, had collected the data of brownfields and sites for industrial use in the administrative area of the towns from all 53 communes of the region, as well as from some private land owners like important companies in the metropolitan region to identify the available site potential. This data are available in a geographic information system named ruhrAGIS. Now a real estate conference is planned. At this conference, a cooperation of the Wirtschaftsförderung metropol Ruhr GmbH and the 53 communes of the region want to develop a priorities list of the existing development potential for the next years. In the future, the government of North Rhine-Westphalia will only invest in the development, if the region has defined a prioritisation on these sites. In a speech at the Expo Real 2009 in Munich, Mr. Brauser, the executive of the Wirtschaftsförderung metropol Ruhr GmbH, accentuated that among the establishment of surface priorities of the communes, a "development masterplan" of the biggest municipal and private real estate owners will be necessary in the next years. It will be interesting to see, whether the recommended cooperation between private and public players will be realized in this context.

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## **PLANNING, PUBLIC CONTRACTS AND EUROPEAN LAND LAW**

Willem K. Korthals Altes<sup>1</sup>, Hendrik Ploeger<sup>12</sup>

Keywords: European Land Law, Public Procurement, Planning

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Organizing a Single European Market affects property. Although the European Treaties does not provide grounds for a prejudgment of the national rules that govern the system of property ownership, national systems of property may not form an infringement to the rules of the single market. Rules for public contracts and public works concessions constrain the role of public property in planning policies, and may have considerable theoretical and practical implications. This paper discusses these implications. The theoretical implications will be focused on the relationship between European law and planning law. The practical implications will be focused on planning practice.

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### **Introduction**

Public authorities sell land for planning purposes. Recently, it has been debated whether such a sale of land entails a public works concession and should follow European public procurement proceedings. This debate is going on in several cases in different countries, such as in York (UK) for the sale of land for a new housing area (CEC, 2009b), in Wildeshausen (Germany) for the sale of land of a former military area (OLGD, 2008b; ECJ, 2010), and in Eindhoven (The Netherlands) for the sale of land to promote urban regeneration (CEC, 2009a). The idea is that the transfer of land is part of a wider contract, which for a part is about the realisation of public works. The development value of the property on this land is seen as the pecuniary interest of the contract. The European Directive on public contracts defines a public works concession as a public contract in which the consideration for the works to be carried out consists either solely in the right to exploit the work or in this right together with payment.

As the Treaty of the Functioning of the European Union (Part of Lisbon Treaty) states in article 345 (former article 295 of the Treaty of Rome) “The Treaties shall in no way prejudice the rules in Member States governing the system of property ownership.” This does not involve that Brussels has no impact on property, “...because the workings of the internal market are immune from the article 295 proscription” (Sparkes,

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2007). In his book of 547 pages Sparkes analyses the diverse ways the internal market has created a substantive European Land Law. In our paper we will elaborate on the contribution of the public works directive towards European Land Law. In what ways is the sale of land for planning purposes affected by this element of European Law?

European integration involves both negative integration, that is to dismantle the barriers to trade and other market exchange over national borders within Europe, and positive integration, which is about the substitution of national disparate regulatory regimes for a harmonized EU regulatory framework (Fligstein and Stone Sweet, 2002, 1216). The legal integration in Europe has been moved forward through the legal doctrines of supremacy and direct effect of European law. “The doctrine of direct effect enabled private actors to bring actions against their own governments in national courts, and the doctrine of supremacy meant that national judges had to resolve these conflicts with reference to EC law.” (Fligstein and Stone Sweet, 2002, 1223) Due to these doctrines European law has a ‘constitutional’ position in relation to national law (Eleftheriadis, 1998). Parties may litigate before national courts if they consider that national law does not entitle them to rights they have according to European law, and national courts must consider whether the direct effect of European law might result in putting national law aside (Alter and Vargas, 2000).

The relationship between public works concessions and the right of ownership has according the advocate general of the European Court of Justice (ECJ) Mengozzi ‘significant theoretical and practical implications’ (AGECJ, 2009, nr. 86). This paper discusses these implications.

### **Property vs Land law**

Property is a complex concept, which can be defined in different ways. The most common metaphor for property, especially in the context of common law, is as a ‘bundle of rights’, or a bundle of sticks in which each stick represents a different right. This conception is used by Healey (Healey, 1992) in her institutional model of the development process, and many other authors who discuss the relationships between planning and property use this metaphor explicitly or implicitly (Buitelaar, 2003; Needham, 2006; Janssen-Jansen, 2008; Penker, 2009).

The state has a distinct role in relation to property. “Property rights actions are state activities that define and enforce property rights, i.e., the rules that determine the conditions of ownership and control of the means of production.” (Campbell and Leon, 1990, 635) These ‘actions’ are not always intended. They can be the result of activities. Not all means of production are related to land, or intellectual property law, and even law regulating labour may fit within this definition. The idea is that “...the state transforms and permanently shapes the organization of the economy through property rights actions.” (Campbell and Leon, 1990, 642) Governance transformations may “...stem directly from shifts in property rights and from variations in

property rights across the institutional terrain of the state.” (Campbell and Leon, 1990, 642) Changes of property rights may have nothing to do with explanations relating to economic inefficiencies. In Europe states have been active in realizing a Single European Market, this is an action that may reshape property.

Property is a complex concept. It may be conceptualised as having the following five dimensions (Carruthers and Ariovich, 2004):

1. The object of property: what can be owned?
2. The subjects of property: who may own?
3. The articulation of use: what can be done with it?
4. The enforcements of rights: how are property rules maintained?
5. The transfer of rights: how property moves between different owners.

Property has consequences in relation to aspects as inequality and economic performance (Carruthers and Ariovich, 2004). Property depends on the state, that is, “States provide rules and courts so that market actors can engage in exchange and be able to try and construct stable markets.” (Fligstein and Merand, 2002, 10). According to Fligstein (Fligstein, 1996) the social institutions necessary to make markets are (1) property rights, (2) governance structures, (3) conceptions of control, and (4) rules of exchange.

“Theoretically, a single market implies rules that (1) produce a well-defined system of property rights, (2) sanction certain forms of competition and cooperation, and, (3) minimize the cost of transaction between economic units.” (Fligstein and Mara-Drita, 1996, 17) In the EU, however, the member states have long traditions in having their own rules relating property rights, rules of exchange and governance structures. The solution was that the EU policies relating to the Single market focused on opening the market by changing the rules of exchange (Fligstein and Mara-Drita, 1996). In the process of European integration the rules of exchange have for example been developed regarding the mutual recognition of rules relating to goods (Fligstein and Merand, 2002), a good that may be sold according to the rules of one of the member states, may be sold in all other member states, which has provoked the emergence of European regulations regarding these goods, such as toys, and food (Fligstein and Stone Sweet, 2002).

According to economic theory on transactions, however a ‘transaction is not essentially an exchange of commodities but of property rights over commodities’ (Webster, 2009, 478), and so changing rules of exchange may affect property rights, and its organization within the member states.

Fligstein considers the survival of the firm as the goal of action, and in his analysis actors are therefore geared towards the creation of stable worlds, i.e., ‘shelters from price competition’ (Fligstein, 1996, 659), and states “...provide stable and reliable conditions under which firms organize, compete, cooperate, and exchange. The enforcement of these laws affects what conceptions of control can produce stable markets.”

(Fligstein, 1996, 660) Law on public contracts break through this shelter as competition on price is the most important criterion in the award of contracts. Consequently it may be expected that actors show reluctance towards organising the market differently.

There have also been some critics on the conception of property as a bundle of rights (Arnold, 2002; Rodgers, 2009; Passinhas, 2010). Arnold (2002) indicates that this metaphor struggles with incoherency, its marginality in relation to categorization of property, inadequate contextualism, its estrangement to the physical object, its orientation on rights, and empirical problems in relation to what according to the law property entails. Even in the USA judges may deviate from this metaphor or may find not much guidance in it for their judgments (Arnold, 2002; Passinhas, 2010).

Arnold (2002) proposes an alternative metaphor of property as a 'web of interests'. Although this metaphor, just like, any other metaphor, steers perception in an uneven way, it has potential in relation to bridging the gap between professionals and scientists in relation to property and planning (Meinzen-Dick and Mwangi, 2009). After all, coordinating the web of interests around places and spaces may be also be a metaphor of planning activity. This web of interest "...is a set of interconnections among persons, groups, and entities each with some stake in an identifiable (...) object, which is at the center of the web. All of the interest-holders are connected both to the object and to one another." (Arnold, 2002, 333) In this definition there is also (1) an object, there are (2) persons, groups and entities, (3) relationships between these persons et al, and the object and (4) the relationships amongst these persons. This concept has merit for analyzing the relationship between property and European law (Passinhas, 2010). Creating a Single European Market may alter the web of interests around an object, such as, that economic operators that may be active in realizing works are differently chosen.

### **European Land Law**

As the Treaty of the Functioning of the European Union (Part of Lisbon Treaty) states in article 345 (former article 295 of the Treaty of Rome) "The Treaties shall in no way prejudice the rules in Member States governing the system of property ownership". As a result of this pure domestic property law such as the systems of conveyancing, the rules on succession, and family law stay outside the scope of the EU. Although therefore the basics of national systems of land law remain free from European interference, this does not mean that Brussels has no impact on the property rights on land. On the contrary, as Sparkes concludes in his recent analysis of the influence of Europe in this area "it has not been a serious impediment to the development of an autonomous European land law." (Sparkes, 2007, 109).

The crucial moment in this development was the introduction of the free movement of capital in the Maastricht Treaty in 1994. Residents of the EU are free to move capital across the internal market. Such a

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movement of capital is involved in a sale and purchase of land, and when a cross-border element is involved in this the freedoms of the EU treaty comes in play. An example is the purchase of land in Tirol by a German. According to Austrian law this purchase required an authorisation by the Austrian administration. The European Court of Justice considered this requirement to be a control on land ownership that affected the free movement of capital without sufficient justification (ECJ, 1999a).

Not only the payments made to buy land, but also loans for the purchase of land or the construction of a building on the land, and the creation of a mortgage to secure the loan are examples of capital movements (ECJ, 1999b).

In the words of Sparkes “the dawn of 1994 represented the birth of European Land Law” (2007, 22).

Although the conclusion must be that a coherent system of EU Land Law as such does not exist, Sparkes identified an important number of areas where European Law has “a significant and substantive effect” on property law (2007, 153). Examples are the introduction of an Energy Performance Certificate (EP and CEU, 2003), the regulation of the timeshare marketing in order to protect consumers buying time-shares (EP and CEU, 1994), and the setting of a framework for e-transactions regarding land (EP and CEU, 2000). However for our subject is important the impact of the Directive ‘on the coordination of procedures for the award of public works contracts, public supply contracts and public service contracts’ (EP and CEU, 2004), i.e. the public procurement directive on contracts involving land.

### **Public Contracts, European Land Law and Planning Law**

In relation to the promotion of a Single European Markets, the European Parliament (EP) and the Council of the European Union (CEU) have issued a directive for public contracts, which are defined as ‘contracts for pecuniary interest concluded in writing between one or more economic operators and one or more contracting authorities and having as their object the execution of works, the supply of products or the provision of services’ (EP and CEU, 2004, article 2a). The idea is that authorities advertise contracts for works, supplies and services European wide in a way that there is a level playing field for economic operators throughout the European Economic Area (Korthals Altes, 2006). This directive breaks through regional networks of public-private relationships (Korthals Altes and Taşan-Kok, 2010). The directive also defines ‘public works concessions’, which are the same as public work contracts, ‘except for the fact that the consideration for the works to be carried out consists either solely in the right to exploit the work or in this right together with payment’ (EP and CEU, 2004, article 3). In several occasion debates has been raised whether land transactions in relation to planning activities may follow European proceedings for public contracts.

The directive on public contract may have an impact on a diversity of activities in planning, such as development obligations in kind (ECJ, 2001), and contracts in which the sale of land is part of deals in relation to works to be realized (ECJ, 2007).

The relation between ownership and European Law has been discussed several times by the European Court of Justice of the advocate general to this court.

In relationship to planning obligations, the ECJ has ruled that it is possible that the authority may oblige the landowner to follow the proceedings (ECJ, 2001).

“Since the municipality had no power to choose who was to be made responsible for executing the infrastructure works, since, by operation of law, that person is the owner of the land to be developed and the holder of the building permit, it was possible to find that the award procedures could be applied, in place of the municipality, by the holder of the permit, the only appropriate person, according to the law, to execute the works, as an alternative to the payment to the municipality of a contribution to the infrastructure costs.” (ECJ, 2005, paragraph 57)

Here European Law respects the current situation of ownership, which makes it possible that the owner of the land is entrusted with following the public contract proceedings. In a situation where the development company does not own the land this is not possible. To put it in other words, European Law does not oblige contracting authorities to purchase the right to contract works on someone’s land compulsory.

This has resulted in further questions about a contracting authority selling land for which a public work contract must be issued. As authorities expect that such a contract will take place, are they free to dispose the land to someone else? This has impact on the working of the Single European Market. Moreover it is not uncommon that contracts about the disposal of land by authorities regulate elements relating to works to be developed on the site. The most radical position on these aspects was ruled by the *Oberlandesgericht* in Düsseldorf (OLGD) in Germany. The OLGD ruled that European public procurement rules must be followed in those cases where the land sold forms part of an urban development plan (OLGD, 2007a; 2007b; 2008a; Korthals Altes, 2010). This involved that contracts that defined land transfers by authorities to private actors were nullified, and left German lawyers to discuss the options it had for the ownership the land (Jenn and Peiffer, 2008). Here it must be noted that the OLGD has made also a decision in a compensation case, which was based on a general principle in German procurement law that in mixed contracts, only compensation must be paid for that part of the contract that is at stake. According to the OLGD the contract about the disposal of land was not at stake, but only the ‘building order’ (*Bauftrag*) that was linked (*verknüpft*) with the contract for the sale of land. Although the OLGD decided that according to public contract law the sale of land and the building order must be considered as one, in relation to the pecuniary interest of the parties the contracts must be considered separate (OLGD, 2007c, paragraph 6).

Although, originally the OLGD was of opinion that the matter was so clear cut a consequence of earlier guidance by the OLGD (OLGD, 2007a), they finally gave way to preliminary proceedings to the ECJ. The ECJ (2010) did not follow the radical position of the OLGD. However, even the consequences of the interpretations of the ECJ go further than many practices in Europe as Europeanization is a slow process (Korthals Altes, 2010)

A first indication of the position of the ECJ was given in the conclusion of the advocate general Mengozzi. He indicates on the matter of the relationship between ownership and public works concessions that the ‘compatibility between public works concessions and the right of ownership has significant theoretical and practical implications’ (AGECJ, 2009, paragraph 86). First of all the rights of concession has been considered to be a limited right. “By its very definition, a concession is a way of allowing a person to exploit property to which that person could not otherwise claim any right.” (paragraph 88) “..the problem arises not so much from the objective characteristics of the right of ownership in connection with the possibility of exploiting the property, as from the potentially unlimited duration of that right. Consequently, the exploitation entrusted to the concessionaire can never be granted for an unlimited period of time, regardless of the legal title by virtue of which it may be exercised.” (paragraph 93)

The European Court of Justice indicates that a contracting authority must be in the position to exploit a work before it can transfer this right to another party. The contracting authority will normally not have this position when “...the only basis for the right of exploitation is the right of ownership of the economic operator concerned.” (ECJ, 2010, paragraph 73). The ECJ justifies this as follows.

“The owner of land has the right to exploit that land in compliance with the applicable statutory rules. As long as an economic operator enjoys the right to exploit the land which he owns, it is in principle impossible for a public authority to grant a concession relating to that exploitation.” (ECJ, 2010, paragraph 74)

According to the ECJ an ‘essential characteristic’ (ECJ, 2010, paragraph 75) of a concession is that the concessionaire bears a substantial operating risk. The ECJ did not follow a suggestion of the EC “that that risk may lie in the concessionaire’s uncertainty as to whether the urban-planning service of the local authority concerned will, or will not, approve its plans” (paragraph 76) as in this type of scenario

“...the risk would be linked to the contracting authority’s regulatory powers in respect of urban planning and not to the contractual relationship arising from the concession. Consequently, the risk is not linked to exploitation.” (ECJ, 2010, paragraph 78)

Granting planning permission over private land is therefore no concession, which must be procured following the proceedings set by European law. Also a contract for the sale of land in which is stated that both parties have the intention that urban development takes place, and in which the contracting authority

reserves a right to examine the building plans or will take a decision in relation to regulatory planning powers does not have to follow these proceedings. It is different, though, if there is not only an intention that urban development will take place, but there is also an obligation to realise works. Such an obligation involves that the authority has given legal means, based on law of the member states, to demand performance. This obligation must go beyond a provision that gives the authority the right to demand the retransfer of the land to them.

The ECJ did not revise an earlier judgment in the Scala case that the European procurement directive “...precludes national urban development legislation under which, without the procedures laid down in the Directive being applied, the holder of a building permit or approved development plan may execute infrastructure works directly, by way of total or partial set-off against the contribution payable in respect of the grant of the permit..” (ECJ, 2001, paragraph 103) There seems to be so a difference between the ‘regulatory powers in respect of urban planning’ (ECJ, 2010, paragraph 78, see also above), and the drafting of a development agreement, which is, according to the ECJ a public contract when this agreement is about works, services or supplies with a value above the threshold fixed by the directive.

The recent German case is not directed towards a local authority in the process of making a development agreement, but is geared towards a national authority that sells property for development, where later development obligations must be set by the local authorities, and the question is whether this sale itself must be considered to be public contract, i.e. it must follow European tender proceedings. The idea that development must be according to planning regulations is not enough ground for the sale being a public contract itself.

The transfer of ownership itself, though, appears not to be the concession, as the ECJ gives some comments in relation to the remarks of the advocate general. “[W]ith regard to the duration of concessions, there are serious grounds, including the need to guarantee competition, for holding the grant of concessions of unlimited duration to be contrary to the European Union legal order” (ECJ, 2010, paragraph 79). In principle this limits the freedom to contract over complex land sales in which there are obligations to realise work attached to the transfer of the land. This contracts must not only follow the proceedings of publishing the contract, but also they must put an end date to the concessions. In practice these end dates are often included, for example, a concession to build housing for sale, ends if the houses are sold. Obligations to operate dwellings to rent them to specific target groups may have a duration for which this is obligatory.

## **Discussion**

If we go back to the five dimensions of property rights (Carruthers and Ariovich, 2004), introduced above, we can discuss the impact this piece of European law has on property rights.

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*The object of property.*

European Law on public contracts has no direct impact on fundamental differences in property rights as the variety in definitions of ownership between civil and common law jurisdictions, and the way land use rights as emphyteusis, superficies, usufruct and leasehold are defined by national law. It does however define the concept of public work concession, which is a property right granted by an authority to an economic operator. The debate about the relationship between property rights in land and this concession indicates that in many cases a relationship may exist between the ownership and this right, which is partly guided by European law, and for which national states may develop their own systems, as makes a good fit with this system.

The ECJ, as we have seen above, defines the difference between regulatory activities of the state, and property rights that can be transferred to others. Changing planning regulations cannot be considered to be a concession, and a contracting authority must be in the position to exploit a work before it can transfer this right to another party. In relation to defining what a contract is, the ECJ has in the past clearly indicated that an agreement under national public law can be a contract according to European law (ECJ, 2001; 2007). This indicates that European law has a separate position in defining what is in the area of private property rights, and what is in the domain of regulatory government activity. For planners it may be convenient to know that town planning regulations are, indeed, regulatory activities.

The object is also limited by the rule that the scope of the contract cannot develop beyond the contract announcement published in Tender Electronic Daily.

Another element of property that is not acknowledged is the relational capital of actors acquired based on previous contacts with the authorities (Korthals Altes and Taşan-Kok, 2010).

*The subjects of property.*

European law uses the principle of mutual recognition in many fields. The general principle is so that a legal entity that is eligible in one of the member states to own certain property, is allowed to do so in all other member states. Limiting public contracts to local enterprise does not follow this principle, and the rules go even further to create a level playing field between enterprises. In relation to public contracting the rules are mostly about the transfer of these rights (see below).



*The articulation of use.*

European contract law does not put many limits on this aspect. It does however indicate that granting building permissions based on regulatory activities of the state is an activity of another type than the transfer of private property rights.

*The enforcements of rights.*

Due to the doctrine of direct effect, and the duty to transpose European directive in national law, enforcement is not limited to European institutions. Parties may use national law to enforce the rules. They however may call-in the European Commission. At the end the ECJ may judge whether national enforcement has met European Law.

*The transfer of rights*

This aspect comes most eminently. The rules are about public contracts and public works concessions. This case shows that changing the rules about the transfer of rights has impact on other dimensions of property. This may reinforce the metaphor of property as a web of interests. This case shows that this web changes, in relation to the way authorities may attach obligations to the transfer of property rights to economic operators. So property is affected.

**Implications for practice**

Authorities may use property rights for planning purposes. The strategy in the formation of the single market to concentrate on the rules of exchange, involves that the impact on property rights starts just there. If the local authority is only disposing land to enable development, the impact of the Single European Market is limited. This is different as this transaction also entails duties, especially as these duties can be related to performing works, services of delivering supplies, such as, realising infrastructure or affordable housing.

This involves that 'in house' direct development is not much affected by the legislation, and only where exchange occurs with market parties, there is an impact. Authorities that are willing to evade making public contracts may be tempted to do everything themselves.

The contracting model of the European Directive is based on certainty. Contracts may not be beyond the original contract notice. The impact of this limitation of the property rights regarding to exchange, may

involve that authorities will only make contracts in a late stage in the process, as specifications are clear cut. Strategic partnering, the joint operation of public and private actors in a process, involves that at the start the products to be delivered are not specified, and may well be out of the range anticipated at the start.

The potential impact of this on property development, is also be underlined by a organisation as the British Property Foundation, which puts this theme first on a five point Regeneration Manifesto, and is requesting more guidance to combat ‘ misinterpretation’ , that is , ‘the use of tendering processes in circumstances where this is both unnecessary and unrealistic’, and action to reduce inefficiency and costs of the procurement process (BPF, 2009, 4). According to this manifesto following this procurement proceeding deters developers form participation in regeneration schemes. Together with the Local Government Association they perceive that their way of working is affected by this procurement scheme (BPF and LGA, 2009). Guidance was provided by the Office of Government Commerce (OGC, 2009). The idea, however is, that public bodies will obtain their own legal advice before proceeding.

This appears also the case in Germany. Although the interpretation of the OLGD no longer holds, the theme is clearly on the agenda of local authorities, development companies and their law firms (Hertwig and Lamm, 2010), and their relationships, and hence property as a web of interests, will be structured by these regulations.

The European Parliament, who has together with the Council of the European Union issued the directive on public contracts has recently adopted a resolution on new developments in public procurement, in which it welcomes the judgment of the ECJ about public contracts in relation to town planning regulations, as, although the directive has ‘ broad and ambitious aims’, its scope cannot “ be extended indefinitely by appealing to the purpose of the measure, since otherwise there would be a danger that all town planning activities would be subject to the directive, given that, by definition, provisions on the possible execution of building works substantially alter the value of the land in question(..)” (EP, 2010, paragraph 17). In this resolution the European Parliament calls on the Commission to simplify and streamline proceedings, which has not happened yet, although this was one of the aims of the 2004, and presently ‘public procurers often have to prioritise legal certainty above policy needs’ (EP, 2010, paragraph 3). Planning authorities do not always follow this route, just as procurement errors are the major irregularities in spending European regional funds (Court of Auditors, 2009), but this difference between local practice and European roles may add to uncertainty in the property development processes.

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## **Track 16: Planning ‘in’ or ‘for’ Multicultural Societies. Diversity, Social Justice, Democracy and the Luxury of Space**

### **Track Co-Chairs**

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The focus of this track will be the ways that space – its social construction, contesting and management – are implicated in the dynamics of a diverse, often unequal, society; consequently, space is contested and a reason for serious conflicts. This can be explored at various spatial scales from the domestic to the international, and across scales.

At the base of this view and interpretation of space there are Hanna Arendt’s notions of plurality and democracy. According to Arendt (*The Human Condition*, 2005), the public space of democracy can be defined as the ambit where all the discursive issues can show up their many-sidedness and people can freely show up their own plurality by acting and uttering their plural opinions. Thus, the public space of democracy coincides with the political space of freedom.

In this track, we would like to emphasize the notion of space as:

- The socially constructed and even contested place of our meeting with the Other(s)
- The physical and metaphorical arena where – according to Hannah Arendt – democracy can nurture and flourish
- The sphere where to claim for and have recognized full rights of citizenship.

If the sense (when not the aim) of politics is the freedom of plurality, and therefore understanding a political situation means acknowledging a large framework of different viewpoints and positions from which the situation can be considered and judged, this recognition does not have individuals as its exclusive object but also the spaces and places of the city, negotiating, in the city spaces, different forms of interaction and cohabitation. This is not an easy, natural or automatic process. As a matter of fact, the emotional and identity-laden perception of space changes as well: fear and insecurity are becoming – in many cases – the most evident signs, at the individual as well as the political level (Bauman, *City of Fears*, *City of Hopes*, 2003 and *Liquid Fear*, 2006).

How can planning (and planners) cope with all this? Which theoretical issues and practical experience have to be considered, in order to ensure plurality and freedom in the city space that is the physical place of the space of democracy?

The track especially welcomes – academic as well as practice-based – papers which discuss strategies for social progress, such as fairer use and/or distribution of spaces that improve quality of life: spaces where young people feel comfortable, spaces for cosmopolitan mix, and so on. It is also hoped that there will be contributions which consider socio-spatial relations beyond the city: the implications of the construction of rurality as a ‘luxury’ for urban dwellers, for example. Papers about international spaces and flows – such as migration and its implications – may also find a place in this track. Papers on the politics and ethics of researching diversity, justice and planning are warmly invited.



## 24th AESOP Annual Conference, Finland

Track 16: Planning “in” or “for” multicultural societies. Diversity, social justice, democracy and the luxury of space

### **Community self-surveys: appropriating a technology of rule**

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Conflicting rationalities; global south; informal settlements; self-enumeration

#### **Abstract**

The rapid growth of urban populations in cities of the global South, gives rise to major conflicts between those attempting to gain a foothold in urban areas and those attempting to govern these places. This can be conceptualising as a ‘conflict of rationalities’ between techno-managerial and marketized systems of government administration, service provision and planning, and increasingly marginalized urban populations surviving largely under conditions of informality. The ‘interface’ between these conflicting rationalities is frequently a site of struggle the outcomes of which can take various forms and can warp technologies of rule and strategies of ‘improvement’ in various ways. The community self-survey ‘movement’ provides one such example of struggle over a technology of rule which can potentially yield important learning outcomes. The paper explores examples of self-enumeration in shack-dwelling populations in Cape Town (South Africa) where this has been used to engage with the local state.

## 1. Introduction

Over the last ten or so years, but with examples dating back as far as the 1980s (Patel et al 2009), poor urban communities in informal settlements in cities of the global south have increasingly adopted the tactic of self-enumeration and mapping in order to reinforce and specify their demands for land and services and to increase their ‘visibility’ to the state. In some cases these strategies have been followed by ‘re-blocking’ in which shelters have been re-organized by their occupants to make more orderly spaces for the insertion of claimed basic services. With the scaling up of NGO organizations such as Slum Dwellers International (SDI), these tactics have been introduced to and adopted by informal settlements in other parts of Asia, in Africa and in Latin America. In what could be described as a growing, global self-survey ‘movement’ amongst poor urban communities, these traditional tools of planning and governance – the survey, the map and the plan – have been appropriated and used (often with the assistance of NGOs) as a mechanism to further the claims of marginalized groups to urban space.

This movement is of interest and significance for planning. Recent mainstream planning theory (communicative and collaborative planning theory or CPT) has tended to produce both analytical and normative works based on an assumption that state-society relations both are, and can be, predominantly consensus-seeking. In contrast, in the context of rapid urbanization, poverty and limited state resources in southern cities, the starting point for understanding state-society relations and engaging in planning activity should more appropriately lie in assumptions of conflict rather than consensus. However, struggles shaped by these conflicts can yield important insights for planning.

This paper draws on evidence from informal settlements in Cape Town (South Africa) which have been ‘drawn in’ to the global self-survey movement. With advice from NGOs linked to SDI, they are attempting to undertake surveying, mapping and shack reorganization to secure both recognition and improved services from the Cape Town municipality. These cases are used to explore and refine the notion of conflicting rationalities (Watson, 2003; 2009) as well as the method of investigation needed to interrogate such boundary action, requiring ethnographic study of both the state and community in their interaction with each other, as well as of mediating organizations such as NGOs.

Section 2 of this paper explains the nature of conflicting rationalities across southern cities and how planning can potentially locate itself in relation to these schisms. Section 3 describes the emergence of the community self-survey movement and the ways in which this has been understood and theorized. Section 4 draws on preliminary work in three informal settlements in Cape Town which have adopted the self-survey strategy as a way of engaging the state. Section 5, the conclusion, suggests how the self-survey

movement can be seen as an example of ‘boundary action’ across and between conflicting rationalities which can in turn give rise to insights and opportunities for planners and planning.

## **2. Conflict and normality in cities of the global south**

The defining features of urban life across cities in the global south are struggle, alliance, betrayal, deal-making, opportunism, corruption, patronage, despair, suspicion, strife, traditionalism, ignorance, ingenuity, connection, escape. At the base of many of these schisms is the increasingly sought-after resource of urban land, rendered more and more scarce by rapid urbanization and slow land delivery processes. This brings those who have access to the wealth and connections needed for rampant property development hard up against those trying to gain a few square meters of urban space to construct a flimsy shelter or sell some basic foods or goods. For new urbanites, gaining access to a place (be it a bed in a shack or a square meter of pavement) sets in motion social, economic and political possibilities that spell the difference between survival in the city or failure. Thus southern cities increasingly feature glittering modernist towers (in Nairobi, reportedly built with Somali pirate money) adjacent to poverty-stricken shack settlements, with the latter forever under threat from land-gabbing politicians or property entrepreneurs. The line between legality and illegality is hard to discern here, and is constantly shifting and being re-defined, depending on who has power at any point in time. Criminality, too, is a matter of opinion, but law-abiding citizens are unlikely to survive easily in these environments: a young boy with no hope of ever finding a formal job may have no option but to join a gang; and paying the local warlord or taxi mafia for a piece of space to sell from or live on may seem as normal as paying municipal rates in other parts of the world.

The ‘visibility’ of the state in these contexts is highly variable, as is the line between the state and ‘everything else’. Conventional notions of public and private as separate ‘spheres’ are hard to apply in these contexts. Heller and Evans (2010), comparing just the three southern democracies of India, South Africa and Brazil, describe how in India local urban administration is shaped by top-down national and provincial regulation, but local political power is characterized by clientelism and the inequalities of caste and class, rendering the state highly inaccessible to the poor (or accessible only as a client or member of a group, not as a rights bearing citizen); in South Africa, early shifts to democratization have since been countered by technocratic, managerial and corporatist forms of local urban government that have excluded previously active grassroots organizations; in Brazil, by contrast, there has been extensive democratization of local government, and urbanites are able to engage directly with a highly visible local state.

It could be assumed that under these circumstances planning is likely to be weak and ineffective, particularly in those contexts where state-society relations are structured by complex social divides. Significantly, plans and land-use control systems persist as important elements in many southern municipalities, but often for purposes that are somewhat different to their original intention. Yiftachel and Yacobi (2003: 217-18) argue that in ethnocratic states, such as Israel, the withholding of planning services is a deliberate tactic of political exclusion, where a common planning response is to condone informality as a way of leaving people out of the planning process and withholding urban services from them. Planning legislation and ‘master’ planning has also been used (opportunistically) time and time again across the globe as a justification for evictions and land grabs. Major land evictions have occurred in countries such as China (especially leading up to the Olympic Games) and in Zimbabwe, where the justification has been one of ‘cleaning up’ the city or removing illegal structures, but often the real motive behind these lies in objectives of political, ethnic, racial or class domination and control, or the pursuit of profit. Writing on planning in Indian cities, Roy (2009) argues that informality should not just be associated with the poor, but that India’s planning regime itself has been informalized through the ambiguous and ever-changing nature of what is legal and what is illegal. The state, argues Roy (2009: 81), actively uses informality as an instrument of authority and accumulation. Planning therefore cannot ‘solve’ the crisis of urbanization as it is deeply implicated in the production of this crisis.

The nature of urban life, the state and planning in many southern cities suggests both analytical and normative work which takes as a starting point the deep and enduring conflicts and fractures which characterize socio-spatial as well as state-society relations. No assumptions can be made about the existence or strength of civil society organizations, about the willingness or ability of the state to engage with urban residents or to bring about improvement in urban conditions, or about the way in which planning as a tool of governance is used in relation to urban development. While many southern countries are now regarded as democracies, some even with highly progressive constitutions, the principles of liberal democracy find many forms of interpretation, often articulating with older and alternative institutional and cultural forms.

Elsewhere (Watson 2009a) I have suggested that a central concern for planning is understanding its role relative to these conflicting rationalities – between, on the one hand, organizations, institutions and individuals shaped by the rationality of governing (and, in market economies, modernization, marketization and liberalization), within a global context shaped by historical inequalities and power relations (such as colonialism and imperialism), and on the other hand, organizations, institutions and individuals shaped by (the rationality of) the need and desire to survive (and thrive) under conditions of poverty and marginalization.

Importantly, the interface between these rationalities can be understood as a zone of encounter and contestation, and is shaped by the exercise of power. For the poors and the informals it is a zone of resistance, of evasion or of appropriation. It is the point at which state efforts at urban development and modernization (provision of formal services, housing, tenure systems), urban administration or political control (tax and service fee collection, land use management, regulation of population health and education etc), and market regulation and penetration, are met, or confronted, by their ‘target populations’ in various and complex ways, and these responses in turn shape the nature of interventions. The nature of interactions at the interface can vary greatly: some products or policy interventions can be of direct benefit and improve the lives of poor households without imposing unnecessary burdens; some interventions (informal settlement upgrade or ‘urban renewal’) may benefit some households but may result in the forced removal of others and often the imposition of costs that many cannot afford, and this may be met with resistance; some interventions may be appropriated and hybridized so that they are useful in ways which had never been anticipated or intended. It is where the last of these occurs that opportunities for learning arise.

From the field of anthropology, Tania Murray Li (2007) – writing in the context of rural Indonesia – similarly argues that the complexities of social relations are antithetical to the position of the expert. The practice of ‘rendering technical’, which is an essential part of any plan or programme of improvement, ‘...confirms expertise and constitutes the boundary between those who are positioned as trustees, with the capacity to diagnose deficiencies in others, and those who are subject to expert direction. It is a boundary that has to be maintained but that can be challenged’ (Li, 2007: 7). Li recognizes that this boundary (interface) is shaped by power (‘...the claim to expertise in optimizing the lives of others is a claim to power...’ P 5) in the Foucauldian sense. Methodologically, making sense of these boundaries requires an understanding of the rationale of government schemes (governmentality) *and* the study of social history (Foucault’s reference to the need for ethnographic study of the ‘witches brew’ of practices): two very different kinds of inquiry, but which should be seen as equally important and which need to be brought into dialogue with each other to see how programmes of improvement are constituted and contested (Li, 2007: 27).

I have argued (Watson 2009b) that planning action in these burgeoning cities of the south cannot be guided by the simplistic appropriation of models and ‘best practice’ solutions from other parts of the world – frequently the global north. Rather, action has to be based on a careful appreciation of the specificities of place and in particular, the form of conflicting rationalities which shape engagement (usually conflictive) between those with a will to improve or develop and those with a will to survive – the urban ‘everyday’. I have also suggested that while these engagements can take multiple forms,

important learning opportunities arise where there is appropriation (and often ‘warping’) of urban technologies, rules, practices or spatial ideas across the interface between these completing rationalities.

The next section explores one form of appropriation that is now globally widespread: self-enumeration and mapping by informal communities. It first reviews the emergence and spread of this tactic from its source of origin, largely in India, to many other southern cities and the insights of those who have analysed this movement. It then examines how this idea is currently emerging in a number of informal settlements in Cape Town, spurred by the re-emergence of grassroots organizations after a long period of lowered activity in the post-apartheid period.

### **3. Appropriating the survey and the map: planning work at the interface**

Slum Dwellers International (SDI) is a confederation of country-level organizations from 34 countries in the global south<sup>1</sup>. Its mission is to ‘advance the common agenda of creating “pro-poor” cities that integrate rather than marginalise the interests of slum dwellers and counter the dominant urban development approaches that are in turn backed and financed by global agencies such as the World Bank, the IMF and the UN’ (website). It has a number of ‘key rituals’ (objectives and agreed practices) including ‘grassroots driven gathering of information through surveys, enumerations and settlement profiles’, and ‘solution-finding through negotiations and dialogue’. Usually a local NGO working with SDI is the initiator of these processes. The enumeration involves a ‘rough mapping’ of the informal settlement carried out by the shack residents, identifying the location of individual shacks as well as toilets, taps, informal businesses and public spaces. Each shack is measured and numbered. This is followed up by a household survey, with the development of a questionnaire and the door-to-door gathering of information carried out by local volunteers. The survey information is analysed and synthesized in the form of tables, bar-charts etc. Parallel with this, women in the settlement are organized into savings clubs and build up capital to use as a bargaining tool with the state in terms of securing improved services and the redesign of spaces. Using the map and the survey, they also start to plan a ‘re-blocking’ exercise which indicates re-organization of the shacks so as to open up spaces for facilities and access for emergency vehicles (fire trucks and ambulances).

The tactic of self-enumeration and mapping was originally developed by the SDI-affiliated Indian NGO termed SPARC (Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centres) which used this approach amongst

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<sup>1</sup> [www.sdinet.org](http://www.sdinet.org)

pavement dwellers in India in the 1980s. The SDI website now lists 34 countries where self-enumeration processes have been undertaken, and the academic literature contains a growing body of case studies documenting these activities (for example Hassan 2006; Huchzermeyer 2009; Patel et al 2009; Karanja 2010).

One example is Pakistan NGO, Oranji Pilot Project – Research and Training Institute (Hassan, 2006). Here, as is common in many southern cities, there was a large gap between the number of new housing units needed each year (350,000 in all urban areas) and the number which the formal sector could supply (120,000). Informal settlements were growing rapidly. Moreover, a growing number of existing units were being demolished to make way for mega-projects and the ‘land hunger’ needs of politicians and developers. State policy (funded by the World Bank and Asian Development Bank) aimed at dealing with informal settlements had been a failure as government had been unable to engage with communities, and had not been able to develop innovative engineering or tenure solutions which fitted with people’s needs or ability to pay. City maps were very outdated and did not show informal settlements. Past governments had often given funding to ward councilors to develop infrastructure in their constituencies, but this was carried out in a localized and ad hoc manner, and again was not incorporated into city maps.

In one informal settlement, Manzoor Colony of 100,000 people (Hassan 2006: 462), a local NGO trained local activists and technicians to develop maps and plans for a sanitation system. The area was surveyed and mapped, and sewage disposal points were identified. They then approached first the councilors and then the mayor to finance and maintain the sanitation system. Both refused, and the Colony residents took the local state to court to force it to maintain the system. This was clearly a conflictual situation which could only be addressed by recourse to the courts.

Chatterji and Mehta (2007), in theorizing the self-enumeration movement, have argued that the articulation of power and knowledge in practices of government lead to the development of technologies of mapping and enumeration by which the state makes society visible to itself, but these can end up creating new types of social collectivities. Populations generated by these governmental practices, which mark and categorize them in particular ways, for example as ‘slum dwellers’ or ‘pavement dwellers’, can end up seeing themselves as communities capable of resisting these technologies (P 131). As a result, slum dwellers have been able to use the survey like government does, to transform themselves into a quantifiable population, and to create documentary proof that they exist as a collective that can speak back to government in its own language (P 143). In India, NGOs have used the surveys specifically for mobilization and to make slum dwellers aware of a new identity based on abstract citizenship rather than

on caste or religion (P 159). NGOs therefore see the survey as an ongoing activity and not a once-off event.

Chatterji and Mehta (2007: 144) have specifically rejected interpretations of self-surveys which see it as a ‘...tool for the practice of democracy internally’ (Appadurai, 2002: 36). They argue that Appadurai ignores the fact that such forms of counter-governmentality are embroiled in local politics of inclusion and exclusion, and can become tainted in the same way that governmental practices can. Self-surveys are always directed by specific political interests and are not neutral instruments: thus they inflect social relations in the process of describing them (P 144). Surveys should thus be seen as part of the process by which the line between legality and illegality is continually renegotiated, both at the level of government and at the level of the ‘community’.

Chatterji and Mehta (2007: 148) also distance themselves from interpretations of this movement which view ‘community’ as an oppositional category, defined in terms of its resistance to the state, or as a ‘public sphere’ which can be seen as distinct from the state and economy. Rather government technologies of mapping and enumeration not only carve out populations but also create new ways in which they are embedded within the state. The new forms of ‘politics’ which this can give rise to (politics viewed as an extra-legal domain of hustling and negotiation rather than democracy and dialogue – P 171) can also create fractures along which violence can erupt or new spaces in which cooperation (for a while) becomes possible.

#### **4. Following the SDI ‘rituals’ in Cape Town**

Over the last couple of years, informal settlements in Cape Town and other South African cities have been introduced to the SDI rituals of self-enumeration, mapping and reblocking. This has occurred as a result of the ‘globalization’ of SDI and its establishment of linkages with federations of informal settlement organizations in various cities in the global south. In South Africa the Informal Settlement Network (ISN) is supported by SDI and the NGO called CORC (Community Organization Resource Centre) which follows SDI’s rituals. CORC has been working with informal settlement organizations in a number of larger South African towns to assist these organizations with surveys, maps, savings schemes and reblocking.

The housing situation for low income residents in Cape Town is not an uncommon one. It is estimated that some 16% of housing stock is informal (140,605 units in 2007) but the delivery of state-provided houses for low income people has averaged only 4,740 units per annum (OECD Territorial Reviews



2008). As a result, informal settlements have grown steadily and there is little prospect that they will be upgraded or that residents will be offered formal houses. The diversion of a significant proportion of the municipal budget into building the 2010 World Cup soccer stadium has meant that there is even less available to provide these informal settlements with services. While in some parts of the City the response has taken the form of service-delivery protests and violence, other settlements appear to have decided to follow the SDI rituals. The research project which forms the subject of this paper is focusing on three of these informal settlements, all the result of invasions of public land: Jo Slovo, an informal settlement on a well-located ‘buffer strip’ which has been targeted for removal to make way for public, lower-middle income apartments; Barcelona, occupying an old landfill site; and Sheffield Rd, located on a road reserve. Both of the latter two are on sites classified by the municipality as uninhabitable, although it has installed some small communal toilet blocks and taps.

The purpose of the investigation is to examine these sites where, it could be argued, there is a conflict of rationalities between, on the one hand, shack dwellers, who have managed to secure a piece of urban land, some shelter and access to basic services, and are engaged in political action to defend these gains and extend them to formal recognition by the City and delivery of improved services; and on the other hand, the Municipality of Cape Town which is seeking to enforce regulations which have classified this land for other uses (new housing, rubbish and a road), and to promote orderly and regulated residential development either in the form of state provided formal units or private-sector and developer driven delivery. However, if interaction at this ‘interface’ between opposing logics can take different forms (eg rejection, passive acceptance, or engagement and adaption<sup>2</sup>) then the adoption of the SDI rituals in these settlements might represent an appropriation and manipulation of a particular assemblage of technologies of rule (the survey, map and plan) which are worthy of being studied. The suggestion here is that for planners (and those intervening in the built environment in various ways with the aim of improvement of some kind) these processes offer the opportunity for research and possibly direct engagement as a source of learning.

Following from writings such as those by Li (2007) and Chatterji and Mehta (2007) the investigations of the Cape Town sites focus on the operation of power at the interface between these competing logics. As Li has suggested, engagement here is directly political, but often of the ‘hustling’ and deal-making kind described by Chatterji and Mehta, where engagement by communities with the state and NGOs gives rise to new inclusions and exclusions. The investigation thus needs to engage in ethnographic work on either side of the interface as well as at the interface. Within ‘communities’, how is leadership and representation advantaging some and disadvantaging others to take advantage of whatever resources may

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<sup>2</sup> Possibly ‘bricolage’ – defined as spontaneous creativity, making do with what is around.

flow through these processes, how are groups re-categorizing themselves and presenting themselves in new ways within the settlement and beyond. And within both the state and NGOs, how are particular professionals, departments and discourses being restructured or changed to engage with these new processes, how are these self-surveyed communities repositioned in the ‘eyes’ of the state (and elements of the state) to engage with the state in new ways? And how does this in turn reconfigure and realign rationalities in ways that might produce outcomes which could be identified as positive.

In the three Cape Town sites, the process of surveying and mapping has begun only recently and requires tracking over a longer period of time in order to answer the questions posed above.

### *Jo Slovo*

Jo Slovo informal settlement found itself, in 2005, on a site earmarked by national government to try out their flagship pilot project (the N2 Gateway Project) to demonstrate a new approach to low-income housing provision. This approach claimed to deliver ‘sustainable’ compact, mixed use housing for low income people, but this translated into three storey, landscaped, apartment blocks (with no other facilities) at rentals that were completely unaffordable for those living on the site in shacks. In the process of clearing the site for first phase construction, a large group of Jo Slovo households were relocated to ‘temporary’ tin shacks on the edge of the metropolitan area – where they remain to this day.

The Jo Slovo settlement<sup>3</sup>, named after the first post-apartheid minister of housing and member of the SA communist party, had been on this site for 17 years and in 2009 contained a little over 3000 households. Most are unemployed and survive on government grants but the survey estimates that they contribute SAR 32m (US 5m) to the city economy annually (thus strategically describing themselves as an important economic entity). As it became clear that shack dwellers would not be gaining access to the new N2 Gateway housing, and to challenge a threat of further removals, those remaining on the site took the issue to the Constitutional Court, and in the meantime linked to the NGO CORC to use the SDI rituals as a means of fighting relocation. In early 2009 a fire devastated large parts of Jo Slovo, and iKhayelami (a building materials arm of CORC) proposed a re-blocking exercise (regularized plots of 4X5m divided by lanes of 1,5m) to locate emergency shelters. The Constitutional Court found in favour of the state<sup>4</sup> with the only concession being that a proportion of the new units should be made available to Jo Slovo residents. In effect the Court condoned a forced removal of shack dwellers to a remote and inaccessible

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<sup>3</sup> Information drawn from the community self-survey of 2009 on the SDI website  
<http://www.sdinet.org/ritual/enumerations/>

<sup>4</sup> <http://allafrica.com/stories/200906260735.html>

location in the city (on the grounds that it was temporary) in favour of a top-down and insensitive ‘slum eradication’ process which had no possibility of accommodating the needs of those already on the site.

An analysis of this conflict will be faced with a complex institutional ethnography. The shack dwellers faced a project which was cast as a flagship pilot by the national Department of Housing – the main funding agency; which was implemented by a provincial level of government under the ruling political party but which is now under the opposition; and which is within the jurisdiction of a local authority which initially distanced itself from the project (being itself run by the political opposition) but now has to deal with the problem left within its boundaries. The remaining Jo Slovo residents, on their part, gained important national and international exposure and profile during the court case and were linked to international SDI networks through the enumeration and blocking process. After the reblocking the NGO moved to introduce the next SDI ritual – the communal fund – to establish a communal toilet and shower block on the site as a sign of ongoing settlement. This was approved by the city which agreed to connect it to their infrastructure, and subsequently also by the province.

It remains to be seen how residents will engage an uncertain local and provincial government who have everything to gain from discrediting the project as a ruling (ANC) party bungle, but nonetheless will now be primarily responsible for the future of the site and can make political capital from shifting to an engagement with the residents.

### *Barcelona*

This informal settlement of 2411 shacks is located on an old landfill site, where it has been for some 20 years. The municipality has classified it as ‘uninhabitable’ yet, recognizing the permanence of the settlement, has installed some communal bucket toilet blocks and some taps. CORC, with the assistance of community organizers schooled in the Jo Slovo campaign, have engaged with the residents’ association in the area and have recently taken them through a survey and mapping exercise. In early May 2010, the residents’ association and CORC engaged officials from several municipal departments as well as civil engineering staff from the University of Cape Town to open a discussion on the issue of toilets. The results of the survey were presented and the map was displayed (see below).



*Barcelona: meeting on toilets May 2010*

The fact that a meeting between city officials and Barcelona residents was taking place at all, and in the informal settlement, was unusual. A city spokesperson began by saying that there was a shift in the city's approach to dealing with informal settlements<sup>5</sup>. In the past the city had viewed the problem as simply one of providing services and it had been dealt with by engineers. These investments had not been sustainable and were constantly wrecked by vandalism and blockages. Now the informal settlements department in the city was shifting from an 'eradication' approach to an 'incremental upgrade' approach, it had engaged with CORC and the Informal Sector Network, and it was looking to form partnerships with grassroots organizations in the informal settlements.

The history of an engineering/technical approach to service provision in informal settlements, whereby blocks of bucket toilets and some taps had been installed in problematic locations and with no consultation with residents, had elicited violent and destructive responses from shack dwellers: the conflict of rationalities here had been stark. The 'shift in approach' which the city spokesman referred to had come about partly due to the mounting cost of replacing vandalized services (at a time when city budgets were stretched to the limit) and partly due to the engagement by the city of a new consultant on

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<sup>5</sup> From own notes at the meeting.

informal policy who was dedicated to a participatory and bottom-up approach to upgrade. From the side of the shack dwellers, the influence of the NGO CORC and the ISN had paved the way for an attempt to appropriate the technologies of survey, map and plan and to use these instruments with which the city was familiar, to enter into negotiation over the upgrade of services.

At the May meeting with the city, the community organization was able to present itself as informed and in possession of reliable data. This is where the terrain of engagement with the city shifted to the question of which approach to data gathering was more ‘scientific’. The city argued that their figures on shack and facility numbers were different and that it would require an ‘expert’ to verify the community survey and map. The response from the community representatives was essentially that their ‘view from the ground’ was likely to be more accurate than the city’s ‘view from the sky’. While the city relied on aerial photographs to count shacks and toilets, Barcelona residents argued that adjacent shacks often appear as one from above, that shack numbers can change from day to day, and that it is only possible to check if toilets are functioning from a close inspection. The question of data verification is clearly a further issue which will be driven by different logics and is a potential point of contestation.

Further meetings are now planned to consider an alternate form of sewerage system to the bucket option (proposed by the university) as well as the placement of these in conjunction with more taps and lighting. A potentially new schism has emerged here, as the new system provides for the possibility that each shack could have its own toilet, but the NGO, following SDI principles, favours communal toilet blocks as they encourage ‘community building’.

### *Sheffield Road*

This is a smaller settlement of some 170 shacks located on a 17 m wide road reserve, and for this reason is also classified by the city as uninhabitable. As elsewhere, however, the city has provided the settlement with 3 taps and 15 toilets in communal blocks, of which half have been vandalized<sup>6</sup>. The survey report (see footnote 7) makes the interesting point that shack dwellers agreed to engage with the NGO and adopt the SDI rituals after realizing that the possibility that the state would provide them with formal houses was unlikely. State-civil society relations in South Africa are perhaps shifting from one characterized by an expectation that the state will provide, to a situation closer to that of India where poor communities

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<sup>6</sup> Information drawn from the community self-survey of 2009 on the SDI website  
<http://www.sdinet.org/ritual/enumerations/>

have little hope of state support. It is perhaps for this reason that the SDI method, with its origins in India, seems to have growing acceptance in South Africa’s informal settlements.

The survey and mapping was concluded in late 2009, followed by engagement with the city to introduce more toilets and taps. In the meantime the NGO has proceeded with discussions on a re-blocking exercise in which it is assumed that many of the shacks will be replaced with materials provided by the NGO and in the process they will be relocated into an orderly pattern to make spaces for public facilities. However, this is where difficulties have arisen. Some residents have substantial and well-built shacks and are not willing to downsize them to the standard 15 or 12 square meter shack (with no roofing material) being sold by the NGO. One large shack functions as a bar with music, and the owner has also appropriated a number of the communal toilets nearby for his guests. These divisions have expressed themselves in poor attendance at overall community meetings called by the NGO, and reports of numerous sub-meetings being held within the settlement when outsiders are not present. Currently a university architect is assisting the NGO to find a layout which accepts the current spaces and well-built shacks as fixes, and only re-negotiates spaces where people are keen to replace their existing shacks. NGO rationality can therefore also differ from that of the poors and informals, and notably Li (2007) brackets the state and NGOs together, both driven by a ‘will to improve’.

In Sheffield Rd there is evidence of how engagement across the interface, and acceptance of the SDI strategy, might give rise to new inclusions and exclusions within the settlement. Within any settlement there is huge diversity – in terms of income, gender, status and use of the shack, with those operating businesses from their shacks likely to be able to exercise greater power. While the analysis still has to be undertaken, it is likely that the re-blocking process here and elsewhere will bring about internal divides and conflicts, as some gain and others lose by the relocating of shacks to conform to patterns of settlement which accommodate a rational location of services and facilities.



*Sheffield Rd informal settlement map, May 2010*

## **5. Conclusion**

The purpose of this paper is to present some early and exploratory empirical work which tests the conceptual idea of conflicting rationalities in urban planning and development processes. Broadly, the argument is that planning work needs to do much more in terms of thinking how it can be situated in relation to societal and institutional conflict, as a counter-balance to strands in mainstream planning theory which have tended to focus on and assume consensus-type outcomes. The paper argues that given the growing dominance of populations in the global south, where limited resources, poverty, weak institutions and conflict tend to be the norm, the need to consider how planning can function under such conditions, is urgent.

In particular, the intention of this paper has been to test the notion that where ‘engagement’ occurs across the interface between conflicting rationalities, which takes the form of appropriation or hybridization of rules, technologies, processes or ideas, then these offer important experiences within which planners can engage and from which planning can learn. Such engagement is unlikely to take the form of collaboration or consensus (although this is not impossible) and is more likely to take the form of struggle, conflict and even open violence. But these too, can offer learning experiences and opportunities for planning action. Essentially this is arguing for an inductive approach to the development of planning theory which seeks to yield theoretical insights which are of some use to planning practice<sup>7</sup>.

Drawing on early theorizing of the self-survey movement as a strategy of shack-dwellers in various parts of the world to secure a foothold in urban areas, the paper turns this conceptual lens on three cases of self-survey in Cape Town. The paper thus highlights the method and conceptual approach which will be needed to explore these cases, but at this stage draws no more than preliminary findings.

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## **LIVING OR LEAVING? REGENERATION POLICIES IN MULTI-ETHNIC CONTEXTS IN NORTH ITALY**

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Keywords: urban regeneration, multi-ethnic contexts, North Italy

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The paper examines the regeneration strategies carried out in the last 10-15 years in three multi-ethnic areas in Brescia, Genoa and Turin (North Italy). These cities have all been important industrial centres and, in recent years, the economic restructuring of the post-industrial age has led their leaderships and policy makers to invest in visitor economy. The paper aims at rendering problematic an assumption circulating among academics and planners stating that, in these contexts, regeneration and urban renewal policies have been addressed only at the immigrants' expulsion from the cities' more central areas. In fact different approaches could be found in the different cities according to the peculiarities of their development strategies, to the public debate on immigration proposed at local level, as well as to the more or less strategic role given to integration policies of the disadvantaged groups, independently from their national origin.

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### **Introduction**

The paper examines the regeneration strategies carried out in the last 10-15 years in three multi-ethnic areas in Brescia, Genoa and Turin (North Italy). All these contexts have always been working class areas as well as gateways in their cities for immigrants – both the ones coming from South Italy in post-war age (from 1950s), and the ones coming from less developed countries in more recent years (from the 1980s).

Brescia, Genoa and Turin have all been important industrial centres and, in recent years, the economic restructuring of the post-industrial age has led their leaderships and policy makers to invest in visitor economy. The physical and socio-economic transformation of their sometimes anonymous, sometimes deprived city centres has been part of these strategies. All the considered contexts – the Carmine neighbourhood in Brescia, Genoa's Old Town, Porta Palazzo in Turin – are located in central and peri-central areas involved in the regeneration strategies, the real estate pressure becoming higher, rendering inclusion/exclusion objectives of policies clearer.

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Moreover, in the last years the immigrants’ presence in these areas has led stigmatization processes to arise: in a recent past these were no go areas for some and a no exit zones for others. Regeneration initiatives have changed this situation, sometimes dealing directly with the immigrant presence, sometimes even not mentioning it, sometimes trying to consider the social integration issue both from the immigrants’ and from the natives’ point of view. This last point is quite relevant as, until now, very common phenomena that could be found in other countries such as the ethnic enclaves, or the immigrants’ groups concentration or segregation in specific neighbourhoods, are unusual in Italy. Multi-ethnic settlements are “really” multi-ethnic as people from different countries live in these places, including Italian citizens (Tosi, 1998; Cozzarini, 2007).

It’s important to underline that immigration is still a relatively new phenomenon in Italy, and that planning in multi-ethnic contexts still remains a relatively unexplored field. Despite this, a prejudgment is already circulating among planners and academics stating that regeneration and urban renewal policies have been addressed only at the immigrants’ expulsion from the cities’ more central areas (Crosta *et al*, 2000).

The paper aims at rendering problematic this assumption, arguing that planning is not expressing only its “dark side” (Yiftachel, 1998), and that different approaches could be found in the different cities, according to the peculiarities of their development strategies, to the public debate on immigration proposed at local level, as well as to the more or less strategic role given to integration policies of the disadvantaged groups, independently from their national origin. This approach is legitimized by the fact that, despite a quite aggressive public debate against immigrants at a national level (Rivera, 2009), literature on the “Italian way” of dealing with immigration has pointed out that a “local and adaptive” model of integration can be recognized (Caponio, 2006). This means that while immigration policies, defined through the national laws, have mainly been aimed at controlling the flows of people, integration policies have been completely devolved to the local level, especially to the municipalities and to the third sector’s initiatives. In this general context, urban policies/planning at local level may also establish some kind urban labs where “out of the mainstream” approaches could be explored (Pastore, 2007).

The paper is based on three case-studies that have been realized directly through a field research, as well as through a review of the existing literature on the main development and planning strategies adopted by the different cities.

As already underlined, planning in multi-ethnic contexts is still a relatively unexplored field in Italy. For this reason, the work has tried to focus on some key-research questions that have been “tested”, sometimes changed, during the field research. For this reason, the research aimed also at establishing a sort of “starting point” for other contexts to be explored and analyzed. Moreover, as the immigrants’ settlements seem to represent one of the core fields to explore both the regressive as well as the progressive potentials of

planning (Yiftachel, 1998), the work has focused on some open questions for further research on the role that spatial policies may play in post-industrial cities to “give a place” to disadvantaged groups to settle and live.

### **1. Color blind social control? The “Progetto Carmine” in Brescia**

Located within the Lombardy Region, Brescia is the fourth economic centre of Italy and counts 191.000 inhabitants. Despite a still quite strong industrial tradition based mainly on metallurgic industries, in recent years the city has seen a significant process of development of the tertiary and finance sectors. Moreover, an effort to promote visitor economy as well as to enforce its university could be recognized (Granata *et al*, 2010).

The Carmine neighbourhood is located in the historic heart of Brescia, and has always been a working class area, as well an hosting place for the newcomers coming from the mountain valleys close to the town in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, from the south of Italy in the 1950/70s, and from the less developed countries of the world starting from the 1990s. Social exclusion phenomena, deviance and prostitution have led Carmine to be considered one of the most problematic areas of Brescia (Grandi, 2008).

The arrival of the most recent immigrant groups occurred at a critical point in the history of the area: local population reducing and ageing, residential dereliction, public spaces declining, closure of shops and businesses, presence of illegal activities. This situation favoured the immigrants’ settlement in this part of the city from the 1990s when abandoned buildings were used as living and working places. The migrant population grew from 8% (over a population of 4412 inhabitants) in 1992 to 40% (over a population of 4650 inhabitants) in 2008. Between 2002 and 2006 the enterprises run by immigrants groups increased from 20 to 100.

These dynamics generated an informal real estate market with high rental prices despite the houses’ state of decay, cases of severe overcrowding, and economic or other types of exploitation between Italians and foreigners but also between co-nationals. These new urban trends, even though characterized by informality/illegality, contributed to slowing down the process of decline in the area, allowing new uses for the urban space and new forms of social relations. Despite this, foreign migrants have always been seen mainly as the problem of the neighbourhood.

The national political debate as well as the local press facilitated the emergence of hidden tensions and unspoken conflicts. Also for this reason from 2001 the Municipality promoted a Piano di recupero (Urban Rehabilitation Plan) for the Carmine neighbourhood that has already brought about radical transformation of the economy and living spaces of the area.

It's important to underline that, covering around  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the overall surface of Brescia's historical centre, the Carmine neighbourhood is a core territorial resource for any kind of development strategy based on visitor and city users' economies.

The major problem for the neighbourhood's recovery project was to deal with the fact that the majority of the buildings in the area were privately owned. For this reason, it was established that the physical renewal of the residential buildings would be compulsory: the plan implied a series of agreements between the Municipality and the private owners, provided incentives for housing renewal, and established severe measures such as expropriation if the buildings were not restored.

This process was supported also through a number of actions carried out directly by the Municipality aimed at changing the perception of the area and at rendering it more attractive. These actions included the public space's improvement as well as the introduction or relocation of a number of institutions and general services of the city into the neighbourhood: some departments of the university, a library, a nursery school, a police station and student housing.

The social consequences of this project on immigrants', old and poor people's life was not considered directly by the Rehabilitation Plan, their problems being totally devolved to the social services that followed “emergency based” forms of intervention. People who could not afford the raise in rent prices (including regular immigrants) were helped to move to more peripheral areas of the city, especially in the Council housing neighbourhood of San Polo (Grandi, 2008).

An univocal evaluation of this process isn't simple as, even if the recovery strategy stimulated a gentrification process forcing immigrants and weaker groups to leave, there is no doubt that the situation of overcrowding and unsanitary condition of the dwellings had to be faced. At the same time, the strategy implied a form of social control also over the private owners as the cycle of the mostly illegal informal market characterized by high rental prices for the poor housing was broken. Despite this, there is no doubt that, if the owners managed to rent or sell the dwellings to wealthier people after the renewal process, the gains for the weaker groups were not so granted for everyone as gentrification processes forced a lot of people to leave.

If the housing renewal strategy had a role in the immigrants' moving to other places in the city, a different process was related to the commercial activities: in fact, despite some traces of commercial gentrification, the Carmine neighbourhood still hosts a number of services for migrants such as ethnic groceries, shops and call centres. For this reason the area still represents a meeting point for the migrants, especially during the week-ends. At the same time, some of these activities – for example, low-cost ethnic meals vendors – have demonstrated a “compatibility” with the city users now attracted in the neighbourhood such as university students and tourists. This means that, from the users' point of view, the place is still “ethnically and socially

mixed”. At the same time, there is no doubt that the presence of new users attracted by the university and other relevant functions has contributed to change the perception of the Carmine neighbourhood as a no-go area, even if immigrants are still a visible presence and spend a lot of time in this place. At the current state of the regeneration process it’s difficult to evaluate if this mixed reality will persist in the future or if the gentrification process as well as the immigrants’ and poor groups’ expulsion will affect commercial and public spaces as well.

## **2. A spontaneous social mix? Genoa’s “Old Town” regeneration**

Strategically located on the sea, Genoa represents – as well as Milan and Turin – one of the vertices of what is commonly known as the “industrial triangle” of the country. Traditionally a port and an industrial centre, after the 1970/80s crisis and the harbour reorganization, the city’s great effort to manage a transition towards a diversified economic reality based also on tourism, culture and leisure has been widely recognized (Gabielli S., 2005). Nowadays the city counts 132.000 inhabitants.

With its surface of 113 hectares, Genoa’s old town is one of the largest historical centres in Europe. This part of the city has always been the gateway for the newcomers, and has always been characterized by marginality, social exclusion, crime and illegal activities (Dal Lago, Quadrelli, 2003). Until the 1990s it was the “dark side” of the city: a “no go” area for the middle and upper classes that tended to settle in the hills zones outside the old town. The small alleys (*carugi*) that characterize this historical centre, the buildings’ state of decay and the decline of the public spaces, fostered the perception of a dangerous place. From the ’80 the arrival of immigrants from less developed countries contributed to enhance the negative perception of the old town. From 2000 the immigrants’ presence in the old town was estimated around 22,1%, even if in some areas (*rioni*) such as the so called “ghetto” the percentage is up 40%, in other it is less than the average.

Genoa’s waterfront has been for centuries occupied by the docks, and until the 1990s the city had “lost” its relationship with the sea. The docks were “a wall” between the city and the sea. Hemmed in between steep mountains and the sea, Genoa didn’t have so many territorial resources to develop its new economic strategy based also on tourism, culture and leisure. This strategy implied an investment on the regeneration of an highly stigmatized historical centre and on its reconnection with the sea (Bobbio, 2008).

The early 1990s saw the large-scale deployment of resources to activate processes of urban regeneration for the old town and the waterfront, redefining their image and identity, promoting the visitor economy and improving the urban facilities and spaces for leisure.

Three main families of integrated actions and policies made the regeneration process of such a huge area possible and sustainable: a series of “great events” that played a core role mobilizing large-scale resources;

some architectural and urban design interventions that contributed to attract new city users in the historical centre, changing the perception of a “dangerous place”; last but not least, an integrated system of regeneration and renewal initiatives carried out through European, national, regional and local funding programs.

From the great events’ point of view, a core date to understand the city’s new development strategy is 1992 when Genoa (Columbus birthing place) hosted the Colombiadi – an international exposition celebrating the 500<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the discovery of the Americas. The exhibition played an important role especially for the old harbor renewal: Renzo Piano’s project for Genoa’s port implied the restoration of a number of existing buildings, as well as the construction of new buildings such as the aquarium and the harbor offices.

In 2001, the G8 summit conference allowed a number of interventions for the old town renewal, including large-scale actions of “urban maintenance” involving streets, historical buildings’ façades and public spaces.

Finally, in 2004 Genoa was awarded European Capital of Culture: this event implied actions of urban maintenance and redevelopment of public spaces and façades of the historical buildings, strengthening of the museums functions, environmental redevelopment projects for the central area and the waterfront, organization of cultural events, promotion of the city’s image but, most important, played a core role to make the new touristic vocation of Genoa well known at an international level, and to foster a new identity and a sense of pride for the city in its own inhabitants.

In fact in 2006 the “Strade Nuove” – that lay in a pivotal position between the middle ages streets of the old town to the south and the modern traffic system to the north – and the related system of “Palazzi dei Rolli” – private residences belonging to the city’s aristocratic families that in 1536 started to host the distinguished guests of the Republic of Genoa – were included in the Unesco World Heritage List, confirming and strengthening the new touristic vocation of the city.

Before 1992 (during the 1980s) a number of architectural and urban design interventions played a core role in the old town recovery process: the restoring of the city’s main square, Piazza de Ferrari; the transformation of Palazzo Ducale into a cultural and exposition centre; the re-opening of the Carlo Felice theatre, the local opera house. These places are not in the historical centre, but may represent a sort of “clasp” between the old and the new town. Moreover, in the same years the Faculty of Architecture was moved from an upper class neighbourhood on the hills to the historical centre. The new faculty building was realized on a former monastery bombed site. This was a quite relevant choice both from the symbolic and from the substantial point of view: on one hand, the moving of such a relevant urban function in a former stigmatized site represented the new will of the city’s leaderships to invest on a long-time forgotten place; on the other hand, the university presence stimulated first generation of gentrifiers – students, artists, creative class – to come and live in the old town (Gastaldi, 2009).

Finally, a number of plans and projects funded at European, National, Regional and local level, were developed in the different areas of the historical center:

- Urban Renewal Programs (Programmi di riqualificazione urbana) – implying the public space and built environment rehabilitation and improvement in the Carmine, Porta Soprana and Darsena areas;
- the so-called Neighbourhood Contracts (Contratti di quartiere) – integrated urban regeneration initiatives for the Giustiniani-Porta Soprana and for the Ghetto areas;
- Genoa’s PRUSST – Programma di riqualificazione urbana e di sviluppo sostenibile (Urban Rehabilitation and Sustainable Development Program) involving a number of regeneration projects for the historical centre – implying also the municipal dock’s and the Parodi bridge’s transformation to perform new urban functions;
- Integrated Street Centers (Centri integrati di via) – where European Objective 2 Funds aimed at strengthening the commercial environment through the public space improvement have been used;
- the European Initiative Urban II that implied actions of renewal, economic and social revitalization in the old town, the historical docks buildings’ restoration and promotion for tourism and cultural purposes, as well as the public space’s and built environment’s improvement;
- Organic Programs of Intervention (Programmi organici di intervento) – public and private actions for housing renewal, where the public funds were spent to improve the public space environment.

In Genoa, the public space’s renewal and the primary services’ improvement had a core role to create a condition of reliance between the public administration and the private owners whom started to invest on their buildings’ restoration. Among these, primary public works regarding water, drains, electricity and gas supply networks were carried out; the stone streets surfaces, the lighting system and the alleys’ cleaning were improved.

Incentives addressed to the private owners for housing renewal were provided by different initiatives for the old town. As described by Bruno Gabrielli, an academic who was Alderman for Urban Quality during the recovery strategy implementation, these policies aimed at raising the real estate values (Gabrielli B. *et al*, 2006 ). At the same time, as in Brescia, they could be seen as a form of social control, as the state of decay of the old town had generated an informal market characterized by high rental prices, cases of overcrowding, unhealthy living conditions, and economic or other types of exploitation between Italians and foreigners.

A policy aimed at raising the real estate values leads to gentrification processes. As also the most “socially oriented” programs (for example the Neighbourhood Contracts) have not provided strong initiatives to cope with these phenomena, the old town social mix is preserved only thanks to a spontaneous market process as



wealthy people don't buy dwellings located in the first floors of the old buildings because the lighting is not good (*ibid*).

It has been widely acknowledged that the Genoa's recovery strategy was successful: the city has been reconnected with the sea and the historical center, mainly in the part that lay east of Via San Lorenzo, thanks also to the Faculty of Architecture's and other urban functions' presence, has become a place to visit and stay for city users and tourists. In this way, the urban space is less dominated by the immigrants' and social excluded people's presence: visitors and city users feel “safe”. In the last years the results of this process may be seen also thanks to the arrival of second generation of gentrifiers, that includes also people from the upper classes previously living in other areas (Gastaldi, 2009). Some major problems remains in the Maddalena area that results only partially gentrified, and in the Ghetto and Prè areas, still characterized by deprivation, social exclusion and high presence of immigrants.

### **3. Beyond Safety? An integrated project for Porta Palazzo in Turin**

Turin is located in the Piedmont region of north west Italy and represents one of the vertices of the “industrial triangle” of the country. Nowadays the Municipality counts around 900.000 inhabitants, and Turin is Italy's fourth largest city.

Since the Second World War, the industrial triangle has always been one of the most prosperous regions of Italy, and it has become one of the main destinations of immigrants from the less developed areas of the south of the country. The economic base of Turin has always been dominated by the mechanical engineering sector, and especially by the FIAT car manufacturing industry. The relevance of FIAT for the city – actually a symbol of all the country's post-war economic boom – has been underlined by a wide range of studies that have defined Turin as a “one-company town” (Bagnasco, 1986).

The mid-1970s Europe-wide economic decline, affected the industrial triangle as well: all the main cities had to face de-industrialisation and urban decline, losing population and employment (Petsimeris, 1998). Turin has been affected by the crisis and by its social consequences severely, mainly due to the presence of a single industrial sector, and to the dominance of one single firm within it (Bagnasco, 1986).

The 1980s have been for Turin a starting point for a slow and incremental process aimed at overturning its traditional image, improving a quite anonymous city centre, promoting the local cultural tradition, and investing in visitor economy (Dente *et al*, 2005).

From the town planning and urban policies' point of view, three main tools have been set up during this recovery process: a new Piano Regolatore Generale (Urban Masterplan) adopted in 1995 to replace the

existing one dated from 1959; two strategic plans, providing from 1998 the main guidelines for the economic development strategies (the 1998-2000 plan was the first strategic plan carried out in Italy) (Winkler, 2008); and from 1997, the Progetto Speciale Periferie (Special Project for “Peripheral” Areas<sup>2</sup>) that tried to connect and integrate a number of regeneration initiatives at neighbourhood level carried out by the Municipality using European, National, Regional and local funds. Over recent years the project has managed three Urban Rehabilitation Programs (Programmi di recupero urbano), a Neighbourhood Contract (Contratto di quartiere), and the Turin Urban 2 program. It has also promoted many other initiatives in various areas of the city, seeking to activate [...] participated local development actions (Governa & Saccomani, 2004). The special project’s experience led to the set up of a dedicated Unit within the Council, the Peripheral Neighbourhood Unit (Settore Periferie).

From the urban policies’ point of view, it’s really important to emphasise that Turin has been one of the first cities in Italy able to develop strong relationships with the European Union, acceding to an international network of realities that had to face similar problems, exchanging know-how and experiences. These relationships brought also a wide range of resources for urban renewal and regeneration, as well as for socio-economic development (Dente *et al*, 2005). Moreover, as the city successfully took part in the 1999 bid to host the 2006 Winter Olympic Games, this exceptional mega-event contributed highly to reinforce the city’s re-positioning strategy at national and international level, and to boost the its tourism capacity and reputation (Guala, 2007).

Despite the crisis, Turin is still one of the most important cities in Italy, and lies at the centre of one of its most prosperous and industrialized regions. For these reasons, from the mid-1980s it started to attract thousands of immigrants from non-European less developed countries. As with other immigration countries, the newcomers tend to settle mainly in poor and deprived neighbourhoods where the cost of living is not too high. In the Italian biggest towns these characteristics could be mainly found in the outskirts, where the post-war working class public housing estates lie, but in Turin some popular peri-central areas – in particular the Porta Palazzo and San Salvario areas – were able to attract the immigrants as well.

The main square of Porta Palazzo hosts everyday one of the largest open air markets in Europe. The market is a good place to find a (legal and not legal) job for the newcomers. For this reason Porta Palazzo has always been a traditional “port of entry” in the city for all immigrants – both the ones coming from the south of Italy from the 1950s, and the ones coming from the non-European countries in more recent years.

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<sup>2</sup> An appropriate English translation of the Italian term “periferie” is difficult to find. One term could be “outskirts”, but this definition omits inclusion of the “inner cities” areas economically, physically and socially marginalized, that were part of the Turin special project as well. For a theoretical analysis of this term, and of its use in the Italian contest see: Governa & Saccomani (2004).

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The increasing number of immigrants in Porta Palazzo led in 1995 to a hard movement of protest by the Italian citizens. The protests’ roots could be found not only in “white” racism, or in the scarce level of integration between Italian and foreign people, but also in the low level of social integration of the Italian citizens living in the area. The “crisis” made clear that the answer shouldn’t have been based on any kind of affirmative action, as problems of social justice could easily raise (Allasino *et al*, 2000).

Even though in 1994 a Council Survey on the Porta Palazzo area had suggested an urban regeneration integrated approach to face its emerging problems, all the initiatives were carried out in a fragmentary way until 1996 when, thanks to the second European Union bid to finance Urban Pilot Projects, the Municipality had the opportunity to set up a more coherent strategy for the whole place. The project was significantly named “The Gate<sup>3</sup>. Living not Leaving” clearly stating its main “integration” objectives. After twelve years this initiative is still the only experience of an urban policy expressly focused on the immigrants’ integration issues in Italy.

Due to its gateway character, people are always moving in and out the neighbourhood. Considering the presence of illegal immigrants, an accurate evaluation of the population living in the area is really difficult: the official data is close to 10.000 inhabitants (The Gate, 2002). When the project started almost 6% of the population in the area was composed of immigrant groups. The percentage increased to 19% when the initiatives started to work, and has reached 23% at the present time.

The project implementation started in 1998 and ended in 2002. Its main theme was “inclusion” (living not leaving), considering this issue both from the immigrants’ and from the natives’ point of view. This means that all the community involvement strategies have been addressed to the overall local population, considering shared problems and not shared ethnicities as a base for action. Moreover, even if the security issue that dominates the Italian public debate on immigration was considered, it never had a core role in the project agenda, and was developed in an innovative way, not only by reorganizing the Police presence or improving the area’s street lighting, but also by investing on social initiatives focused especially on young people, to support them with issues such as unemployment and deter them from criminal activities or drug addiction.

The Gate has tried to set up a general framework able to integrate its activities with more traditional planning initiatives. The prevailing actions focussed on the social and economic integration of both market vendors and residents. In particular, the project included 19 actions related to five main areas of intervention:

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<sup>3</sup> “The gate” is an English translation for the Italian word “porta” which is commonly used to indicate any kind of door, but that also refers, as in the Porta Palazzo area, to the ancient gates of the historical town walls.

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- Business incubator (economic development and work opportunities);
- Safety net (social initiatives);
- Liveability (addressing the urban degradation, improving the housing stock and the built environment);
- Sustainability (environmental protection, especially related with the market activities which produce 15 tons of waste everyday);
- Link-ability (related to mobility and transport issues, as well as aimed at establishing relationships between people in the neighbourhood, and at “building bridges” between the area and the rest of the town).

Despite the end of the European funding, the committee has continued its activities in the area, thanks to a wide range of partners’ support such as the Municipality, a number of bank foundations, voluntary and third sector initiatives. The project has been updated with an innovative series of continuing initiatives and, thanks to its twelve years activity, The Gate office, settled in a building facing the market square, has become a point of reference for the communities living in the area, and a place for local people, workers and entrepreneurs to meet, identify their main shared problems, and looking for collective solutions.

The Council’s High Official in the International Relationships and European Policies Unit, Ilda Curti, played a core role in this process: she was director of The Gate’s committee from 1998 to 2006; after the 2006 elections she was asked by the Mayor to become the Alderman for Urban Regeneration and Immigrants’ Integration Department. This department didn’t exist before in the Municipality, and its institution reflects a quite innovative approach in Italy, as the immigrants’ integration issues are usually devolved to the Social Services Department. Moreover, in the same years the majority of the Italian cities set up a “Safety issues” department to deal with immigration, confirming a negative way of seeing this phenomenon (Naletto, 2008).

For this reasons, it’s possible to argue that the Council’s innovative approach in dealing with immigration and integration issues through regeneration initiatives, as well as The Gate experience that established a sort of “urban laboratory”, could be both seen as part of a mutual learning process that has led to a change in the public institutions’ culture and organization. The program’s main innovation in the Italian context is related to the choice to use an urban regeneration integrated approach to deal with integration issues, as well as to deal with immigration from a more general perspective based on inclusion, considering the neighbourhood’s liveability and its economic development (Briata, 2009).

Porta Palazzo has always been a very central area. The Town Hall is just a few minutes of walk from the market square. The recovery strategy that has lead Turin to promote its visitor economy’s potentialities has

given a new life and strategic position to the city centre as well. The so called “quadrilatero romano” area, just off the south side of Piazza della Repubblica, has recently experienced a very strong gentrification process, becoming one of the “coolest” areas of Turin (Semi, 2004). This means that nowadays Porta Palazzo is even more central than 15 years ago, and that the gentrification threat is around the corner.

The Gate has tried to cope with this problem in different ways, for example including in its partnership the most relevant real estate owners of the area. At the same time, as the Municipality has set up a number of Urban Rehabilitation Plans (Piani di recupero) in Porta Palazzo that work on the residential buildings’ physical improvement, The Gate has provided funds aimed at establishing forms of cooperation and agreements between tenants and owners, in order to maintain the current residents in the area.

Moreover, The Gate has always been included in the Progetto Speciale Periferie and it’s important to underline that only a very strong strategic approach for the whole town and the “peripheral” areas seems to be the best chance for realities such as Porta Palazzo to survive. From this point of view, despite the Neighbourhoods Unit becoming in recent years a model for the management of area-based urban regeneration projects in Italy, in 2007 its scope was reduced and its budget cut by the Municipality (Governa *et al* 2008). Nowadays the Unit is under the responsibility of the new Urban Regeneration and Immigrant’s Integration Department, and a major reorganization of the “peripheral areas project” has been announced, but the outcomes of this process cannot yet be evaluated.

## Conclusions

All the examined cases deal with situation in which “forgotten” central and peri-central places of the cities become more “central” given their strategic role in the city repositioning in the post-fordist economy. These places’ space has become luxury due to the new development strategy of the cities. The Carmine neighbourhood represents a key territorial resource for the new development strategy of the city focussed on visitor economy: a part of the city that cannot be left to disadvantaged people and social excluded, even if it has been a gateway for centuries. The same could be said for Genoa’s old town that is a key territorial resource for a post-industrial city hemmed in between the mountains and the sea.

Both the cities pursued Municipality-led gentrification strategies to change the perceptions of these places from outside, and to bring new inhabitants and users in these areas. Two main families of strategies may be recognized from this point of view. On one hand, the regeneration/renewal programs work on public spaces through initiatives aimed at “breaking up these areas’ established territorialities” (Yiftachel, 1990). In particular, some new functions such as universities, libraries, restaurants and coffee shops are introduced to attract students, young people, businessmen, new city users in general. In this way the space is less dominated by the marginal groups’ presence, first of all the immigrants’ ones, and appear safer for people

coming from outside. On the other hand, a series of program have been promoted for housing renewal. These forms of intervention are not simple to be evaluated as the dwellings on which they work are usually decaying, overcrowded, unhealthy. At the same time, the recovery process leads almost automatically to gentrification, especially in cases like Brescia or Genoa that worked on the historical centre's renewal. In this way, the weaker groups, including immigrants cannot afford to live in these places and are forced to leave. That is to say that even if the cities' new development strategies are successful, these processes have a hard impact on deprived and social excluded populations as their main outcome is usually the displacement of problematic groups in other more peripheral neighbourhoods.

In these cases the problem is thus to explore if and how the cities have provided any form of “compensation” for the gentrification's side effects. From this point of view, the examined cities are quite different: Brescia provided a compensation by relocating disadvantaged groups in a peripheral neighbourhood far from the city centre and from their established social networks; Genoa seems to be satisfied by the (weak) argument that the local real estate market makes possible a spontaneous condition of social mix as wealthy people don't buy houses located at the first floors of the houses. Turin is the city that has tried to work more on these aspects, as The Gate tried to establish forms of cooperation between tenants and owners, stimulating forms of agreement in order to maintain the residents in the area after the renewal processes. It has been underlined that this way of dealing with the problem is also related to the fact that Turin has tried to set up a strategic approach not only to support the new economic vocation of the city (through the strategic plans), but also to deal with the most deprived areas (through the special project for the peripheral areas). In this way Turin has tried to “give a place” also to disadvantaged groups, trying not to displace them even when their presence is in the city centre.

From the immigrants' integration issue point of view, Turin's choice to deal expressly with the newcomers' presence – even if not considering only their problems but also the weaker groups' ones in general – is without any doubt a cultural choice as well as a challenge in a country that still deals with immigration as at temporary emergency or mainly by considering the security issues. Without denying the unavoidable rhetorical dimension of this choice, its rather provocative role in the mainstream discourses on immigration should be considered, highlighting its cultural value. The new Urban Regeneration and Immigrants' Integration Department tries in some way to make evident that – among any rhetorical discourse – integration means also “territorial” integration – giving people a place to live (Briata *et al*, 2009). From this point of view, Turin's case is interesting also because it shows that also spatial policies may contribute to build up a different public discourse on immigration in a Country dominated by an aggressive debate against the newcomers at the national level.

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## PLANNING AND SPATIAL JUSTICE IN THE CITY

### The School and Refugee Reception Centre as sites of resistance in the contemporary multi-ethnic city

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Keywords: Justice, immigrants, City

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#### Abstract

Of late, spatial justice in the city has been receiving increasing attention in planning theory. Greater attention is thus being paid to what has been called the spatialization of justice and the desire for a just city. Susan Fainstein, Edward Soja and others have all written extensively on the subject. Most of these narratives have been informed by a re-reading of the spatial theories of Henri Lefebvre and Michel Foucault. There has also been an increasing acceptance of the presence of conflict and a shift away from privileging consensus as a goal in the planning process. Such a shift has been one propagated by proponents of a radical critical planning theory based on the belief that the agonistic approach in its acknowledgement on the ineluctable presence of conflict is probably the only one which is valid in the pluralistic city of today (Pløger 2004, Painter 2005).

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#### INTRODUCTION

Most of current discussions on spatial justice have been informed by Michel Foucault writings (and lectures) on Power (disciplinary and regulatory) and how it impacts urban space and Henri Lefebvre's writings on Space and especially on his emphasise on the need for centrality in and ability to appropriate the city for those who are marginalized. Lefebvre wrote the following:

*The right to the city manifests itself as a superior form of rights: right to freedom, to individualization in socialization, to habitat and to inhabit. The right to the oeuvre, to participation and appropriation (clearly distinct from the right to property), are implied in the right to the city (Lefebvre 2006, pp. 173-174).*

Furthermore, he also said, this right cannot be achieved without the presence and action of the working class (ibid. p 154). In addition, he demanded that this right be extended to the immigrants, the 'marginal' and even 'the privileged' (ibid. 34). David Harvey has also stated that the right to the city is far more than the

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individual liberty to access the urban resources: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city. It is a common rather than an individual right because this transformation inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power to reshape the processes of urbanization (Harvey 2008, p. 23).

One can therefore argue that, just city theorists can be divided into three groups; those, like Harvey, who approach it from a Marxian standpoint with a focus on redistribution and those like Iris Young, who privilege what they called recognition (of difference) over redistribution and who together with other thinkers like Ash Amin, casts doubts on focusing on ideals like integration, social cohesion etc. saying that issues of privilege and disadvantage are more critical than so-called group clustering (Young 2000; Amin 2002). Others like Peter Marcuse who while agreeing to the need for spatial justice argue that in addition to distributional equity, a just city has to directly confront the issues of power in society while recognizing the importance of utopian thinking (Marcuse 2009).

I have decided to focus on the school and the refugee reception centre because I believe it is in their spaces that both these issues (identity and justice) intersect. My interest in these cases was piqued by a recent article in a leading Finnish newspaper that referred to studies by the City of Helsinki Urban Facts, projecting the proportion of pupils of immigrant background in the Helsinki comprehensive school system will reach 23.3% from a current 11 %<sup>i</sup>. The same article rather ominously informs us that there are already some schools where around a third of the school children do not speak Finnish or Swedish as a mother tongue and some with virtually no pupil with a foreign background. This has given rise to fears about possible 'white flight' though it is often said that there is still very little evidence of this happening in schools with a significant number of immigrant/foreign pupils. Some politicians have already started to contemplate on corrective measures which can be taken to avoid the situation where the immigrant pupil population will dominate in any school. One such measure, mooted by Henna Virkkunen in 2009, the Minister of Education, has called for the capping of the proportion of immigrant pupils to 20% in any school. This proposal was however criticized by Rauno Järnala who was the head of the Education Department of the City of Helsinki<sup>ii</sup>. In Espoo, the city council has recently proposed putting a cap of 15% on the proportion of immigrant pupils in any comprehensive school. This has been done despite the protests by the principals of the affected schools saying that they have seen no evidence of exceptional behavioural problems in their schools<sup>iii</sup>. A similar fear was evident in the discussion of the location of two new reception centres in Helsinki. Resistance to their establishment by the residents of the affected areas has been and still is voracious. This despite the fact that the two existing centres are deemed to be woefully inadequate to meet current needs. The politicians, in passing the motion for their *temporary* establishment, defined the issue as a human rights question. In both of these cases, the concern has been to preserve what one might term as an illusion of normalcy (the norm being the identity of the dominant social group) in the face of increasing heterogeneity. Efforts are thus made to deny others of the right to appropriate their city as Lefebvre called for.

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**BACKGROUND : Ethnic minorities, Immigrants and Refugees in Finland**

**Ethnic minorities**

Though Finland is ethnically exceptionally homogeneous, there exists within its territory what one can argue are ethnic minorities. These can basically be divided into two groups; the so-called traditional minorities and recent arrivals that are commonly referred to as immigrants. Refugees are both within and without the construction of the Finnish immigrant.

The Swedish-speaking Finns are the largest group of traditional minorities. According to Statistics Finland, in 2007 there were 290392 Swedish speakers in Finland making up 5.4% of the population of Finland. They are however more of a linguistic rather than ethnic minority whose rights have been enshrined in the Finnish constitution since 1917 when Finland got her independence. The constitution of the newly independent country declared that Finnish and Swedish were to be its two official languages. They were also given constitutional parity with the Finnish majority. Swedish speaking Finns are thus entitled not only to their own parallel education system (there are over 300 Swedish speaking comprehensive schools in Finland), but also other cultural and political institutions. There are six permanent Swedish theatres in Finland, three of them in Helsinki, one in Espoo, one in Turku and one in Vaasa. They also have the right to have Swedish language programs on the state radio and television networks. Like the majority, most of them belong to the Finnish Evangelical Church, with services in Swedish (Swedish in Finland)<sup>iv</sup>.

According to its website (<http://www.sfp.fi/en/>) the Swedish People's Party (Svenska Folkpartiet-SFP)'s main goal is the protection of the position of the Swedish language in Finland and the rights of Swedish speaking Finns. This stance makes it the main political party of the Swedish speaking minority. Another institution, (albeit semi-official) the Swedish People's Assembly (Svenska Finlands Folkting) functions in an advisory capacity to so-called regular governing institutions. Its main functions are: to offer a forum for political discussions on issues of concern to all Swedish speaking Finns, notwithstanding their political affiliations. It also serves as a pressure group in matters of legitimate interest of the Swedish speaking population. The Assembly also engages in research and disseminates information to the public about the Swedish speaking Finns and their situation. However, except for the islands of Åland<sup>v</sup>, Swedish speaking Finns do not have a territory of their own within the Finnish state<sup>vi</sup>.

The other Traditional Minorities are the Sami people, the Jews, the Tatars and the so-called Old Russians (to differentiate them from recent immigrants from Russia). For a long time vigorous attempts were made to assimilate the Sami and the Roma. For example in the 19<sup>th</sup> century boarding schools were established for the Sami for the sole purpose of assimilating them into the majority culture. However since the 70s, they have both been given increasing cultural rights. The Sami language was given official status in comprehensive schools within the Sami domicile areas in the 80s and in 1991 it was officially recognized in the Finnish constitution.

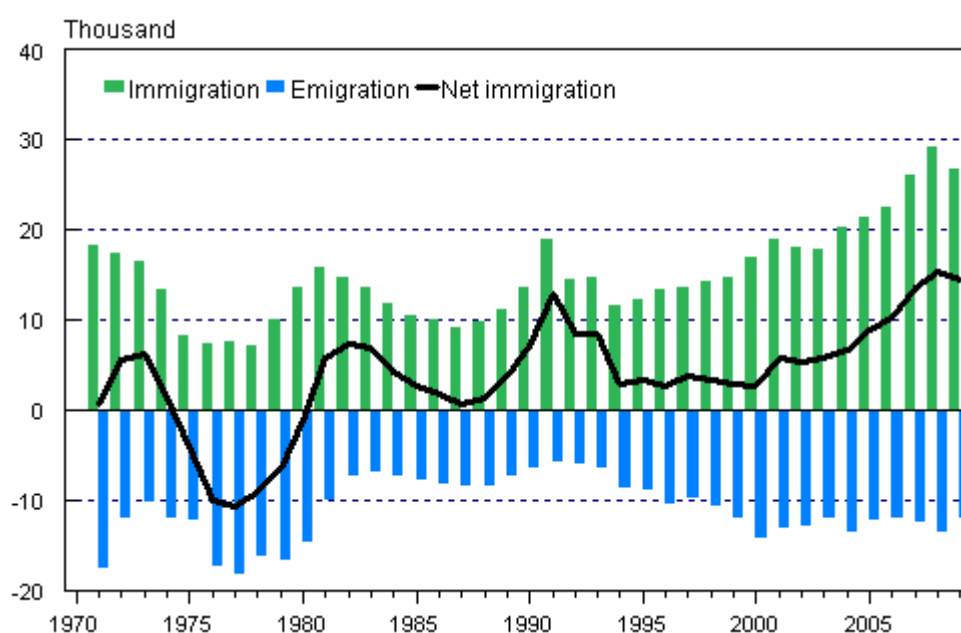
The Roma are in a more perilous situation. This could partly be because they are not territorial and that they had arrived in Finland in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Though the Romani were guaranteed the right to retain and develop their own culture in 1995, they are still marginalized and discriminated against. Their

language is recognized by the Finnish state only as a non-territorial minority language. They are however recognized as a national minority under the European Framework Convention for the protection of National Minorities.

The other National Minorities (Tatars, Jews and Russians) also have a right to maintain and develop their own language and culture. They all had their own schools but due to declining populations only the ones that cater to the Russian speakers remain active.

## Immigrants and Refugees

### Immigration and emigration to Finland in 1971–2009



Source: Population and Cause of Death Statistics. Statistics Finland

According to the Canadian political theorist Kymlicka, immigrants are only those who have left their home countries for economic and/or political reasons and emigrated to another country and have the right to become citizens of their new countries. Thus, according to him, the right to citizenship is what differentiates immigrants from those that he categorizes as *mestics* who do not have this right. *Mestics* include illegal immigrants, guest workers etc. (Kymlicka 2002, pp. 352-353). However in most narratives of today, all these are considered immigrants, differing only in the legality of their residence status (illegal/legal immigrants).

Though one could argue that most of the so-called ethnic minorities have immigrant roots the term as currently used mostly refers to those immigrants who have arrived since the 1980s. The first significant groups were quota refugees from Vietnam who first arrived in 1979 and continued to do so until the early 90s. During this period (1987-1990) a smaller group of refugees from Cambodia were accepted (Valtonen 1999, p. 8). Since the 1990s, Russians, Somalis, Kurds, Iraqis

and those from the former Yugoslavia asylum seekers arrived in increasing numbers. In 2009, out of a total of 5988, the largest numbers were from Iraq (1195), Somalia (1180), Bulgaria (739), Russia (602) and Afghanistan (461). Most of the Bulgarian asylum seekers are Roma. Another group that has contributed quite a lot to Finnish immigration is the so-called Ingrians from Estonia and Russia who were accepted as “re-migrants” under the Finnish repatriation policy.

### Asylum-seekers and refugees

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Asylum-seekers	3 170	1 651	3 443	3 221	3 861	3 574	2 324	1 505	4 035
Decisions on asylum <sup>1)</sup>									
- Asylum granted	9	4	14	7	29	12	38	68	89
- Residence permit granted	458	809	577	487	771	585	580	792	696
- No asylum or residence permit granted	2 121	1 045	2 312	2 443	3 418	2 472	1 481	961	1 011
Family reunification									
- Decisions in favour <sup>2)</sup>	214	475	363	303	162	355	129	267	467
- Adverse decisions <sup>2)</sup>	302	762	324	499	746	316	209	136	239
Quota	700	750	750	750	750	750	750	750	750
- Additional quota	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Refugees received by municipalities <sup>3)</sup>	1 212	1 857	1 558	1 202	1 662	1 501	1 142	1 793	2 170
<b>Immigrating as refugees, from 1973-</b>	<b>18 835</b>	<b>20 692</b>	<b>22 250</b>	<b>23 452</b>	<b>25 114</b>	<b>26 615</b>	<b>27 757</b>	<b>29 550</b>	<b>31 769</b>

1) Decisions of the Finnish Immigration Service

2) One decision can concern more than one person

3) Refugees by quota, asylum-seekers having received a favourable decision and persons admitted under the family reunification scheme

Sources: [Ministry of the Interior](#), [Finnish Immigration Service](#)

In 2008, 29,100 persons immigrated to Finland which was 3,100 higher than the previous year. The net gain totalled 15,450 persons which is the highest number in the post-war period<sup>vii</sup>.

Finland's population grew by 25,830 in 2008, which was the largest growth since 1992.

Furthermore, for the second successive year, migration gain from abroad contributed more to the increase in population than natural growth. In the same year, 4035 people applied for asylum. This influx has in some ways contributed to the current discourse on immigration in Finland in which the figure of the immigrant has been collapsed into the racialised figure of the refugee causing an accompanying rise in the temperature of the rhetoric used. This happens despite the fact that refugees form a minute proportion of the number of immigrants entering the country every year.

## THE SCHOOL AS A SITE OF RESISTANCE

Finland is no exception to the use of education (first as part of the church and later of the school) as an instrument of normalization. With the establishment of the Lutheran Church by King Gustav Vasa of Sweden in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, came the requirement of literacy so that people could read the Bible. One had to be able to read before he or she could get married. When the spirit of Nationalism became stronger, one of its main goals was to replace Swedish as a medium of instruction in Finnish schools. It was deemed imperative for the construction of Finnishness that Swedish be replaced. What better place to do this than in the space where identity is formed?

After independence, when Finland became a liberal democracy, education became a social right, forming one of the pillars of citizenship. All citizens were given the right to free basic education. This right has been further extended to all those who reside in Finland irrespective of their nationality or residency status. Thus even the children of those seeking asylum and whose status has not been established also have the right to an education.

The importance of education in the Finnish society can thus not be overstated. The fact that Finnish school children have been at the top PISA<sup>viii</sup> charts in the last three cycles is a source of national pride. This pride is not a recent phenomenon for as the Scottish evangelist, John Patterson noted during his travels in Sweden (Finland was then part of Sweden) in 1807-1808, that it was extremely rare to meet anyone over the age of 12 who could not read, and most could also write. He noted that an illiterate person could not get confirmation, give an oath in a court of justice, get married and was seen as a disgrace to the community and was nobody in the eye of the law. Though there wasn't an extensive system of parochial schools, parents and the clergy were still responsible for the education of their children (Johansson 1981, pp. 152-153).

It is however the intersection of disciplinary and regulatory powers in the school space that is relevant to me. Foucault has written extensively on the use of discipline and its instruments (surveillance etc.) in schools. Less discussed, and more pertinent to my discussion, is the use of what Foucault called regulatory mechanisms to protect life (Foucault 2003, Ch.11). One way of doing so, I would argue, is by making sure that there is no contamination in the school space that would endanger life as we know it. This is very much evident in the current debates about the presence of immigrant pupils in schools of the Helsinki Metropolitan Area. It can be argued that, though, the immigrant pupil has been given a right to education, this right does not extend to changing the status quo. She is required to conform to the existent norms that guide the acquiring of such an education. Even when, as called for in section 2 of the Act for the Integration of Immigrants and Reception of Asylum Seekers 493/1999, she is given an opportunity to pursue what is called her cultural heritage, this is done outside the normative space. Separate language and religion classes are given, targeted specifically to such as her. Her presence has very little impact on the content of Finnish education and the space in which it is given. One can thus argue that, the school is a site of resistance to the corruption of the Finnish identity. The dominant group retains its purity by refusing and limiting access to

those that it deems potential sources of corruption, in this case constituted in the culture and identity of the immigrant.

According to the Helsingin Sanomat, the cities of Helsinki and Espoo are concerned with what they see as the increasing social differentiation in schools<sup>ix</sup>. Helsinki is thus setting aside significant sums of money to be used in areas where the immigrant population is highest. Of special concern are those schools that currently contain large numbers of native-born Finns who are in danger of being marginalized, presumably by the encroaching ethnicisation of the schools. In other words, the concern is about the prospect of the “white flight” phenomenon where families of the native born population start to avoid schools and areas where the proportion of immigrants is high and how it would impact the normalization process. One major worry for concerned parents, it seems, is the effect such numbers of pupils whose mother tongue is not Finnish would have on the development of their children’s language. In other words, the possibility that their children will be marked as deviant for their Finnish would not be considered up to the norm thus limiting their access to the privileges of citizenship (better employment etc.). This concern has an impact on the settlement pattern of the city, for native-born Finnish parents will increasingly settle in areas with fewer immigrants<sup>x</sup> which would also be reflected on their proportion in neighbourhood schools. In Espoo, the Espoo City Council has approved a policy line according to which a 15 percent cap will be placed on the number of pupils at any one school who have an inadequate command of Finnish or Swedish. According to the head of the Espoo Education Department, “there is a concern that social unrest might result from the marginalization of immigrants and their isolation in certain areas. The goal is to even out social differences and to increase social cohesiveness”. By so doing, it is believed, multiculturalism will be spread more equitably and thus help Finland avoid the challenges that come with it. One solution being mooted is the arrangement of transportation of the surplus pupils to another school<sup>xi</sup>.

What I find interesting is the concern about the *presence* of immigrants and not their absence. Very little is said of the schools which have very few immigrants. The use of statistics to bolster the case is symptomatic of what Foucault warned against, the increasing use of the technologies of biopower to further what can be argued are racist goals. These pupils will be transported based mostly on their race (the term immigrant is used here as a surrogate for the more problematic racial terms). As their parents have limited recourse to the private schools that might be available or moving to other neighbourhoods with fewer immigrants, bussing will be the only alternative, giving further evidence to their powerlessness. What is also not answered is, “how would this guarantee the quality of education in places with significant immigrant populations?” Or more importantly is how can we counter the stigma that is attached to students studying in schools with a significant immigrant/non-white population? And also, very little is heard from the ones most affected, the immigrant group. This can partly be explained as an indication their lack of political power and lack of representation in the planning profession.

The importance of the School in the Finnish urban space is beyond question. This is clearly evident in the number of schools featured in the local architectural magazines, books and the number of architectural

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competitions dedicated to schools. There is thus no doubt about the important role that the school plays in the construction of Finnishness. With this in mind, one of the most important sites of confrontation in multiculturalism has been and still is the school. The school curricula has been attacked and defended in this struggle over identity and whose story matters. The recognition of existent gender and ethnic diversity has been reflected in this struggle, in which the marginalized have demanded a greater presence in the telling of a nation's history. In the Anglo Saxon world, there have been demands for the inclusion of literature, stories and histories of and by authors from these social groups. In countries such as Finland, schools are required to provide the opportunity for instruction in the pupil's faith and language whenever viable.

Another area of confrontation is the celebration of events such as Christmas which it is claimed, have become symbols of Finnishness rather than the Christian faith. This has been contested by those who do not belong to this faith. In other parts of Europe the wearing of the hijab, either by pupils or staff members has aroused nationalistic passions.

All of these confrontations have taken place in the space of the school. This is why it is strange that the situation of this space has not been more interrogated except by a few philosophers such as Michel Foucault who saw it as a development of the Panopticon, seeing it as an instrument of discipline just like the prison, the hospital and the workshop were (Foucault 2010). He also argued that the school was part and parcel of the project of normalization of society, where deviance was excised.

### **THE REFUGEE RECEPTION CENTRE AS A SITE OF RESISTANCE**

As we have seen, the importance of the School in the urban space, though contested, it is universally accepted. The situation is different in the case of the Refugee Reception Centre whose presence is not only contested but vigorously resisted. This is reflected on the temporality of not only its inhabitants but of the typology itself. Refugee Centres have no place in the Master Plans of the city let alone the pages of architectural magazines. However, how we treat refugees<sup>xii</sup> is subject to regional and global codes of conduct.

Though refugees are not obliged to stay at a reception centre, they are all required to register there. All services are provided through the reception centre. If a refugee needs an allowance, to meet a social worker or a doctor, all of these are to be arranged through the reception centre. Once a refugee is granted a right to stay in the country, she is required to move out as soon as possible. In case the application is denied, she is removed from the country either voluntarily or by force. The stay at the reception centre is thus always temporary.

This temporality extends to the structure itself. Refugee reception centres tend to be located in temporary buildings, ranging from converted prisons to hotels and are accepted only under the condition of their being temporary. Thus though statistics show a gradual increase in refugees in the foreseeable future, there is a reluctance to recognize their permanence. On the contrary, one can say, attempts lean towards making them invisible.

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**THE REFUGEE CENTRE AS A PANOPTIC SPACE**

The invisibility of the refugee makes the resemblance of the refugee reception centres to what Foucault called instruments of panoptic much more vivid than in the case of the modern school where these instruments are more subtle. Foucault has also pointed that Jeremy Bentham, the architect of the Panopticon, had required that power must at all times be visible and unverifiable (Foucault 2010, p. 223) for it to operate efficiently. The predominance of surveillance (mechanisms of observation), the removal of most aspects of privacy (those in authority have constant access to the refugees' rooms, most of whom share their accommodation). The gaze of those in positions of power is thus constant.

The need to report to the centre regularly is another aspect of control. Even when a refugee finds accommodation outside the centre, she is required to report regularly to a specific centre and the centre remains her point of location. It is only through the centre that she has access to all those services (medical treatment, education, punishment) that are available to citizens. It is as if the refugee has checked into Hotel California where he can check out anytime that he likes but he can never leave<sup>xiii</sup>. We should remember that one of the inherent roles of a panoptic system is to *fix*. Not only to correct what is broken but to immobilize. The system can thus more efficiently observe its subject, the prisoner then, the refugee in this case by fixing them. The refugee reception centre also operates as a Panopticon at another level. Because they are individualized, the refugees no longer have an aspect of a crowd, they become a collection of separated individuals who are easier to number and supervise. The offers of an education and the rules pertaining to good behaviour are all meant, like any good panoptic system, at making the refugees more useful individuals. The refugees are expected to take advantage of the educational opportunities offered (Finnish language etc.) and are punished if they don't. Any behaviour that is deemed unacceptable at the centre is also punished. In this way, the refugee centre is similar to the school where one of its goals is to convert the children of those who come from outside the dominant culture into useful citizens. They both then serve as the battleground where contamination into the dominant culture is resisted, where power is brought to bear on the deviant to normalize. It is therefore in these spaces as well that the process of normalization takes place. Thus any project of resistance to normalization would have to be cognizant of such places. In other words, if we are to resist/mitigate this process, we have to recognize where it operates and how it does so.

**THE SCHOOL AND REFUGEE RECEPTION CENTRE AS HETEROTOPIC SPACES.**

In his essay titled "Des Espace Autres" (translated into "Of Other Spaces [1967], Heterotopias), Foucault declares this epoch to be the epoch of space, a space which is heterogeneous. He however isolates a particular type of site, which according to him, has the property of being in relation with all the other sites, but in such a way as to suspect, neutralize, or invent the set of relations that they happen to designate, mirror or reflect. These are sites of utopia and those of heterotopia. Utopias present a society in its perfect form and are thus fundamentally unreal spaces. Heterotopias on the other hand are like "counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture,

are simultaneously represented, contested and inverted". Foucault uses the metaphor of a mirror to explain heterotopia. The mirror is a metaphor for utopia because the image that you see does not exist, but it is also a heterotopia because the mirror is a real object that shapes the way you relate to your own image.<sup>xiv</sup>

Heterotopias are governed by six principles:

The first one is that they are present in all cultures. They are however not all similar. Traditionally, in so-called primitive societies, there is a form of heterotopia which he terms, crisis heterotopias which are privileged or sacred or forbidden places, reserved for individuals who are in, in relation to society and to the human environment in which they live in a state of crisis: adolescents, menstruating women, pregnant women, the elderly, etc. In the Western world, these heterotopias are being replaced by what he calls "heterotopias of deviation": those in which individuals whose behaviour is deviant in relation to the required mean or norm are placed. These are the rest homes and psychiatric hospitals, prisons and I would add, in our case, the refugee reception centre. Asylum seekers in such centres are deviant in the sense that their legitimacy is under suspicion. They are kept there (not necessarily, physically)<sup>xv</sup> until the society is satisfied of their legitimacy and if it is found that they are not, they are expelled.

The second principle is that they can function in different ways. The same heterotopia can, according to the synchrony of the culture in which it occurs, have one function or another. Foucault uses the example of a cemetery. He argues that, though it has always existed in Western culture, its use and location has changed through time. Though originally it was centrally located (next to the church), from the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century it has been banished to the edges of the city. This was partly caused by the obsession of death as illness. The dead, it is supposed, bring illnesses to the living. The cemeteries came to constitute, no longer the sacred and immortal heart of the city, but the other city, where each family possesses its dark resting place. The refugee centre has also shifted from its central position where it was situated within the church to the peripheries of the city. It is thus no longer part of the city but outside of it. Even when it is located in the centre, there is little connection with the city. It exists in isolation. One can also argue that while in the former years, it was seen as a duty for the society to provide asylum to those who seek it, now it is feared that they might have a contagious effect on it, hence the need to quarantine them.

The third principle is that it is capable of juxtaposing in a single real space several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible. The cinema, in which, a three –dimensional space is projected onto a two dimensional screen is one such space. The garden is another such space in which a small parcel of the world reflects its totality. One can also see the refugee centre in this where its heterogeneity is a reflection of the world we live in. Refugees come from all parts of the world. All races can be found there.

The fourth principle is that heterotopias are often linked to slices in time; they start to function at full capacity when men arrive at a sort of absolute break with their traditional time. I would also argue here that this is true of the refugee reception centre also. At the refugee reception centre, time is frozen. The refugees occupy that space between the legitimate and illegitimate. They exist in a state of limbo.

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The fifth principle is that Heterotopias always presuppose a system of opening and closing that both isolates them and makes them penetrable. In general, the Heterotopic site is not freely accessible like a public space. Either the entry is compulsory, as in the case of entering a barracks or a prison, or else the individual has to submit to rites and purifications. The refugee is also compelled to enter the refugee reception centre for her to be recognized. On entering, she has to submit to being processed. Likewise, the non-refugee has to follow a certain procedure to gain access to the centre.

The sixth and final principle of Heterotopia is that they have a function in relation to all the space that remains. They are either spaces of illusion or compensation. As spaces of illusion, they expose every real space, all the sites inside of which human life is partitioned. As spaces of compensation, their role is to create a space that is other, another real space, as perfect, as meticulous, as well arranged as ours is messy, ill constructed, and jumbled. The school is one such space, a space of compensation in which our perfect notion of ourselves is portrayed. The school forms the ideal of what we aspire to. It is thus a space to be protected by all means necessary. These include expulsions of those who are deemed to be a threat to this notion of perfection. One could see the recent discussions regarding the proportion of "immigrants" in our schools to be such a case. In order to contain the threat posed by the immigrant children, limits on their numbers are proposed and for the surplus, expulsion out of their neighbourhoods through busing.

## CONCLUSION

Both Foucault and Lefebvre offer very little to issues of injustice from an identarian point of view that focuses on ethnic difference. For that, one has to turn to the postcolonial school and agonistic pluralism. Post colonialists such as Ghassan Hage offers an insight on the concept of Whiteness and how it is reflected in current discourse (Hage 1998).

Agonism with its acceptance of conflict and the legitimization of passion in the democratic process offers valuable lessons. Chantal Mouffe demand for a system that puts power and antagonism at the centre has particular resonance. This is grounded in her argument that power is constitutive of social relations and any formation of "we" has to be accompanied by a "they". Such a relationship has always a potential for antagonism (Mouffe 2005, pp. 15-16). Denying this would be counterproductive, hence her call for the transformation of the us/them relationship where them is seen as an enemy to one in which she is seen as an adversary with a legitimate right to her political position (Mouffe 2005, p.20). Such a shift cannot take place in the unified public sphere envisaged by deliberative theorists but in a context of subaltern counter publics (Fraser 1990, p. 67), competing, complementing and making alliances with each other. Such a situation would allow for diverse conceptions of citizenship.

In his report on Ethnicity and the Multicultural City, Ash Amin argues that the gains of prosaic interaction need to be worked out in the city's micro-publics of banal multicultures. These would include the Youth centre, the housing estate, the school etc. He however cautions that habitual contact in itself cannot guarantee cultural exchange. He thus suggests that people need to step out of their daily environments into other spaces acting as sites of banal transgressions which would work as spaces of cultural displacement and

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destabilization (Amin 2002, p. 14). An example of such a place is the Tensta Architecture School (situated within the Tensta Gymnasium) established in 2008-2009 by the KTH School of Architecture and Built Environment in the suburb of Tensta in Stockholm. As a preparatory school for the study of Architecture and Planning located in a much maligned part of Stockholm, it offers one way of making one of the most ethnically exclusive of professions accessible to people from ethnic minorities. On the other hand, because it cannot by law in Sweden exclude anyone from attending it invites people from the dominant group to venture to these neighbourhoods where for probably the first time in their life study in a very ethnically diverse environment.

Amin is dismissive of the primacy given to community cohesion, arguing that rather than aiming for a single unitary sense of place one should exploit the “potential for overlap and cross-fertilisation that exist within these spaces which are constituted as territorialized and multiple publics. These spaces should be accepted as the spatially open, culturally heterogeneous and socially variegated spaces that they are, not imagined as future cohesive or integrated communities ”(Amin 2002, p. 7).

Coming back to Finland, we are reminded that plans are afoot to transfer the upper form students at the Keski-Espoo Comprehensive School in Suvela to other schools. The school is said to suffer from a *questionable reputation because nearly half of its pupils speak a language other than Finnish as their mother tongue*<sup>xvi</sup>. This, it was suggested, could be improved by moving the upper form pupils to other schools. The extra space available after such action could then be used to teach Finnish to immigrant *parents*, it was further suggested.

Most of the refugee reception centres are full because municipalities are unwilling to accept those asylum seekers who have been granted asylum or issued with a residence permit. Even those municipalities that are desperate for new tax payers because many of their young population has moved to larger cities do not want them. This is in addition to neighbourhoods opposing the construction of new reception centres even though the number of asylum seekers has increased dramatically. The refugee is unwanted and the refugee reception centres are the classic NIMBY typology.

In my opinion, both of these issues have an impact on our pursuit of the just city. By not acknowledging the underlying cause of resistance (race/ethnic difference), we continue to deny justice to our fellow inhabitants of the city. It is thus imperative that race and ethnicity be acknowledged so that our fears can be addressed. I argue so because schools with a significant number of foreigners are not new to Finland. There still exists Russian Schools, German Schools, and French Schools. Paradoxically, recently a Chinese School has been established in Vantaa. None of these attract half the vehemence that is addressed to schools with a significant population of non-European (except for the Chinese School) pupils. It is also evident in the case of asylum seekers.

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We should question ourselves why asylum seekers from the former Yugoslavia were welcomed with open arms while that accorded to current ones is anything but warm. The only major difference that I can see is sadly phenotypic or what W.E.B Du Bois vividly referred to as *the grosser physical differences of color, hair and bone* (Du Bois 2007, p.8).

The School and the Refugee Reception Centre (RRC) can thus be seen on one hand as sites of resistance to deviance on the part of the dominant group, to the corruptive influence of the abnormal and on the other, as *potential* sites of resistance to process of normalization by the stranger. In these spaces the process of normalization is paramount, in many cases fuelled by a fear and/or suspicion of what be called the racialised stranger. Justice in the City cannot be attained without planning addressing this reality.

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<sup>iii</sup> [http://yle.fi/uutiset/news/2009/12/espoo\\_wants\\_more\\_even\\_distribution\\_of\\_immigrant\\_school\\_pupils\\_1296803.html](http://yle.fi/uutiset/news/2009/12/espoo_wants_more_even_distribution_of_immigrant_school_pupils_1296803.html)

<sup>iv</sup> Swedish in Finland brochure by Svenska Finlands Folkting (

<http://www.kulturfonden.fi/files/Swedish%20in%20Finland.pdf>)

<sup>v</sup> The Åland islands whose population is predominantly Swedish speaking are semi-autonomous. The right to self government is laid down in the Finnish constitution.

<sup>vi</sup> From Swedish in Finland brochure by Svenska Finlands Folkting.

<sup>vii</sup> Statistics Finland [http://www.stat.fi/til/muutl/index\\_en.html](http://www.stat.fi/til/muutl/index_en.html)

<sup>viii</sup> Program for International Student Assessment for 15 year old school children coordinated by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.

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<sup>xii</sup> "A Refugee is a person who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it." Article 1, the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees.

<sup>xiii</sup> Hotel California by the Eagles, 1976.

<sup>xiv</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Heterotopia\\_%28space%29](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Heterotopia_%28space%29)

<sup>xv</sup> In Finland, asylum seekers are not required to stay in refugee reception centres while their applications are being reviewed. However, no matter their physical location, the refugee reception centre remains the primary location where they interact with the state. Whatever their circumstances, asylum seekers are required to register as a customer at the nearest refugee reception centre. The refugee reception centre has to be informed about their current address if they live outside of it. And if they need “ a living allowance or assistance from a social worker or doctor, these will be provided through the refugee reception centre at which she is registered.

<sup>xvi</sup> <http://www.hs.fi/english/article/Parents+enraged+by+plans+to+cut+upper+forms+from+Keski-Espoo+Comprehensive+School/1135253430171>

